THE HIBEH PAPYRI

PART I

GRENFELL AND HUNT

THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

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GRAECO-ROMAN BRANCH

THE HIBEH PAPYRI

PART I

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

BY

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PREFACE

THE papyri which form the subject of the present volume were obtained in the spring of 1902 from the Ptolemaic necropolis of El-Hibeh, partly by purchase, partly from our first excavations at that site, as is recorded in the Introduction. On p. 5 will be found an explanation of the remarkable fact that some of the literary papyri here edited belong to MSS. of which fragments were published by us in 1897. The papyri were, with one exception (no. **23**), derived from mummy-cartonnage, and all belong to the third century B. C.

In editing the classical fragments we have continued to avail ourselves very largely of the most generous assistance of Professor F. Blass, whose weighty judgement we have followed in the authorship suggested for most of the new pieces (nos. **1–18**), and to whom is due much of their reconstruction and interpretation, besides many suggestions on difficulties arising in the fragments of extant authors (nos. **19–26**). With regard to the non-literary texts we have received much help from Professor J. G. Smyly, who has not only placed at our service his intimate acquaintance with the contemporary Petrie papyri, but has in many cases revised our decipherments of the texts and made suggestions for their interpretation. His knowledge of ancient mathematics has materially assisted in the elucidation of the astronomical calendar (no. **27**), and without his aid we should certainly not have ventured, as we have done in Appendix I, upon the difficult, perhaps even hopeless, task of attempting to solve the perplexing problems connected with the Macedonian calendar. Our proof-sheets have also had the advantage of having been read through by Dr. J. P. Mahaffy, to whose liberality we owe the insertion of a facsimile of the calendar (Plate VIII). Some assistance which we have received from other scholars on special points is acknowledged in connexion with the individual papyri.

For the interpretation of several demotic dockets appended to the Greek texts we are indebted to Mr. F. Ll. Griffith, who has generously allowed us to utilize his forthcoming edition of demotic papyri in the John Rylands Library.

A few words of explanation are due concerning the alternative years B.C. on the Julian calendar into which for the convenience of our readers the dates by the king's reign are converted. Apart from the difficulties caused by the frequent employment of the Macedonian in preference to the Egyptian months for dating purposes, an element of uncertainty is introduced into the conversion of practically all early Ptolemaic dates into their equivalents on the Julian calendar owing to the fact that at least two systems of reckoning the king's years were in common use, while papyri rarely provide any indication which method is being employed in a particular case. The nature of these different systems is discussed in Appendix II, but the evidence is unfortunately at present insufficient for a satisfactory explanation. Accordingly we have converted the dates by the king's years into what (granting the correctness of the Canon of Ptolemaic kings) are their equivalents on the Julian calendar, firstly on the conventional assumption that the king's years were reckoned from Thoth 1 of the *annus vagus*, the balance of days between his accession and the next Thoth 1 being counted as his 1st year, and secondly on the assumption (which is likely to be correct in many cases) that another system of reckoning the king's years was employed, according to which the dates when expressed by the Julian calendar may be a year later than they would have been if the first system had been employed. The dates B.C. which result or may result from the use of the second system are enclosed in brackets.

In conclusion we have to beg the indulgence of subscribers to the Graeco-Roman Branch for presenting them with a memoir which on account of its length is to count as a double volume. The next memoir of the Branch, Part V of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, in which we shall begin the publication of the very important literary texts discovered in 1905–6 (cf. *The Times*, May 14, 1906), is already in hand, and we hope to issue it in June, 1907.

BERNARD P. GRENFELL.
ARTHUR S. HUNT.

OXFORD, *May*, 1906.

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

THE general system followed in this volume is that of its predecessors. Literary texts are printed as they appear in the originals, except for division of words, capital initials in proper names, and reconstruction, where practicable, of lacunae. Additions or corrections by the same hand as the body of the texts are in small thin type, those by a different hand in thick type. Non-literary documents are printed in modern style with accentuation and punctuation: abbreviations and symbols are resolved, while additions and corrections are usually incorporated in the text, their occurrence being recorded in the critical notes; but where special considerations make this method inconvenient, alterations in the original have been reproduced, later hands being distinguished, as in the literary texts, by thick type. Faults of orthography, &c., are corrected in the critical apparatus wherever they seemed likely to cause any difficulty. Iota adscript is printed when so written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets ⟦ ⟧ a deletion in the original. Dots placed within brackets represent the approximate number of letters lost or deleted; dots outside brackets indicate mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Letters with dots underneath them are to be considered doubtful. Heavy Arabic numerals refer to the texts of the present volume, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns. On the numeration of the different mummies from which the papyri were obtained see pp. 11–12; and on the alternative years B.C. in expressing dates according to the Julian calendar see the Preface.

The abbreviations used in referring to papyrological publications are practically the same as those adopted by Wilcken in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, I, pp. 25–8, viz.:—

P. Amh. = The Amherst Papyri (Greek). Vols. I and II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

Archiv = Archiv für Papyrusforschung.

B. G. U. = Aeg. Urkunden aus den Konigl. Museen zu Berlin, Griech. Urkunden.

P. Brit. Mus. = Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the British Museum. Vols. I and II, by F. G. Kenyon.

C. P. R. = Corpus Papyrorum Raineri, Vol. I, by C. Wessely.

P. Cairo = Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the Cairo Museum, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

P. Fay. = Fayûm Towns and their Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth.

P. Gen. = Les Papyrus de Genève, by J. Nicole.

P. Grenf. = Greek Papyri, Series I, by B. P. Grenfell, and Series II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

P. Leyden = Papyri Graeci Musei antiquarii Lugduni-Batavi, by C. Leemans.

P. Magd. = Papyrus de Magdola, *Bulletin de Corr. hell.*, xxvi, pp. 95–128, xxvii, pp. 174–205, by P. Jouguet and G. Lefebvre.

P. Oxy. = The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Parts I–IV, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

P. Par. = Les Papyrus Grecs du Musée du Louvre, *Notices et Extraits*, t. xviii, 2, by W. Brunet de Presle and E. Egger.

P. Petrie = The Flinders Petrie Papyri, Parts I and II by the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy, Part III by the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy and J. G. Smyly. Our references are to Part III wherever texts previously published are reprinted there.

Rev. Laws = Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by B. P. Grenfell, with an Introduction by the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy.

P. Tebt. = The Tebtunis Papyri, Part I by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and J. G. Smyly (Part II by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and E. J. Goodspeed, in the press).

P. Tor. = Papyri Graeci Regii Taurinensis Musei Aegyptii, by A. Peyron.

Wilcken, *Ost.* = Griechische Ostraka, by U. Wilcken.

P. Zois = Papiri Greco-Egizi di Zoide dell' Imp. R. Museo di Vienna, by A. Peyron, re-edited in *xi. Jahresb. üb. d. k. k. Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium in Wien* by C. Wessely.

INTRODUCTION

In February and March, 1902, while we were excavating in the Fayûm, a dealer who had been travelling in Upper Egypt brought us a large quantity of broken papyrus-cartonnage, amongst which we noticed the presence of numerous literary fragments of the third century B.C. Our work in the Fayûm was at that time drawing to an end, the available sites for the discovery of Ptolemaic papyri being exhausted, and we were naturally anxious to take at once the opportunity of finding Ptolemaic papyrus-cartonnage in a different district. With some difficulty we ascertained that the provenance of the papyri brought to us was Hibeh, on the east bank of the Nile between Benisuéf and Shêkh Fadl (Cynopolis); and as the Director-general of Antiquities most obligingly gave us permission to proceed thither at once, we were able to start work on March 24. The excavations were carried on until April 11 (*Arch. Report*, 1901–2, pp. 4–5), and resumed in January, 1903, for nearly a month (*Arch. Report*, 1902–3, pp. 1–3). In February, 1903, after examining several sites between Hibeh and Shêkh Fadl, we returned to Behnesa, which has occupied us for the last three and a half seasons.

The ruins of the ancient town of Hibeh are situated on the river bank facing the villages of Feshn and Fent. The high desert at this point approaches the river edge, leaving only a narrow strip a few yards in width available for cultivation, and providing suitable places for quarrying limestone. The town was built on rising ground, which reaches its highest point at the north-west corner of the site. The most conspicuous feature is the massive wall of crude brick, some metres thick, which protects it from attack on the north and east sides, the east wall running in a south-westerly direction to meet the river, so that the area enclosed forms with the river a kind of acute-angled triangle. Stamped bricks with the names of the princess Estemkheb, her husband Menkheperrē or their son Pinotem II, show that the walls were built under the XXIst Dynasty. Near the south end of the site stood a small temple ($36 \times 16\frac{1}{2}$ metres), built by Shishanq and Osorkon of the XXIInd Dynasty, the picturesque ruins being now overgrown with palms. The principal entrance to the town was through the north wall, near its east corner; west of the entrance the wall becomes more than usually strong as the ground rises to a peak, and it is probable that here was the citadel. The west face of this peak has been cut away for stone; and

it is not clear whether the wall was ever continued down to the river, which, moreover, has apparently encroached slightly upon the south end of the site, washing away the original south corner of the wall. Opposite the ruins and separated only by a channel which becomes dry in the summer, is an island about 2 miles long, which was already there in early times, for it is mentioned in the demotic papyri from Hibeh of Darius' reign (cf. p. 7). The modern village of El-Hibeh is a poor hamlet a few hundred yards to the south of the ruins, and is combined for administrative purposes with another village on the island which contains a few hundred feddans of cultivated ground, while on the main land there is practically none. The extensive necropolis of Hibeh lies round the ancient city to the north, east, and south of the walls, and dates from New Empire to Roman times. By far the greater part of it had been dug out before our arrival, principally in 1895–6, when, as report states, an Arab dealer from the Pyramids, known as Shêkh Hassan, excavated the cemetery on a large scale. From the assertions of an inhabitant of Hibeh who was then employed as a *reis*, it appears that the dealer met with much success, especially in the discovery of scarabs, amulets, ushabtis, statuettes, faience and alabaster vases, and other objects such as would be found in the later tombs of the New Empire. Quantities of mummies of the Ptolemaic period with papyrus-cartonnage were also unearthed, but thrown away as worthless. This is the usual fate of cartonnage found in the Nile valley proper, where, except at one or two places, native tomb-diggers until quite recently attached no value to papyrus apart from large rolls. A handful of small fragments, however, found their way to Cairo, where they were bought by us in 1896; cf. p. 5. During the next few years much plundering continued at Hibeh, among the chief finds being a number of large demotic papyrus rolls, which were discovered together in a pot inside the town close to the east wall in the southern portion of the site. These were bought in Cairo by Lord Crawford, and having passed with the rest of his papyri into the possession of the Rylands Library are now being edited by Mr. F. Ll. Griffith in the *Demotic Papyri of the John Rylands Library*, pp. 38 sqq. The site, especially the necropolis, had thus been thoroughly ransacked before Ahmed Bey Kamal in the year preceding our excavations was sent by the authorities of the Cairo Museum to investigate the place. His excavations, which lasted only a short time, produced no results of importance; cf. his report in *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, ii. pp. 84–91.

We had taken the precaution of bringing thirty workmen with us from the Fayûm, and our anticipations that the local inhabitants would not be satisfactory were fully justified. The villagers of Hibeh, having hardly any land to cultivate, earn their living by antiquity-plundering or salt-digging in the neighbouring

desert; for regular work at the normal rate of wages they were not in the least disposed, while the inhabitants of the village on the island were not sufficiently intelligent to be of much use in the rather difficult task of clearing out the remains of a much plundered cemetery. We had no hesitation in deciding at which part of the necropolis to begin operations. The tomb which had produced the papyri brought to us in the Fayûm was about 150 yards outside the town, in a rocky ridge which faced the north wall and ran from almost the river bank towards a square brick-walled enclosure near the north-east corner of the town; and the report of Shêkh Hassan's ex-*reis* that *wushâsh waraq* ('faces of paper,' the Arabic term for papyrus-cartonnage) were to be found in this quarter was confirmed by the presence of many broken Ptolemaic mummies and limestone sarcophagi strewn about in the vicinity. The area bounded on the south by the town wall, on the north and north-east by the rocky ridge just mentioned, forms a triangular depression, of which the base is the margin of cultivation on the west, and the apex the brick enclosure on the east. The surface of the desert, which rises in an easterly direction, was to a large extent covered with loose debris, consisting partly of rubbish thrown out from the town between the time of its foundation in the XXIst Dynasty and the Ptolemaic period, with occasional accumulations of later date above the earlier mounds, partly of bricks which had fallen down from the wall or belonged to the buildings that had stood there before the Ptolemaic period, partly of limestone chips from the rock-tombs scooped out in the ridge to the north and underneath the wall itself, of which we shall speak presently. Throughout this debris at intervals were Ptolemaic burials, mostly in plain limestone sarcophagi, sometimes in rudely painted or plain wooden ones, rarely in pottery coffins, and occasionally without any sarcophagus at all. The bodies were mummified and generally ornamented with detachable cartonnage, either of cloth or papyrus, very similar in the style of decoration to the Fayûm cartonnage. In many cases the Hibeh mummies are externally indistinguishable from those from the Fayûm; but in the Hibeh cartonnage the lower border of the head-pieces more commonly has a white band with a red check-pattern, and in the breast-pieces, though these are sometimes very large, the interstices between the figures or other objects painted have not infrequently been cut out, while foot-pieces are generally absent, but where found are of the larger kind and do not degenerate into the two small pieces of cartonnage attached to the soles which are so common in the Fayûm. The burials in the debris were very shallow, usually not more than two or three feet from the surface, occasionally only a few inches below it, though in some parts it was necessary to dig through six or seven feet of Roman rubbish to reach the Ptolemaic level. In the lower ground,

which had been much dug by *sebakhîn*, near the river bank damp had proved fatal to the cartonnage, and even higher up the rise was often insufficient to protect the mummies from the moisture soaking through the soil from below, particularly when they had not been buried in the stone chips. In the process of digging through the rubbish of the late New Empire period to find the Ptolemaic sarcophagi, a few antiquities, such as scarabs and amulets, were found, and in the accumulations of the Roman period some small pieces of papyrus, none of which is later than the third century. In the Roman rubbish mounds and in some places in the earlier debris we also discovered a number of plain mummies very heavily draped, especially round the face, and tied with red bands. From the levels at which these were lying and the occurrence of similarly draped mummies in the neighbouring cemetery of Maghagha (*Arch. Report*, 1902–3, p. 3), it appears that this style of burial continued down to the sixth century, but most of the Hibeh examples were probably earlier; for in one spot near the west end of the rocky ridge, where a large number of these later burials had been made, we also found, not far from each other, two admirably preserved portrait-mummies similar to those discovered at Hawâra and Rubayyât in the Fayûm. One of these (a woman) is now in the Cairo Museum, the other (a man) in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. A plain mummy found in the same group was inscribed Εὐδᾶς Πνεφορῶτος (ἔτους) ιϛ Τραιανοῦ Γερτισκεκῦις (a place-name?), and the portraits too no doubt belong to the second century; cf. the authoritative discussion of the dating of the Fayûm portraits by C. C. Edgar in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxv. pp. 225–33. An inscription rudely carved on a block of limestone measuring 50 × 30 cm. records the death of] Ὀρ[σ]ενεφοιῶτος Ἀπίωνος τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Φιλονίκου (ἐτῶν) γ.

The Ptolemaic burials in the depression between the rocky ridge and the north wall of the town were mainly those of the poorer classes; wealthier persons were buried in rock-tombs. Of these the south side of the rocky ridge contained a double row, one at the foot, the other a little higher up. They consisted of one or more low chambers scooped out of the rock where a convenient ledge projected, and generally had plain doors. The upper row of tombs had in places been altogether destroyed owing to stone-quarrying; and nearly all the rest, as would be expected, had been plundered anciently, while many of them had been reopened in modern times, principally by Shêkh Hassan, so that such cartonnage as we obtained from them was for the most part very fragmentary. A few untouched tombs, however, were discovered. One of these was in the west face of the corner of the ridge facing the cultivation, and contained four very large limestone sarcophagi with painted wooden coffins inside, containing early Ptolemaic mummies. The head-piece

(of cloth) was detachable, but the other decorations were in accordance with the pre-Ptolemaic practice painted on the mummy. Another tomb had escaped the plunderer through being covered up by the debris of a house which had been built, probably at the same date as the town walls, on a depression between two peaks of the ridge. This contained eight painted wooden coffins and two of limestone, and in the debris itself numerous other mummies had been buried either with or without sarcophagi; many of these contained papyrus-cartonnage, except in one room of the house, which was filled up with mummies mostly ornamented with cloth head-pieces alone.

The tomb which produced the papyri bought by us in the Fayûm was one of the lower row of this group of rock-tombs. It had five chambers, of which four were said to have been opened by Shêkh Hassan, while the fifth, which had been walled up, escaped detection until the beginning of 1902. This information fits in very well with the remarkable coincidence that some of the literary fragments from this tomb are actually parts of the same papyri as certain literary fragments bought by us in Cairo in 1896, and published in P. Grenf. II. Of the papyri in the present volume **4** belongs to P. Grenf. II. 1, **5** to 8 (*b*), **11** to 6 (*c*), **20** to 3, **21** to 2, **22** to 4[1]; and there are numerous additional fragments of P. Grenf. II. 7 (*b*), which remain unpublished. It is clear that the mummies from which these literary fragments were derived had been originally discovered in 1896 in Shêkh Hassan's excavations, but that his workmen only took the trouble to remove a few small pieces, the remainder being left behind in the tomb until attention was redirected to it in 1902. The much damaged character of the cartonnage containing these literary fragments indicates that the mummies to which they belonged had been broken up anciently, probably in Roman times, while the comparatively well-preserved pieces of cartonnage bought with them no doubt came for the most part from the chamber which remained intact until 1902.

Opposite these two lines of rock-tombs were two other similar rows, excavated underneath the foundations of the city wall between the entrance and the north-west corner. These were also Ptolemaic, and had contained mummies with the usual cloth or papyrus cartonnage. The lower line of tombs at the foot of the rock on which the wall stands had been thoroughly plundered in Shêkh Hassan's time, but the upper line, placed in the ledge of desert on which the lower tier of the wall rested, had escaped notice because the entrances were covered over with the debris of bricks which had fallen down from above. These tombs had in every case been opened and sometimes re-used anciently,

[1] We are informed by M. S. de Ricci that in 1899 he identified a few additional fragments belonging to P. Grenf. II. 4 in the Heidelberg collection. It is to be hoped that these will soon be published.

for not only were the mummies more or less broken up, but some scraps of Roman papyri were found in one tomb, and an inscription rudely scratched above the door of another, Τάφος 'Ασφο . Πετεχῶ(ντος) Κνιδ(ίου ?) *a* . . . ., also probably dates from the Roman period. Some fairly well preserved pieces of cartonnage were nevertheless obtained; and in one spot we found in a recess under the wall a group of twenty mummies, nineteen buried in stone sarcophagi, one in a wooden one, of which fourteen contained papyrus-cartonnage. A passage led from this recess to a subterranean chamber filled with thin painted wooden sarcophagi, but the cartonnage of the mummies inside these was uniformly cloth.

This series of rock-tombs came to an end at the town gate; underneath the remaining piece of the north wall and the outside of the whole of the east wall there were no suitable ledges under which to excavate chambers. A few isolated stone or wooden sarcophagi had been laid here and there against the wall, and there were numerous burials of the Roman period, but no papyrus-cartonnage was found. The most important discovery here was an untouched tomb beneath a small brick building adjoining the east wall near its north corner. In the debris of this building were many inscribed bases of funerary statuettes and a wooden figure of Isis, probably of the Persian period. Below the floor of one of the rooms was a square shaft eight feet deep, leading to three rudely cut chambers in the rock, the chamber on the north being divided by a wall from one beyond. Here were found several sarcophagi, some of plain limestone shaped like a mummy, others of wood. The painting on the outside of the latter approximated in style to that on Ptolemaic coffins, but some of the sarcophagi were also painted inside, a rare phenomenon in the Ptolemaic period. Two well-preserved specimens of these were brought away; one, belonging to Khonsu-tef-Nekt, is now at Brussels, the other at Cairo. The mummies had no cartonnage and were bound in thick white wrappings. Sometimes a network of small blue beads had been placed on the breast, but often the beads were merely painted on the cloth. The tomb also contained a set of four Canopic vases, a good-sized bronze statuette of Osiris, and numerous very coarse ushabtis. From the style of the sarcophagi and other objects it is clear that this burial belonged to one of the last two or three centuries before the Ptolemies.

Near the north-east corner of the wall is, as has been said, a brick-walled enclosure measuring about 75 x 65 metres, of which a photograph is given in Petrie's *Methods and Aims of Archaeology*, fig. 6. Report states that antiquities were found underneath the walls, a rumour which gains some confirmation from the circumstance that they have been extensively dug about in recent times.

Within the enclosure is a natural hillock with several convenient ledges for placing rock-tombs, which have all been plundered. Ahmed Bey Kamal (*Annales*, ii. p. 90) states that crocodile-mummies were found in them; but some at any rate of the burials were human. The tombs, like the surrounding wall, are no doubt anterior to the Ptolemaic period; and we conjecture that they formed a private cemetery belonging to one of the chief families of Hibeh in its early days, being walled off for greater protection, like the enclosures to be found in many modern Egyptian cemeteries in the desert.

In the ground to the east of the town, along the path which leads to the modern village of Hibeh, are numerous rock-tombs under low ridges or shallow shafts leading to subterranean chambers. Previous diggings show that dogs and cats were buried in this part as well as human mummies, generally without sarcophagi, and rumour is probably correct in stating that no antiquities of value have been found there. Probably the tombs belong to the later Ptolemaic period. They are now being again used for burial purposes by the Copts. Further south beyond the town walls are more rock-tombs, chiefly in low hillocks along the margin of cultivation. Papyrus-cartonnage is reported to have been found here, but spoiled by damp; and other burials in stone sarcophagi laid only a few inches under the surface are also frequent in this quarter. No part of the south-eastern necropolis seemed promising for our purposes, and the only find of any interest was an elaborately decorated Ptolemaic mummy (now at Cairo) in a painted wooden sarcophagus inside another of heavy limestone.

A few days were devoted to the investigation of the town ruins, where, except for the group of demotic papyri found in a pot (cf. p. 2), not much seems ever to have been discovered either by antiquity-seekers or by *sebakhîn*, who visit Hibeh in large numbers during the summer. As we had expected, the mounds were not at all productive of papyri. In the northern part near the wall the houses were filled up with debris of bricks and contained no *afsh*, and the mounds further south near the river were far too much affected by damp to yield papyrus, even in the upper strata. A few houses on higher ground in the south-east quarter of the town had some *afsh*, but had already been much dug, and we found little save some second or third century fragments. Underneath the east wall on the inside was a series of funerary chambers cut in the rock, which had been plundered long ago. These were probably used by the pre-Ptolemaic inhabitants.

That the old Egyptian name of Hibeh was Teuzoi in the Heracleopolite nome is known from the demotic papyri found there and now being edited by

Mr. Griffith (*Dem. Pap. of the John Rylands Library*, p. 40); but its name in Graeco-Roman times, during which it undoubtedly continued to be inhabited, remains undiscovered. Papyri from mummy-cartonnage give little help towards the identification of the site at which they happen to be found, since mummies were often carried a long distance to be buried in a particular place. Very few of the pieces of cartonnage found in the Hibeh cemetery are likely to have been manufactured at Hibeh itself, and from internal evidence it is clear that many of the mummies came from villages on the west bank in the Oxyrhynchite nome. It is, therefore, necessary to depend mainly on the evidence provided by the scanty papyri of the Roman period found in the town and by the statements of ancient geographers; the funerary inscription mentioning the village Φιλονίκου (cf. p. 4), which in *Arch. Report*, 1901–2, p. 5, we provisionally identified with Hibeh, may, like the cartonnage, have been brought from elsewhere, and is therefore not a sound basis for argument.

The evidence of the Roman papyri is as follows. One petition was written by a person *ἀπὸ κώμης Ψύχεως τοῦ κάτωι Κωίτου*; a receipt mentions the *κωμάρχαι* Ἀγκυρώνων, and another document Ἀσσύα τοῦ Κωίτου τοῦ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν [Ἡρακλεοπολίτου (probably, cf. C. P. R. 6. 4, &c.; but τοῦ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν might agree with Κωίτου; cf. **95**. 5 ἐν Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει τῆι ὕπερθε Μέμ[φ]εως). A taxing list of payments arranged according to villages mentions Ἀγκυρώνων, Φιλονείκου (cf. the funerary inscription, p. 4), Περόη, Ἱππώνων, Ταamόρου, Μούχεως, Τάλη, Ἀσσύας, Μουχινθαη( ), Κερκεσήφεως, Κόβα, and Ψεβθονέμβ(η) (cf. **33**. 7). Probably all these villages were in the Κωίτης τόπος; cf. **117**, where Τάλη and Ἀσσύα occur in an account concerning villages in the Κωίτης, and **112**. On the verso of this papyrus is a long list of Heracleopolite villages including Ἀλιλάεω[ς], Κολασουχ( ), Πεταχ( ), Σώβθ(εως), Πεενάμεω(ς), Τερτονιχ( ), Μούχεω(ς), Τοσαχ( ), Τερούφ[ε]ως, Φεβε[ί]χ[εω]ς, Τάσεως, Θελβώ(νθεως), Τοκώεως, Νοήρεως, Θμοινώθ(εως), Φνεβίεως (corr. from Φεβείχεως), Χόννεως, Πεεννίβ(εως), Κόμα, Κρήκεως, Βουσ[είρε]ως, Τερτοναλ( ), Τέχθωι, Θμο[ι]ναχ(ῆ), Νίσεως, Σινάρυ. Several of these villages are already known from published papyri, e. g. Σῶβθις, Πεενᾶμις, Νοῆρις, Θμοιναχῆ, Θμοινῶθις, Θελβῶνθις, Τοκῶις from C.P.R., Φεβῖχις from P. Amh. 147. 2, P. Gen. 10. 2, and P. Brit. Mus. 171 *b*. 7, 8, where l. ἐν Φεβ[ίχ]ει τοῦ Κωίτου (Κωίτου has already been suggested by Wilcken; it can also be recognized in C. P. R. 82 (1). 4, where l. Κωίτου κάτω [τοῦ ὑπ. Μέμφ. Ἡρακλ.] for Κῶι τοῦ κατω[τέρου ὑπ. Μέμφ. Ἡρακλ.]); but most of the names are new.

Combining the evidence of these Roman papyri with the frequent references to several of the same villages (e. g. Φεβῖχις, Περόη, Κόβα, Ἀσσύα) in the early Ptolemaic papyri of the present volume, it is certain that Hibeh was situated in the Κωίτης τόπος of the Heracleopolite nome. This toparchy must therefore

have comprised the south-east portion of the nome, where it adjoined the Cynopolite, the cemetery of Cynopolis itself being only twenty-five miles south of Hibeh. That the Κωίτης, which was subdivided like many toparchies into a lower and upper division, included the whole of that part of the Heracleopolite nome which lay on the east bank is very likely, and it may even have extended to the southern portion of the Heracleopolite nome on the west bank. The references to it in the present volume, especially **78**. 12–4, indicate that for some administrative purposes it was distinct from the rest of the Heracleopolite nome and almost treated as a nome itself, though owing to the absence of the Κωίτης from the two lists of nomes in Rev. Laws, it cannot have ranked officially as such. The name of the district Κωίτης suggests that there was a town called Κῶ or Κῶις which was its capital, and in fact the existence in this part of Egypt of a town called Κῶ or Κῶς is attested in the second century by Ptolemy, and in the fifth by Stephanus of Byzantium; cf. maps iv. and viii. of Parthey's *Zur Erdkunde des alten Aegyptens* (*Abh. d. k. Akad. in Berl.*, 1858). Both these authorities place Κῶ close to Cynopolis and on the west bank; Ptolemy's statement (*Geogr.* iv. 5) is εἶτα ὁμοίως νομὸς Κυνοπολίτης καὶ μητρόπολις ἀπὸ δυσμῶν τοῦ ποταμοῦ Κῶ . . . ᾗ ἀντίκειται ἐν τῇ νήσῳ (sc. the island which was formed by the division of the Nile and contained the Heracleopolite nome) Κυνῶν πόλις. Müller, however, suggests in his note *ad loc.* that Ptolemy has created two separate towns out of the two ancient names of the capital of the Cynopolite nome, *Pi-anup* ('city of Anubis,' i.e. Κυνῶν πόλις) and *Ka-sa* (Coptic Kais, the modern Kês near Benimazar). That Ptolemy's Κῶ, if it was the metropolis of the Cynopolite nome, is really Cynopolis under a different name is fairly certain; but in view of the new evidence for the existence of a toparchy called Κωίτης in the vicinity of the Cynopolite nome, it is possible that there was a town called Κῶ or Κῶς in the south-eastern part of the Heracleopolite nome, and this Κῶ may have been confused by Ptolemy with Kais-Cynopolis. Papyri, however, provide no evidence for the existence of Κῶ, and there are in any case no grounds for identifying it with Hibeh.

Two other towns mentioned by ancient geographers have a claim to be considered as perhaps identical with Hibeh, Ἀγκυρῶν πόλις and Ἱππώνων. Ἀγκυρῶν πόλις, which is referred to in **67**. 4, **112**. 74, and **117**. 15, as well as in two of the Roman papyri under the form Ἀγκυρώνων (cf. p. 8), is placed by Ptolemy about midway between Aphroditopolis and Cynopolis, while Hibeh is only about 12 miles north of the point half-way between Atfih and Kês (Cynopolis). Stephanus of Byzantium, on the other hand, places the town much further north in the same latitude as the Fayûm; but the quarries at Hibeh (cf. p. 1) would well accord with his explanation of the name Ἀγκυρῶν πόλις

(cf. Ptol. *Geogr.* iv. 5, ed. Müller) Ἀγκ. πόλ. ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν γ́ Αἰγυπτιακῶν· ὠνόμασται δὲ οὕτως ἐπειδὴ λιθίνας ἔτεμνον ἀγκύρας ἐκ τῆς παρακειμένης λατομίας. The position assigned by the *Itinerarium Antonini* to Hipponon, midway between Aphroditopolis and Speos Artemidos, corresponds very well with the relation of Hibeh to Atfih and Benihasan, and the identification of Hibeh with Hipponon (which has already been proposed, mainly on account of the similarity of the names) would suit the fact that Hipponon was a military post of some importance; cf. the *Notitia Dignitatum*, which shows that the *ala Apriana* was stationed there, and P. Amh. 142. 16, where l. τ]ῷ πραιποσίτῳ τ[ῶ]ν κάστρων Ἱππώνων. The chief objection to this identification is the silence with regard to Hipponon not only of Ptolemy, but of the Ptolemaic papyri in the present volume, although so many villages of the Κωίτης are mentioned. If the existence of Ἱππώνων as a place of some importance in the Ptolemaic period is ever proved by new evidence, the probability of the identification with Hibeh would be greatly increased; but in the meantime it must be regarded as very doubtful, and the grounds for identifying Hibeh with Ἀγκυρῶν πόλις are quite as strong. So far as can be judged from the Ptolemaic papyri in this volume, the most important village of the Κωίτης was Φεβῖχις, which seems to have been a kind of administrative centre; cf. **106**. 3 τὸ ἐμ Φεβίχι λογευτήριον τοῦ Κωίτου. But the fact that Φεβῖχις is so often mentioned in the Hibeh papyri may well be due to a mere accident; and in any case there is little justification for identifying it rather than any other village of the Κωίτης with Hibeh, especially as the principal deity of Φεβῖχις appears from **72**. 2 to have been Heracles, i. e. Hershef, the ram-headed god of Heracleopolis, while the principal deity worshipped at Hibeh in, at any rate, ancient Egyptian times was Ammon, as is shown both by the sculptures in the temple there and by the demotic papyri from Hibeh which Mr. Griffith is editing.

The papyri published in the present volume consist partly of Hibeh papyri bought by us in the Fayûm, partly of the papyri discovered in our first season's excavations in March–April, 1902. These came either from the central depression or from the rock-tombs in the ridge to the north of it (cf. pp. 3–5). The cartonnage found in the second season's excavations in January–February, 1903, which approximately equals in bulk that found in the preceding year, and was obtained either from other parts of the central depression or from the rock-tombs under the town wall, has not yet been examined. The present volume by no means exhausts the first season's results, though all the larger literary fragments and most of the better preserved documents have been included. There still remain numerous small literary fragments, some of which, if they can be fitted together, may turn out to be of value, and a

certain quantity of non-literary documents, the publication of which is postponed for various reasons. Another selection, together with the Ptolemaic papyri found in the second excavations and the Roman papyri, will form the subject of a future volume.

It was to be expected that cartonnage from an ordinary Graeco-Egyptian site in the Nile valley would prove to consist more largely of demotic papyri than cartonnage from the Fayûm, where the Greek element in the population was particularly strong. And though the papyri of the present volume show the presence of numerous Greek settlers in Middle Egypt outside the Fayûm, the proportion of Greek to demotic in the Hibeh cartonnage is distinctly smaller than in that discovered by Flinders Petrie at Gurob and Hawâra, and apparently smaller than in that found by Jouguet and Lefebvre at Magdola, though it is larger than in the cartonnage found by us at Tebtunis, the demotic papyri from which outnumber the Greek by two to one. In point of date the bulk of the Hibeh papyri cover the same period (from the middle of Philadelphus' reign to the end of that of Euergetes I) as the bulk of the Petrie papyri: but the Petrie papyri contain a certain admixture of documents belonging to the reigns of Philopator, Epiphanes and even Philometor, and the oldest document in that collection is dated in the 16th year of Philadelphus (P. Petrie I. 24 (2) = III. 52 (*b*)), whereas the latest certain date yet discovered in the Hibeh papyri is the 25th year of Euergetes I (**90**; **7**, **91**, and **117** for palaeographical reasons may perhaps belong to the reign of Philopator); and there are not only several documents dated in the earlier part of Philadelphus' reign (**30**, **97**, **99**, and **100**), but a unique specimen of a Greek document dated in the reign of Soter (**84** *a*).

To know which papyri belonged to which mummy is often a matter of importance in determining the place where they were written, the identity of individuals with the same names, and the range of undated pieces, since the papyri from a particular mummy tend to form a group written in the same district, often concerning the same persons, and as a rule not widely separated in date; and in the case of a number of mummies found together, parts of the same papyrus are sometimes obtained from more than one of them. We therefore append a classification of the papyri in the present volume arranged according to the mummies in the cartonnage of which they were found. The bought papyri, which all or nearly all came from a single tomb (cf. p. 5), are distinguished from the others by having A prefixed to their numbers, or, in the case of smaller fragments of cartonnage, by being called simply Mummy A. These numbers accompanying A refer not to the collective cartonnage of one mummy (as the numbers elsewhere of course do), since the different parts were not kept together

by the native finders, but to the separate pieces from which several documents have been extracted. It may therefore occasionally happen that though two 'A' papyri have different numbers, the same mummy was actually their source. Like the great majority of the papyri discovered in the excavations, the bought papyri were partly written in the Κωίτης τόπος of the Heracleopolite nome, partly in the Oxyrhynchite nome. From the presence of such a large quantity of literary fragments, it is clear that the papyrus used in making up the cartonnage of several of the mummies (unfortunately those which have suffered most at the hands of plunderers, both ancient and modern) was obtained from a library of classical literature. It is not unlikely that this had belonged to one of the Greek settlers at Oxyrhynchus, a town at which, as its papyri of the Roman period show, Greek literature was particularly widely studied. The mummies from the first season's excavations are distinguished by numbers only. Nos 62, 64–5, 67, 73–8, 101, 116, and 127 were found together, as were Nos. 79–100. Smaller groups of mummies from the same tomb are (*a*) Nos. 109–12 and 121; (*b*) Nos. 68–72; (*c*) Nos. 118–20. **23**, which was discovered in the debris outside the north wall, stands apart from the following list.

A. 2. **131.**
A. 4. **121, 134, 135.**
A. 5. **133.**
A. 6. **95.**
A. 7. **72.**
A. 8. **57.**
A. 9. **51-3, 56, 58-62, 93, 119, 124, 166-8,** and probably **37, 54-5, 125-7, 130.**
A. 10. **6.**
A. 11. **71.**
A. 13. **78.**
A. 14. **32.**
A. 15. **36, 75, 105-7, 136-44.**
A. 16. **45-50, 108.**
A. 17. **88, 96, 99, 128.**
A. 1-5, 7, 8, 10-2, 14-6, 18-22, 24-6, 33, 35, 38, 74, 76-7, 86, 91, 102, 112, 117-8, 120, 122-3, 129, 132, 145, 149, 171.**

No. 5. **31, 39, 84** (*a*)-(*b*), **97, 100-1, 147-8.**
No. 6. **30.**
No. 10. **66-70** (*b*), **90, 103-4, 160-5.**
No. 12. **116.**
No. 13. **40-4, 85, 150-1.**
No. 18. **9, 63, 65, 94, 110, 157-9.**
No. 25. **114.**
No. 46. **113.**
No. 63. **83.**
No. 68. **27** (part).
No. 69. **13** (part), **17, 27** (part), **34** (part), **73** (part), **111.**
No. 70. **13** (part), **34** (part), **73** (part).
No. 83. **89, 109.**
No. 84. **115.**
No. 87. **79.**
No. 97. **28-9, 64, 92, 146.**
No. 98. **81-2, 152.**
No. 117. **80, 98, 153-6.**
No. 126. **87.**

I. NEW CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS

1. Epicharmus, *Γνῶμαι.*

Mummy A. 16·9 × 14 *cm.* Circa B.C. 280–240, Plate I.

This is an introduction in trochaic tetrameters to a gnomic poem (l. 11), for which the authorship of Epicharmus is expressly claimed in l. 13. The Γνῶμαι of Epicharmus were popular at an early period, and quotations from these gnomic verses are found in Xenophon (*Mem.* ii. 1. 20) and Aristotle (*Rhet.* ii. 21. 1394 *b*, 13). But there were doubts even in ancient times regarding their authenticity, and according to Philochorus the collection was the work of a certain Axiopistus; cf. Apollodorus, *ap.* Athen. xiv. 648 *d* *Φιλόχορος δ' ἐν τοῖς Περὶ μαντικῆς Ἀξιόπιστον τὸν εἴτε Λοκρὸν γένος εἴτε Σικυώνιον τὸν Κανόνα καὶ τὰς Γνώμας πεποιηκέναι φησίν.* Following this criticism recent editors (Kaibel, *Com. Gr. Fr.* i. pp. 133 sqq., Diels, *Vorsokratiker*, pp. 91 sqq.) class this section of the fragments among the *ψευδεπιχάρμεια*, although it is acknowledged to include some genuine elements. What Axiopistus seems to have done is to have edited in the poet's name a number of floating extracts from the comedies of Epicharmus, with additions from other sources; and the contents of our papyrus may be recognized as part of his preface to the work. Diels supposes that Axiopistus lived in the fourth century, perhaps in the circle of Heraclides Ponticus; the papyrus (provided that Philochorus was correct, and that Axiopistus was the author) shows that he must have lived at least as early as B.C. 300, since its own date cannot be later than about B.C. 250, and should probably be placed earlier in the reign of Philadelphus. It is written in finely formed upright uncials, and shows to the best advantage a common literary hand of this period. The *τ* with its broad and carefully finished crossbar is a noticeable feature.

In this, as in the other new classical fragments, many of the restorations of lacunae and suggestions in the commentary are due to Professor Blass.

τειδ ενεστι πολλα και παν[τ]οια τοις χρησαιο κα
ποτι φιλον ποτ εχθρον εν δικαι λεγων ε̣ν αλιαι
ποτι πονηρον ποτι καλον τε καγαθον ποτι ξενον
ποτι δυσηριν ποτι παροινον ποτι βαναυσον ειτε τις
5 α̣λλ ε̣χ̣ει κακον τι και τουτοισι κεντρα τειδ ενο
ε̣ν̣ δ̣ε και γνωμαι σοφαι τειδε αισιν ε[ι] πειθοιτο τις
δ̣εξ̣ι̣ωτερος τε κ ειη βελτιων τ ες πα[ν]τ ανηρ
[κο]υ τ̣ι̣ πολλα δει λ̣ε̣γ[ε]ι̣ν̣ α̣λλ εμ μονον [τ]ο̣υτων επο̣ς
ποττο πραγμα ποτιφεροντα τ̣ωνδ̣ α̣ε̣[ι] το συμφερον
10 αιτιαν γαρ ηχ̣ον ως αλλως μεν ειη̣ν̣ [δ]ε̣ξ̣ιος
μακρολογος δ ου κα δυναιμαν εμ β̣[ρ]αχ̣ε̣ι γνωμ̣α̣[ς λεγ]ειν
ταυτα δ̣η γων εισακουσας συντ̣ι̣θ̣ημι ταν τεχναν
τανδ̣ ο̣[π]ως ειπηι τι Επιχαρμος σοφος τις εγενετο
[πολλ ος ει]π̣ αστεια και παντ̣ο̣ι̣α̣ κ̣α̣θ̣ ε̣ν̣ [επος] λ̣εγω̣ν̣ [
15 [πειραν] αυταυτου διδους ως και β̣[ραχ
[. . . . . . .]ε μαθων απας ανηρ φα̣ν[
[. . . . . .] . ησ̣ε̣ι ποτ ουδεν επος απ[
[. . . . .]ο̣ντα λυπησει τι τωνδ̣[
[. . . . .]τρ̣[. .]α δρωντα τοισδ[
20 [. . . . .]ο̣ρ̣η̣τε πολυμαθη[
[. . . . . . .]ων[. .]ρ̣τ̣[. .]ερω δ̣ε̣ και τ[
[. . . . .]ιτε του̣το̣ (ις) γα κακ̣α̣[. . .]χειν[
[αλλος α]λ̣λωι γαρ [γ]εγηθε κου τι ταυ[τ
[. . . . .]ε̣ παντα δει ταδ ως ε[
25 [. . . . . ε]πειτα δ εν καιρωι λε[γ
[. . . . .]ε̣ι̣μ̣α βραχυσοι̣[

. . . .

1–13. 'Here are phrases many and various for you to use on friend or foe, when speaking in court or in the assembly, on a rascal, on a gentleman, on a stranger, a bully, a drunkard, or a boor, or if any one has other bad qualities for these too here are goads; here also are wise maxims, obedience to which will make a man cleverer and better in all things. A man has no need for many words, but only just one of these verses, bringing

to bear upon the matter in hand that verse which meets the case. For the reproach was made against me that, though I was clever in other ways, I was prolix and could not utter maxims tersely; so on hearing that I composed this work of art in order that men may say "Epicharmus was a wise man who put many witty sayings of every kind into single verses, giving proof of his talent for terse . . ."'

4. ειτε: αιτε is the correct dialectical form.

5. ἐνό was a Doric and Aeolic form of ἔνεστι; cf. *Anecd. Ox.* i. 160. 26 ἐξὸ ῥῆμα παρὰ Δωριεῦσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔξεστιν, 176. 12 (ἐν) παρὰ τὴν Αἰολίδα καὶ Δωρίδα διάλεκτον ἐνὸ γίνεται, ὁπόταν καὶ ἀντὶ ῥήματος.

11. μακρολογος δ: sc. ὤν.

13. l. τις for τι. Cf. Epich. *Fr.* 254 (Kaibel) τῶν ἐμῶν μνάμα ποκ' ἐσσεῖται λόγων τούτων ἔτι.

20. There would be room for a quite narrow letter like ι between]ορ and η.

22. An alteration has been made in this line, possibly by a second hand; the letters γα are much smaller than usual and ις of τουτοις are added above them. There are also traces of ink below υτ which may represent part of the original writing, and perhaps all the letters between]ιτ and κακα[are in an erasure.

23. [γ]εγηθε: the dialect requires γεγαθε.

2. Epicharmus (?), Γνῶμαι.

Mummy A. Fr. (*a*) 9 × 9·2 *cm*. Circa B.C. 280–240.

Four fragments from a trochaic poem, apparently of a gnomic character, and quite possibly coming from a later part of the work of which 1 is the preface. The MS. however is certainly not the same; the calligraphic hand is similar in some respects to that of 1, but the letters are larger and more widely spaced, and in some cases the formation is different. In the second column of Fr. (*c*), where the beginnings of a few lines are preserved, the verses are divided off by paragraphi, indicating that they were μονόστιχοι, each complete in itself. The only alternative would be to suppose that those lines were part of a dialogue, which is here much less probable. A curious approximation occurs in l. 6 to a verse attributed to Epicharmus by Stobaeus (Kaibel, Fr. 258) ὁ τρόπος ἀνθρώποισι δαίμων ἀγαθός, οἷς δὲ καὶ κακός. The papyrus has ευτροπος ανθρωποισι δαιμων, apparently in the same position of the verse (cf. note *ad loc.*), but the letter following δαιμων is not α; probably, therefore, ευτροπος is not a mistake and the line ended quite differently. This verbal coincidence is therefore an insufficient argument for assigning the fragments to the Γνῶμαι of Epicharmus; it is moreover to be observed that they fail to show the Doric dialect appropriate to that work (cf. l. 5 αηδης, l. 8 εξηπατηκεν). The

objection, however, is inconclusive, for dialect is frequently obscured (cf. notes on l. 4 and 23); and, apart from Epicharmus, we are at a loss for an author of *γνῶμαι μονόστιχοι* in trochaic tetrameters. On the verso are the remains of a cursive document.

Fr. (*a*).

. . . . . .

. . . . . .]σ̣τ̣ι προς το̣[
. . . .]ω̣δυστει̣[. . .]ι̣[
. . . . .] ε̣στι χρηστ[.] . [. .]ευ̣[
] ε̣ν̣ι̣κ̣α̣λυπ̣τεται̣̣ το φαυλον [
5] εις το συντυχειν αηδης εστινο[
] ευ̣τροπος ανθρωποισι δαιμων π̣[
. . . .] . ο̣ι και ορθως βραβευσαι δ̣ιαν̣ε̣[
. . . .]νου̣ς̣ εξηπατηκεν αδικος ο̣ι̣[
. . . .] . . ε̣σις πονηρα περι πονηρω[ν
10 . . . .] . . [. .] . . [.]νι̣ς̣ ε̣τι ν[. . .]ι̣π̣ . [
. . . .] . π̣[ο]ν̣ηρ αυ̣δ̣[

. . . .

Fr. (*b*).

. . .

]υ̣λ̣α̣[
] . ε̣π̣ι̣[
] θ̣ε̣ραπ[
15]νο̣σ̣τε̣ν[
]ιδεσ̣ενπ̣[
] . ε̣ς̣ στι̣[

. .

Fr. (*c*). Col. i.

. . .

]ην
]ος
20]ν̣
]

. . .

Col. ii.

. . .

σπ[
ου[
φα[
σφ[
25 ε̣α̣[

. . .

Fr. (*d*).

. . . .

26] α̣υτωι π̣[
]οις φαυλ[
]π̣ι̣[

. . . .

4–6. The three initial epsilons are in a vertical straight line, and it therefore seems practically certain that they are the first letters of the verses; for although, so far as the metre goes, the first foot in each might be the third of the verse, it is most unlikely that the two preceding feet would have occupied exactly the same space in three consecutive lines. Of the first ε of ενικαλυπτεται only a small speck of the base remains, but this suits ε; the letter following appears to be ν, not π. The cyclic dactyl at the beginning of l. 6 is very unusual.

3. Sophocles, *Tyro* (?).

Mummy A. Fr. (*c*) 9·9 × 11·4 *cm.* Circa B.C. 280–240. Plate II (Frs. *b* and *f*).

A number of fragments containing tragic iambics, but in very bad condition. This is largely due to the fact that the breast-piece from which they are derived, instead of being left in a solid sheet, was, according to a not uncommon fashion, cut into an open-work pattern, causing large gaps, and rendering the remainder much more fragile than it would otherwise have been. The pattern has assisted us in assigning their position to a few of the pieces, but the others remain unplaced and the total result is disappointing. This is the more regrettable since it appears not improbable that, as Prof. Blass has suggested, the play in question is the *Tyro* of Sophocles. Tyro was the mother of twin sons, Pelias and Neleus, by Poseidon, and was persecuted by her step-mother Sidero, who was eventually killed by Pelias. In l. 39 of the new fragments there is a mention of the river Alpheus, which is in keeping with the fact that the adoptive country of Tyro's father, Salmoneus, was Elis. Indeed, Elis may well have been the scene of one of the two dramas written by Sophocles on the subject of Tyro. The extant fragments from the two plays amount only to twenty-seven lines, so that the absence of a verbal coincidence with our bare sixty is not at all remarkable. But allusions to the same circumstances are perhaps to be recognized. There is more than one reference in the papyrus to bad dreams, e.g. l. 37 [φο]βος τις αυτην δειμα τ εννυχομ πλαναι; cf. l. 9. It is remarkable that in the extant fragments similar references are found:—Fr. 580 προστῆναι μέσην τράπεζαν ἀμφὶ σῖτα καὶ καρχήσια, where the subject (according to Athenaeus) was τοὺς δράκοντας, and a dream is apparently meant; cf. Fr. 581 πόλλ' ἐν κακοῖσι θυμὸς εὐνηθεὶς ὁρᾷ, and Fr. 584 τίκτουσι γάρ τοι καὶ νόσους δυσθυμίαι. A still stronger argument for the identification proposed is supplied by ll. 52–3 . . . ας (?) αρωγον · πατερα λισσομα[ι μολειν? αν]ακτα ποντου μητρι. This prayer is entirely appropriate in the mouth of one of the sons of Tyro, and, if ανακτα is right, must be addressed to Poseidon. Moreover it is just possible, though very hazardous (see note *ad loc.*), to read the mutilated word before αρωγον as [Πελ]ιας, which would of course be decisive. But even if that supplement be not adopted, the case for the *Tyro* may be considered fairly strong. A consideration of the style and diction does not materially assist in forming a conclusion, but they are at least consistent with a Sophoclean authorship.

The text is written in a small and not very clear hand, the decipherment of which is rendered difficult by a coat of plaster and brown stains. A peculiar

feature is the occasional indentation of the lines, apparently to indicate alternations in the dialogue (cf. l. 23, note). This expedient is sometimes employed in papyri to distinguish quotations (e.g. P. Oxy. 200) or fresh sections (P. Oxy. 665), but we are not aware of another instance of its use for dramatic purposes.

Frs. (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*).

Col. i.

Fr. (*a*).
ισ]τ̣ο̣ρεις
]ε̣ χρωμ απαν
]
about 4 lines lost.

Fr. (*b*).
]ζ̣ωσαν[
δ]ε̣ιμα νυκτερος
10]μεν ουδ αν εις ελθοι πελας
] . υσ̣του δεμας
] . υ π̣ο̣τ̣μος
]

Fr. (*c*)
]π̣ων
15] παθος
]μ̣μενον
] π̣[ο]ρσυνω

. . . . .

Frs. (*a*) and (*c*).

Col. ii.

[14 letters]τ̣ου χαριν φοβουμ[ε]ν̣ . [
[. . . . .]λλοις ους εν̣[. .] τεταγμ[ε]ν̣α
20 α̣π̣οιν ε̣αμ μη βρα̣[. . . . .] . π̣ε̣ς̣ λ̣ογοις
οραις γ̣ αρα̣ ω̣ δεσπο[ινα . . . .] . ματα
στειχειν οτρυνε̣[15 letters]
. .]ρ̣ει θυρωνος ει[.]τ[17 "]
αμφοιν ακ̣ουσαι τα̣[. . . . .]ε̣ν̣ο̣[
25 την εντος οικων τ̣[.]σκ̣[. . . . .]
ευνους δε και τασδ εισοραις πεν̣[θητρι]ας

ορω τ[. . . . . .]δα . . . . μητε πηματι
μη[τ . . . .]υσουσαν αλγεινων πα[
[18 letters]ν αμ μονον λε[
30 [17 „]ν τε και κακοι[
καιν . [. . . . .] . ονως τοσον [
ει και θανειν χρη πρωτον εκπρα[ξ
[.] . αοιτ[. .]ντ αυτον ευ φερον[
[. . . . .]μεμ μη κενου χ[
. . . .

Fr. (*d*). Col. i.

. . . .
35 [. .]ρ . νδ[
[. .] . ως χαριζει της π[. . . . . .] . . [
[φο]βος τις αυτην δειμα τ εννυχομ πλαναι
[. . . . .] . υσ εν τωιδε κοινωνει ταδε
[. . . . . καλ]λιρουν επ Αλφειου πορον
40 [24 letters] . . γανος
. . . .

Col. ii.

. . . . .
λιαγ γαρ ησ . [
/ αλλ εκ κακων εν[
αλλ ω τεκνον [. .]μ . [
κουφως φερειν εγωιδ ετ[
45 [. . . . . .] . . . . . η δεσπο[
. . . . .

Fr. (*e*). . . . .
] . ικ[
] κακαι συ γνησι[
] αγαν οδυρμα[
]θων τρυχει τ[
50] . . οτ[. .] . . . [
. . . . . .

Fr. (*f*).

. . . .

[. . . . .] . . ωσιν αι μετοι[

[. . .] . ας αρωγον πατερα λισσομα[ι μολειν

[αν]ακτα ποντου μητρι της τειλ[

[. .] . υτα παιδας ειπερ [.]χ[

. . . .

Fr. (*g*).

. . . . . .

55 . [. . . . .]ανετος ουκ ενεσ[

τι δεσ[.]υνα . ετ ενδει σε κυρι . . [

ελικτο[.] . . [. . . . .] τρυχος [

νεα προσ . [

ετ . . . [

. . . .

1 sqq. The position of Frs. (*a*) and (*b*), which contain ll. 1–2 and 8–12, is suggested by the appearance of the papyrus, but is not at all secure. Fr. (*a*) also contains the first five letters of l. 20, which do not fit the context there particularly well; neither is it certain that l. 1 is the first of the column. In Fr. (*b*) (ll. 8–12) there is a junction of two sheets of papyrus. Hence, if this fragment is rightly placed here, the first column of Fr. (*d*) and Frs. (*f*) and (*g*), which show no similar junction, cannot be referred to the same column. A junction occurs in the second column of Fr. (*d*) just before it breaks off, but this comes earlier in the verse than is the case in ll. 8–12.

20. Cf. the previous note.

23. This line will be metrical if it is supposed to have projected slightly to the left, as is the case with ll. 26 and 41. The purpose was probably to indicate a change of speaker; cf. ll. 26–7, which are evidently a question and answer. The syllable ευ in l. 26 is indeed written rather below the level of the rest of the line, and may have been added later; but since the hand is identical, and other lengthened lines occur, it is unlikely that this is merely a case of accidental omission.

26. πεν[θητρι]ας (cf. Eurip. *Hippol.* 805) refers to the Chorus; the supplement is a trifle long for the space, but is just possible.

33. There is a gap in the papyrus before this line, which may therefore have had two or three more letters at the beginning than we have supposed; cf. l. 23, note.

44. The ι of εγωιδ is very doubtful: there may be nothing between the ω and δ. For κουφως φερειν cf. e. g. Eurip. *Med.* 1018 κούφως φέρειν χρὴ θνητὸν ὄντα συμφοράς.

48. Perhaps των or τοις αγαν οδυρματων or -σιν. This fragment probably gives the latter halves of the lines.

52. Apart from any context the traces on the papyrus before αρωγον would most suitably represent a rather wide ω. But ω is excessively awkward at this point, and we accordingly prefer the possible though not very satisfactory alternative ας, preceded by a letter which conceivably might be an ι, though if so the three letters were crowded together in an unusual manner. Blass's ingenious suggestion Πελ[ι]ας may, therefore, just be read, and it admirably fits both lacuna and context. The palaeographical difficulty, however, has made us hesitate to introduce it in the text.

54. The first word is probably a participle.

56. The first letter after the lacuna is really more like ω than υ, but if these verses are iambics the second foot of l. 56 must be a tribrach.

57. The ϵ at the beginning of the verse projects slightly beyond the lines above and below, and a narrow letter might be lost in a hole in the papyrus before ϵ. So perhaps this line should be classed with l. 23, &c. (cf. note *ad loc.*). [Π]ϵλιας does not seem a possible reading.

4. Euripides, *Oeneus* (?).

Mummy A. Fr. (*a*) 6 × 11·11 *cm.* Circa B.C. 300–280. Plate I (Frs. *a* and *c*).

The very archaic and delicate handwriting of these fragments of tragedy is obviously the same as that of the three small pieces previously published by us in P. Grenf. II. 1 (cf. the facsimiles), and there can be no doubt that they are all derived from a single MS.; cf. p. 5. Concerning the identity of the author there was previously no evidence, but a clue is now provided by the occurrence at l. 5 of the words αδ]ϵλφ[ω]ι Μϵλ[ϵ]αγρωι, which suggest that the drama may be the *Meleager* or the *Oeneus* of Euripides. The context makes the latter the more probable. The verses in Fr. (*a*), Col. i. (ll. 1–9; cf. Blass's reconstruction in the note *ad loc.*) would suitably form part of a speech by Diomedes, who after the successful expedition of the Epigoni against Thebes went to Aetolia to avenge Oeneus, his grandfather. Oeneus was the king of Calydon, and had been dispossessed by his nephews, the sons of Agrius; Diomedes killed the usurpers and restored Oeneus (cf. the ὑπόθϵσις in Schol. *ad* Aristoph. *Acharn.* 418). Meleager, the uncle of Diomedes, is assumed by the speaker in ll. 5 sqq. to be dead, but his grave is to be honoured by some of the spoils from Thebes. A certain similarity in sense may further be detected, as Blass suggests, between ll. 22 sqq. and *Oeneus* Fr. 569 (Nauck), quoted in the note *ad loc.* The suggestion of O. Rossbach (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1899, p. 1630) that the fragments published in 1897 came from the *Chryses* of Sophocles is not to be reconciled with the new evidence.

This papyrus along with 6 and 9, the Petrie fragment of the *Adventures of Heracles* (P. Petrie II. 49 (*f*); cf. I. p. 65), and the Timotheus papyrus are the oldest specimens of Greek literary writing that have been recovered. There seem to be no sufficient grounds for assigning the Timotheus to an appreciably more remote period than the rest. The archaeological evidence is inconclusive, and if the archaic appearance of the letters is more striking than in other cases, that is to no small extent due to their size and comparative coarseness. The argument from single characters is no doubt precarious; but the forms of Ξ

in 4 and Ω in 6 and 9 are more distinctly epigraphic than in the Timotheus papyrus. We should therefore include it in the group named, and refer all five papyri approximately to the reign of Soter (B. C. 305–284). The other literary pieces in this volume most probably belong, like the dated documents found with them, to the reign of Philadelphus (B. C. 284–246), or to the earlier years of the reign of Euergetes I (B. C. 246–221), mainly to the former.

For convenience of reference we add a revised text of the fragments published in 1897.

Fr. (*a*).

Col. i.

σι]δηρον μ . [. . . . .]τες φονωι
]ν ανεξον[. . . . .] . [. .]ει
]ς γαρ των ε[μ]ων λογων εχεις
]ει πραξιν [ο]ρμησω ποδι
5 αδ]ελφ[ω]ι Μελ[ε]αγρωι δ[ωρ]ηματα
]αι και αποπληρωθηι ταφος
]νων τωγ κεκαλλιστευμ[ενω]ν
]ειναις ανδρασιν [
]τ[

. . . . . .

Col. ii.

10 τι ποτ αρ ακουσαι προ[
ως εκπεπλη[γμ
ειεν τιν[
οσον ταχος κ[
φε[. .]νε[
15 ⸗[
τινα . [

. . . . . .

Fr. (*b*).

. . . . . .

αθωιος ων . [. . . . .]π[
ου μανθανω σου τ[ο]ν λογο[ν
αλλ ως συνησεις ραιδιως εγω φ[ρασω
20 επει γαρ ηλ[. . .] . . [. . . . . . .]φ[
ευχηι προχ[

Fr. (*c*).

δυ]σπραξιας
]ν τλημονων βροτω[ν
]ν τεθνηκο[τ]α
25]ων ζωντων φιλων
ε]υνους εμοι
] μ[ο]ι πληρης δε οταν

Fr. (*d*).

[ο]πως [γ]ενητ[αι
τυχηι δ αγων[
ωσπερ τυρ[α]νν[
35 χορου μ[ια
οσον ταραγμ[ο]ν [
ψυχαισιν εμ[

]μονης
] κακοις
30 φα]ος βλεπει
]ος
. . . . .

εγω γαν[. . .]ο . [
στ . . γε . [
40 τις εστι θ[
[ο]χλει . [
[. .]οσθυ[
. . . . . .

Fr. (*e*).

. . .
]ια[.]απ . [
]ες·
45]εται χρονοις
]ς γεγως
γ
τ]υχανει
]ταισινου[
. . .

Fr. (*f*).

. . . . .
]ιν[.] . [
50]ησση . [
β]ουλομ[
] . [.] υ[
. . .

Fr. (*g*)=P. Grenf. II. 1 (*a*). 1.

. . . . .
]αγοντα γαρ [
]γλ[.] . ιν σε μαντε[
55 α]νδρες ω φρενοβλαβεις
φθ]ειρουσιν ως κακομ με[γα
] εμπολωσιν ηδονης
]ι προς σε δεξιας χερος
] . [. . . . . . .] . [
. . . .

Fr. (*h*)=P. Grenf. II. 1 (*a*). 2.

60]μετλημ[
]ημελ[
]γα[
. . .

Fr. (*i*)=P. Grenf. II. 1 (*b*).

Col. i.

. . .
]σε . . . .
]ι κλυων
65 με]γα σθενει
]λε

Col. ii.

. . .
κα[

]ε̣ . . . ν̣ . [
]λεται 75 τ̣ι̣[
] . . [
70 ανα]κτορον ε . [
]ομην τ̣ι̣ν̣[
] . μ̣ . [. . .
. . . .

1–2. The reference is probably to the capture of Thebes.

3–8. Blass proposes the following restoration of these lines:

[νῦν οὖν, τέλο]ς γὰρ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ἔχεις,
[ἐφ' ἣν προσήκ]ει πρᾶξιν ὁρμήσω ποδί,
[ὡς πατραδ]έλφῳ Μελεάγρῳ δ[ωρ]ήματα
[φθιτῷ προθῶμ]αι, κἀποπληρωθῇ τάφος
[πάντων ἐκεί]νων τῶν κεκαλλιστευμένων
[ἃ τοῖσι κλ]εινοῖς ἀνδράσιν [νεῖμαι πρέπει.

For δ[ωρ]ήματα cf. *Orest.* 123 νερτέρων δωρήματα, and for κεκαλλιστευμένων in the middle voice see *Med.* 947 δῶρ' ἃ καλλιστεύεται τῶν νῦν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν. ἀδελφοῦ Μελεάγρου occurs in the same position of the verse in *Suppl.* 904.

10. Perhaps προ[σδεχώμεθ', with ἐκπεπλή[γμεθ' in the next line.

15. The marks in the margin, two horizontal strokes and a comma-shaped sign below, perhaps indicate the close of a scene; cf. l. 35.

16. This line is on a small detached strip; its position here is only suggested by the appearance of the papyrus and is not at all certain.

21. This line was the last of the column.

22 sqq. The speaker is probably Oeneus and the sense of the passage seems to have been similar to that in *Oeneus* Fr. 569 (Nauck):

ΔΙ. σὺ δ' ὧδ' ἐρῆμος ξυμμάχων ἀπόλλυσαι;
ΟΙ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκέτ' εἰσίν, οἱ δ' ὄντες κακοί.

l. 22 is perhaps the first of a column; ll. 1, 10, 32, and 60 certainly are so.

35. The letters of this heading, no doubt a stage-direction, are rather spaced out. If μ[ια is right the play had a female Chorus.

5. PHILEMON (?). BM 1823

Mummy A. Fr. (*a*) 10·4 × 24·5 *cm*. Circa B.C. 280–240. PLATE III (Fr. *a*, Cols. ii–iii).

It has been the subject of much speculation upon what Greek original the *Aulularia* of Plautus was based. Plays of Poseidippus and, of course, Menander have been suggested, but with little plausibility, and the general verdict has been that of not proven. Happily a small portion of the original comedy now appears to have come to light in the fragments below, which belong to the same

MS. as P. Grenf. II. 8 (*b*), and the author of which Blass has identified with great probability as Philemon. This identification rests upon the occurrence at l. 28 of the name Κροίσωι in the same position of the verse as in a quotation from Philemon in Eustath. *ad Hom.* p. 1701. 6 τὰ Ταντάλου τάλαντα, ἐπεὶ πλούσιός ποτε ἦν, ὡς δηλοῖ, φασί, Φιλήμων εἰπών· Κροίσῳ λαλῶ σοι καὶ Μίδᾳ καὶ Ταντάλῳ (Kock, Fr. 189). This argument is really stronger than it may seem at first sight to be: for there is apparently no other reference to Croesus in the extant remains of Attic comedy. Moreover the line fits in well with the supposed situation, the key to which is provided by the name Strobilus in ll. 20–1. In the *Aulularia* Strobilus is the slave who discovers and carries off the treasure concealed by the old miser Euclio, and so brings about the desired union of his master Lyconides with Euclio's daughter. We suppose that the discovery has just preceded the scene disclosed in ll. 13 sqq. of the papyrus. The slave Strobilus (l. 21 παι . . . Στ⟨ρ⟩οβιλε) is almost beside himself with delight (ll. 15–19, 22), and is anxious to get away with the utmost speed (ll. 13–14); while the interlocutor, who arrives on the scene and is presumably his master, is astonished at Strobilus' behaviour (l. 15), and thinks that he must have gone mad (l. 21 παι δυστυχες). This interpretation is strengthened by some other coincidences. An echo of the line Κροίσῳ λαλῶ σοι κ.τ.λ. may be recognized, as Blass points out, in *Aul.* 702–4 *istos reges ceteros Memorare nolo, hominum mendicabula. Ego sum ille rex Philippus.* L. 58 εφυς πα[τηρ (?) suggests *Aul.* 781 *filiam ex te tu habes.* Further, the fragments published in our *Greek Papyri* II. 8 (*b*), of which we append a revised text, undoubtedly belong to the same MS., and there too, in spite of much obscurity, are phrases which harmonize with the plot of the *Aulularia.* The anxiety of Lyconides to marry Euclio's daughter is aptly expressed in l. 77 ει δυνατον εστι της κορης αυτωι τυχειν, and τεκειν two lines above is quite in keeping with the situation in the Plautine play (cf. *Aul.* 691 sqq., &c.). Lines 79–80 ευρον οικιαν αδυνατον ην (to enter?) may well refer to the house of the miser Euclio, which he kept carefully shut up; cf. *Aul.* 98–9 *Profecto in aedis meas me absente neminem Volo intromitti,* and 274 *aedis occlude.* The mention of a nomarch (l. 81), who was an Egyptian but not an Athenian official, suggests that the scene was laid at Alexandria, where Philemon is thought to have spent some time on the invitation of Ptolemy Soter; cf. Alciphr. *Epist.* ii. 3–4. If so, Plautus did not here follow his original, for the scene of the *Aulularia* is certainly Athens; cf. l. 810.

The text is written in a good-sized cursive hand which is not easy to read where the letters are incomplete; it may date from the reign of either Philadelphus or Euergetes. Alternations of the dialogue are marked by paragraphi, and where a line is divided between two speakers the point of division is marked

by a short blank space. On the verso of Fr. (*a*) are three lines in a different hand giving explanation of words:

οζος Αρηος [.] . . [. . .] . σ . . [
λαμπρος τα πολεμ[ι]κ[α πε
ζευει βαινει.

At some distance to the right of this are the beginnings of lines of another column in the same hand, and perhaps of the same character.

Fr. (*a*). Col. i.

]τεσ . . . . εδ .
]δωσω . . . . . .
] . υμιν . . . . ει
] . τι ταχα
5]ς καλα
]λεναι τινα
]
] την οδον
]μαι χαιρειν βοαν
10] μοι ποιει
]τυχηματων
]πο[.]υ . . ς
]

. . .

Col. ii.

νο[μι]ζε αλι . . . . . . τρεχειν Ολυμπια
εαν διαφυγ[η]ς ευτυχης ανθρωπος ει
15 ω Ηρακλεις τι ποτ ε[σ]τι το γεγενημενον
νυν οιδ ακριβως διοτι της οικουμενης
ιερα σαφως αυτη στιν η χωρα μονη
κανθαδε κατ[ο]ικησασι παντες οι θεοι
και νυν ετ εισι και γεγονασιν ενθαδε
20 Στροβιλε Απολλον και θεοι του πνευματος
παι δυστυχες Στοβιλε τις κεκ[λη]κε μ[ε
εγω συ δ ει τι ω κρατιστε των θ[εω]ν
ως εις καλ[ον] σ εορα[κ]α τις [.] . . [. . . . . . .
σωσ[. . . . .] . ε . [
25 μ[
ουδ[
μ[

. . . .

Col. iii.

Κροισ[ωι λαλω σοι και Μιδαι και Ταντα λωι
οζε[
30 αυτ[
τοτ[
τ . [
. [
περαιν[ε

35 εμοι δ[
. [

. . . .

Fr. (*b*). Col. i.

. . .
] . . . ου
. . .

.

Col. ii.

. . . .
[. .] . μωνο[
. . . [.]μαχα[
40 ω φιλτα[τ
ποεις δικ . . [
ουθεν τοιου[τ
. . υν δε τις μ[
[κ]αυτος . . βε . [
45 [. .]δ ε[σ]τιν . . ε . [

Fr. (*c*). Col. i.

. . . . .
] . . πισα
ε]στι μοι
]ος καγω τι σοι
] . ωνα προς [θ]εων
50]μμεν ανθρωπων απα .
] . φ[.]σ . . . εν . [. . . . .
] τροφιμων [. . . . .
] . αν . [.]ων
. . . . .

Col. ii.

. . . .
[. .] . [.] . . [
55 εγω γαρ [
απο[
συν . [
εφυς πα[
. . . [
. . .

Fr. (*d*).

. . .
60]τω[
] . πορ[
]λειστ[
]ασασα[
]ισεμ[
65 γ]υμνον

Fr. (*e*).

. . .
66]ωνα . [
]ωναελ[
]ι τις ημων δ[
]ον ημας πλα . [
. . .

Fr. (*f*).

. . . .
70] . α . [
]ατω[
]ν παν[. .]δ[
επι]τεθυμηκεν εω[
] . [. . .]ονε . [
. . . .

Fr. (*g*) = P. Grenf. II. 8 (*b*).

Col. i.

75 [.]λατης με . . [.] παντα μετε . . . . . τεκειν
σκοπειν προσιεναι πασι πε . λη . . . . . ε . .
ει δυνατον εστι της κορης αυτωι τυχειν .
οτι της ανοιας μεστος ην τη . . . . . ν
εποιησα α μοι προσεταττεν ευρον οικιαν
80 αδυνατον ην . . . . [. . .
αυτην νομαρχ[
εν ζηλοτυπι[αι
τρ . [
. . . .

Col. ii.

απαν[
85 αυτ[
προστ [
. α . . [
. . . . .

Fr. (*h*) = P. Grenf. II. 8 (*b*).

ε]υθυς συλλαβης μιας τι πυρ
] . ονοματι τουτο πυρ ακηκοα
90]πε νικαις αγαθος ει[ς] την Ελλαδα
ε]υλογησαι πα . . αυσεδεν . . [
] . ς μικρους φο . . ρ εφοδι[
]ναλλεδ . αου . ποτεν[
. . . .

13–23. '*Strobilus*. Imagine that you are running . . . at Olympia! If you make your escape you are a lucky fellow! *Lyconides*. O Heracles, what ever can have happened? *Strob*. Now I know certainly that of all the world this spot alone is clearly sacred, and here all the gods have made their home and still are, and here have they been born. *Lyc*. Strobilus! *Strob*. Apollo and the gods, what breath! *Lyc*. You miserable slave, Strobilus! *Strob*. Who called me? *Lyc*. I. *Strob*. And who are you, most mighty of the Gods? *Lyc*. How fortunately I have seen you.'

13–4. αλι . . . suggests αλ(ε)ιπτον, which is palaeographically possible, but would occupy all the space before τρεχειν and so leave a syllable missing. Perhaps ⟨δη⟩ has dropped out; but with the reading so uncertain this can hardly be considered a satisfactory hypothesis. Strobilus is apostrophizing himself.

18. κατοικησασι without τοις is unsatisfactory. l. κατωικηκασι.

20. πνευματος may refer either to the loudness of Lyconides' shout, or, as Dr. Mahaffy suggests, to the supposed effluence of an approaching god; cf. e.g. Eur. *Hippol*. 1392 ὦ θεῖον ὀδμῆς πνεῦμα.

21. l. Στροβιλε.

22. των θ[εω]ν: Strobilus keeps up the idea of ll. 16 sqq., and affects to think that his master is a divine apparition.

23. The restoration is due to Prof. Leo,—who does not accept the attribution of these fragments to Philemon or their supposed connexion with the *Aulularia*.

50. The second α of απα is below the ε of εφυς in l. 58; and it is doubtful to which column the letter belongs. There would be room for a very small ο between the π and α, so that the line might be made to end with απο. But since the π is of the usual size, it is more probable that the α belongs to απ (e.g. απαν or απαξ), and that the corresponding line in the next column was begun further to the right.

59. The doubtful α at the end of l. 55 may belong to this line; cf. the previous note.

65. This was the last line of a column.

68–9. There are about $1\frac{1}{2}$ cm. of papyrus to the left of]ι τις and]ον, but the surface, though stained, appears to have been never written upon. Probably, therefore, it was covered by another sheet which was joined on at this point.

75 sqq. The identity of the speakers here is not very clear. Strobilus is probably one of them, and προσεταττεν in l. 79 indicates that the speaker there at least is a slave; but ll. 75–8 would also be appropriate to Strobilus. With σκοπειν cf. *Aul.* 605 *Is speculatum huc misit me.* The first two letters of l. 75 are very doubtful; [κ]ακ or [τ]αις της is not impossible. In l. 76 the word after πασι (?) may perhaps be πεπληρωται.

78. The ν appears to be the end of the line, but this is hardly certain.

79. ο of μοι has been rewritten.

88–9. There are short spaces between μιας, τι, and πυρ in l. 88 and ονοματι, τουτο, πυρ, and ακηκοα in l. 89, like those which in ll. 20–3 indicate a change of speaker.

90. There is a hole in the papyrus as well as a space between ει and την, so ει[ς] may well be read; but cf. the previous note.

93. The first α has been corrected from ε or vice versa. The reading Ελλαδ[.] given in P. Grenf. is unsatisfactory, the letter before δ being more like ε than α.

6. Comedy.

Mummy A. 10. Height 12·7 *cm.* Circa B.C. 300–280. Plate IV (Fr. *a*, Cols. i–iii).

The style of these mutilated remains of a comedy suggests Menander or some contemporary dramatist, but in spite of their considerable extent both author and play remain unidentified. Apparently no coincidence with extant fragments occurs, and other clues are not forthcoming. The proper names Νουμήνιος (l. 7) and Σώστρατος (?, l. 122) give no assistance; Δημέας (l. 40) was one of the characters of Menander's Δὶς ἐξαπατῶν (Kock, Fr. 123), but that play is supposed to have been the original of Plautus' *Bacchides* (Ritschl, *Parerg.* 405), with which, so far as can be seen, these fragments have nothing in common. A more positive idea of the plot is however difficult to obtain. Apart from the characters mentioned above there are a master and a slave (ll. 5–8), the former of whom seems to take part in the dialogue throughout Fr. (*a*), Cols. ii–iii; he had a wife (l. 32), and was about to dispatch some friends on a journey, for

which preparations were to be made (ll. 33 sqq.). A child and an old woman, perhaps a nurse, figure rather prominently (ll. 20, 43, 46, 52, 59).

The principal fragment, (*a*), contains parts of four consecutive columns, but the first of these contains mere vestiges and of the last only the beginnings of the lines are preserved. There is no indication of the relation of this piece to Fr. (*b*), comprising two very imperfect columns; and a large number of smaller pieces have resisted repeated attempts at combination. The text is written in short columns in a medium-sized, rather heavy uncial hand of a most archaic type. The regular capital shape of Ω and the square E are especially noticeable; and though these forms are here accompanied by a round sigma this papyrus must claim to be ranked among the earliest specimens of the Greek literary script; cf. introd. to **4**. Alternations of the dialogue are marked by paragraphi, and double dots are also inserted when a line is divided between two speakers. One or two corrections have been made by the original scribe.

Fr. (*a*).

Col. i. Col. ii.

ο
τι γαρ πλεον τọ[δ ε]ψοφηκεν η θυρα
5 εξερχεται τις την [σ]πυριδα ταυτην εν [ηι]
ενταυθα τους αρτους εκομισας αποφερε
[αποδ]ọς τε τωι χρησαντι τωι Νουμηνιω[ι]
[. . . .] δε τα . . ωι δευρ αναστρεψας παλιν
[. . . .] τι λεγετε : τι δ αν εχοιμεν αλλο πλην
10 [. . . . .]επ . . [.]μεν αποτρεχειν ταυτας με δει
[. . . .]ατα . [. . . . . .]μωμ μεν ουθεγ κωλυει
ου το[ι] δ ετ ο[ι]δα πω[ς] δυνησετ απιεναι
πως [. . .] . α[π]ηλθεν : η[. . . .]ς επισχετε
ω ταν [. .] . [. . .] . νω λα . ειν [τα]υτην εγω
15 πρωτ[ον . . . .] εκ πολεμιωμ φευγετε
]ρ το δη[. . . . .]α : ταυτα πρατθ ατ . δε[.] .
] ουκ ε[στι . . . . . .]λως : ειτα πως αυ[.] . . . [.]αι
3]αι τυχο[ν . . . .]ς δ ουτι ληψομ αν . [. .]μι
[15 letters]ο δ[ε]υρ αυτην α[. . .]
20 [14 "] . [.] γραυν : την τημερον

[14 „] . σμε . [. .]κι[.] ημεραν
. . [11 „] . ιπα . ς εποι[ο]υμεν αν
. ο[12 „] . ν . . α της τημερον

Col. iii.

εις αυριον δ ηδη πολεμιος γινομαι

25 [γ]ενοιτο δ ειρη^νη^ ποτ ω Ζευ δεσποτα
[δι]αλυσις . [. .] . [. . .] . [. . . .]ε πραγματων
η γαρ : νομιζεις [. . . .]λισ[. . . .]υλαι
πρεσβεις [. . .]σα[. .]λου[. . . . . .] πεμπομεν
τα τριμε . [.] . . . . ησε . . . [. . . . .]
30 το χρυσιον δε [λ]αμβανε : ου τ . [. . . . . . .]
εμοι γε : αριθησον εν τοσουτ[ωι δ εισ]ιων
προς την γυναικα βουλομ ειπαι [τ]ην εμην
εις την οδον γ ετ αυτα ταναγκαι οπως
υμιμ παρ[οντ]ων ενδοθεν συνσκ[ε]υασηι
35 εχομεν απαντα : Απολλον ως αγροικος ει
συσκευα[σ]ατω περαινε πανομαι λεγων
νη την Αθην[η]γ και θεους αγωνιω
ουκ οι[δ ο]πως [νυ]ν αυτος επι τωι πραγματι
Ελλη[ν . .]βε . [. .] φαινεται τις τους τροπους
40 ο Δημεα[ς α]ν[θρω]πος αλλα τηι τυχηι
ουθεν δια[φερειν] φαινε[θ] ομ π[ο]ει κακως
γυναι τι βουλ[ει . . .]εμβ[. . . . .]ητα γε
νυμ πρωτο[ν . . . . . .]οικ[. . . . . π]αιδιον
κλαεις περ[. .]λ[.]υσ[.]τ[. . . . . . π]ροιεσαι
45 εξω φερετ[ε] αυτο δευ[ρο μοι πι] τας θυρας
τον ημετε[ρομ] μεμ πα . [. . . . . . .]ου γραυς εχει

Col. iv.

κακ[
μη τα . [
ιδου σκο[.] . [
50 χρηστων υ[

επειτα τημ μεν [
η γραυς δ εκομι[ζε
60 και προς σεαυτ[
εγω φρασω σοι . [

τις ληψεθ [. . .]ω[	σ[ω]τηριαν [
το παιδ[ιον δ]η : [	. [.] . ι μη τι . [
εμομ . . [	ωμοι ο[.]ε. [
ουκ οιδ . [. . .]ρ[	65 η[
55 τι χρη ποειν α . [	τ[
αυτος δ υπ ουθε[νος	η[
λαβηις προελθω[ν	τ[

Fr. (*b*).

Col. i.	Col. ii.
]μβολας	ημω[ν . .] . . [.]ο[
70]δια	ω Ηρ[ακλε]ις ω Ζ[ευ
]ν	ο τοτ[ε α]μφιμ[
] . ομεν	85 ελεγο[μ] παλα[ι
]ει	και της [δ]ικης τ . [
] .	αυτος γαρ ημιν . εν . [
75]ετω	εδικαζ[ε] τ αν με ονητ[
] . εκα	τουτ εσ[τι . . . .]ωι παλ[
]	90 . . . εσμ[. . . .]ιλωντα[
]ι τι συ	τουτ εσ[τι .]ιβ ηττον [
]κε με[.]	δακνοντ[. . .] . . κα . [
80]	και τα . [. . . . .]ελοντα[
]ον	ουτος σα[.]ωσε . [
. . . .	95 επι στρατοπε[δ . .]π[
	συναρπ[α]σομ[ε . .] . ο . [
	τι λεγ[ον]τες ου[. . .]π[
	ουχ ομ[ολ]ογη[σ
	το π[ραγ]μα τ[
	100 ουκ[. .] . . ο . [
	ω Η[ρακ]λεις . [
	. . ι . ατα[

Fr. (*c*).	Fr. (*d*).
. . .	. . . .
]ν	106 .] . φ . . [
]νη	]ωτελ[

105] .
. . .

] συγκλη[
] . νε[
. . .

Fr. (*e*).

110 ε]πειδη δι[
]τεσκρι[
]οισ[
[ ]
[ ]
115] . . [
]λλ[
]ο[.] . [
] . . ν[. . . .] . ε . [
] . . [
. . . .

Fr. (*f*).

120]ς ηξει τ[
]ις φιλοις [
Σ]ωστρατω[ι
]δ η γυν[η
] οικιας [
125]το γε π[
]της λ[
]τησδε[
[ ]
]με . ω . [
130] . . ν[
. . .

Fr. (*g*).

. . .
α]μαρτιω[ν
]ν αμαρτ[ι
] εστι μηχ[ανη
]θων ολ[β]ια
135]ληγμενος παλ[
] . ον τεκνον
] . συμφοραν
] . υ[
. . . .

Fr. (*h*).

. . . .
]τ . ωσ[
140]ανει[
α]μαρτησω[
] : φανε[ρ]ο[
]φανη τυ . [
]τα παν το πραγμα [
145]ιγ γαρ ηλθε την ταυ[τ
] . . ιν αποτυχ[
] . [
. . . . .

Fr. (*i*).

. . . . . .
] . ιμιο[. . .] . . . α[
]νηις της σ . . . . .
150] . εσ . . πραγμα ποιησ[
] δε βουλομαι κα[

Fr. (*k*).

. . . .
] . [
]αντι . [
]εν ριψον αυταις [
] μη ταραξηις οι[κιαν
160]ον[. . . . . .] . α[

Fr. (*l*). . . .

] της παροι[
]υκα γαρ τ[
]νδη[
155]γυ[
. . .

]ηκω[
] . ς εγω [
]εμφα[
] πολλοι[

Fr. (*m*). . . .
165]ε . [
]ησυ . [
]ασσυσ[
. . .

Fr. (*n*). . . .
]τη[
]σουπ[
170]κυσο . [
. .

Fr. (*o*). . . .
171]ε . τ . [
]ε[. .] . [
] . [
. . .

Fr. (*p*). . . .
] . [
175]αλε[
]οιμ[
]ιας δ[
] . ω [
]τεμο[
180 τ]εκν[ο
. . .

Fr. (*q*). . . . .
]τ[
]την . [
]αυτην [
] . κτιστ[
185] . . α[
. . . .

Fr. (*r*). . . .
186] . νο[
] . ιτ[
. . .

Fr. (*s*). . . .
]πο[
. . .

Fr. (*t*). . .
]υ[
. .

1–3. The ends of these lines and the beginnings of ll. 12–23 are contained on a separate fragment, which is only conjecturally placed in this position.

4. Cf. the line quoted by Suidas and Schol. ad Aristoph. *Nub.* 132 to illustrate the distinction between κόπτειν, applied to a person entering a house, and ψοφεῖν to a person coming out (Menander, Fr. 861, Kock) ἀλλ' ἐψόφηκεν ἡ θύρα· τίς οὐξιών (so Cobet; ἐψόφει καί τις τὴν θύραν ἐξιών, Suid.; ἐψόφηκε τὴν θύραν ἐξιών, Schol.). The papyrus supports Cobet's emendation of the verse as against Kuster's ἀλλ' ἐψόφηκε τὴν θύραν τις ἐξιών. Cf. also Plautus, *Bacch.* 234 *Sed foris concrepuit nostra: quinam exit foras*, which exactly corresponds to Cobet's version and would almost justify its attribution to the Δὶς ἐξαπατῶν, the supposed original of the *Bacchides*.

The ο which is written rather large and some little way above this line is possibly a numeral referring to the number of the column. The margin above the other columns is imperfectly preserved.

8. τα . . ωι: perhaps another proper name, e. g. Ταυρωι; but the letters between α and ω are so blurred and rubbed that they can no longer be identified.

9. [. . . .] τι λεγετε is apparently addressed to the new arrivals referred to in ll. 4–5; ? [εμοι] τι.

12–23. Cf. note on ll. 1–3.

12. ο[ι]δα πω[ς]: the supposed π may be μ, but there is not room for ο[υ]δαμως.

14. Either λαθειν or λαβειν might be read.

15. Blass suggests μεν ωσπερ for the lacuna.

16. If πρατθ is right α is very likely the relative ἅ. γ might be read in place of τ, but the θ seems certain. The letter following α must apparently be τ, υ, or ψ, and the doubtful δ is possibly λ.

17. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish α from δ in this MS., but even if δυ were read after πως the other vestiges do not suit δυνησομαι.

27. The lower of the two dots after γαρ though very indistinct is fairly secure. There is no example in the papyrus of the use of a single point.

31. l. αριθμησον. Possibly the missing μ was inserted above the line (cf. l. 25); the papyrus is much rubbed at this point, and if a correction had been made it would hardly be visible.

33. γ(ε): or perhaps τ(ε), the sentence being interrupted by l. 35.

34. παρ[οντ]ων, 'from her stores'; cf. the Homeric phrase χαριζομένη παρεόντων.

39. ρα might be read in place of βε, but βα seems impossible, otherwise [βε]βαι[ως], as Blass suggests, would be attractive. For Ελλη[ν cf. P. Oxy. 211. 33 (Menander, Περικειρομένη) τεκμήριον τοῦτ' ἔστιν Ἕλληνος τρόπου.

44–6. A small fragment, which we have after some hesitation assigned to the bottom of this column, is not shown in the facsimile. Both the contents of the fragment and the appearance of the papyrus suit this position, though the broken edges do not join particularly well.

51. There may be nothing between τι and λ, but there is a space sufficient for a narrow letter, and also a faint trace of ink which is consistent with ς.

89–90. A paragraphus may be lost between these two lines.

7. ANTHOLOGY.

Mummy A. Fr. (*b*) 15·6 × 19·2 *cm*. Circa B.C. 250–210. PLATE VII (Frs. *b* and *i*).

The verso of the papyrus containing the speech of Lysias against Theozotides (14) was used for writing a series of extracts from different authors, such as are not uncommonly found in papyri of the Ptolemaic period, e.g. P. Petrie I. 3 (1), P. Tebt. 1 and 2. Among them are (ll. 10–22) a passage of thirteen iambic lines from the *Electra* of Euripides, and (ll. 91–4) an extract of four iambic lines, including the well-known verse, 'Evil communications corrupt good manners,' quoted by St. Paul. These are also probably Euripidean; but the other pieces cited are

not iambics, and seem to be chiefly of a lyrical character, if we may judge by the occurrence of such collocations as βρομιωι κομποις (l. 8), οχετων ουταζει (l. 47). They are however very badly preserved and in places seem to be corrupt, so that they remain quite unintelligible.

Two hands are found, the first being more cursive than the second, and approximating more towards the late third and early second century B.C. scripts than is the case with any of the other literary fragments in this volume. The anthology is therefore not likely to have been written as early as the reign of Philadelphus; but, especially since the Lysias text has no appearance of being later than the other classical fragments from Mummy A (cf. p. 22), which belong to the middle or early part of the third century B.C., there is no reason for assigning **7** to a later date than Philopator's reign; and in view of the fact that the 25th year of Euergetes (**90**) is the latest certain date in the Hibeh papyri, it is more probable that these extracts were written before that year than after it.

The text of the *Electra* passage presents some variations from the later MSS., of which there are but two for this play. In the most important place (l. 14 = *El.* 371), where the MSS. are probably corrupt, the surface of the papyrus is unfortunately much damaged and the reading uncertain.

Fr. (*b*).

Col. i. Col. ii. PLATE VII.

. . . .
[30 letters] . .
[17 „] . α̣φ̣[10 letters]δε
[11 „] . [.] . . . [.] . ε̣ι̣σ̣οι τ̣ο̣ . [. . .]ιον
5 [10 „ μ]ηθεις μοι φθονον α . . . ε̣λ̣ . . [. .
[11 „] π̣α̣ρ̣ εμου μεμφομαι οι σ̣ιγηι̣ . . [. .
[11 „]ν φρεν επαν · και αγαν τ̣αινεα̣ . κ[
[11 „]δει βρομιωι κομποις δε χαι
[10 „]ς̣ Ευριπιδου
10 [ουκ εστ ακριβες ο]υθεν εις ευανδριαν *El.* 367
[εχουσι γαρ ταρ]αγμον αι φυσεις βροτων
[ηδη γαρ ειδο]ν ανδρα γενναιου πατρος
[το] μ̣[ηδεν ον]τα χρηστα τ εκ κακων τεκνα 370
φ[ρ]ο
δ̣η̣μ̣ο̣ν̣ τ ε̣[ν α]νδρος πλουσιου π̣ν̣ημ̣α̣τι

15 γνωμην ṭ[ε μ]εγαλη[ν ε]ν πενητι σωματι
πως ọ[υν] τις αυτα διορισας ορθως κρινει
πλουτωι π[ο]νηρωι ταρα χρησεται κριτηι
η τοις εχουσ[ι] μηθεν αλλ εχει νοσον 375
πενια διδα[σ]κει δ [α]νδρα τηι χρειαι κακọ[ν
20 αλλ̣ [εις οπ]λα̣ ε̣λ̣θ̣ω̣ [τις] δε προς λογχη̣ν̣ [βλεπων
. . . μ̣[αρτυ]ς̣ [γενο]ιτ αν [οστις εσ]τιν αγα̣θ̣ο̣ς
] . . α̣ . κ[ρ]α̣τ̣ιστ[ον εικ]η̣[ι ταυτ εαν] α̣φει[μεν]α̣

8. ι of δει corr. 14. ν of νηματι corr. from ο. 18. First ε of εχει corr. from α.

Fr. (*c*).

Col. i.

. . . . . .
]α̣ις̣
] . [.]εμ
25] . λειψω
]ηπω̣ν
] . [.]ṿσομαι
] δε συμμειξω ·
] . ασα μορφαις
30]δαν ουδ εσει
]ν φυσιν ζη
]μωι̣ ποτερο̣ν :
] . ε̣ . [.]α̣ . . οι :
3 lines lost.

Col. ii.

. . . .
37 · [
[
· [.] · [.] · [. . .] · · [.]π̣[
40 ọ . . . . [. .]γ̣[.]ṭε[
δα̣ν . . [. .] . μ̣η̣[.] . [
οπ̣η̣σ̣ṭ[.]α̣ρ̣α̣δ̣ . . π̣ι̣[
προς ανθρωπων πρ̣ι̣ν̣ ṭ . . . . . [. . . .]α̣ι̣ṭ[
καιρον ι̣ο̣υ̣ωμητα . [. . .] . [. . . . . .] ṭ . . [
45 γλωσσα αρ . α̣ ανθρωπω̣ν̣ [. . . . . . .] . . μ̣ . . . . [
ọυκ επανειμι πυθ̣εσθαι̣ ζ̣[. . . .]ν̣ . η̣μ̣ . π̣εμọ[
οχετων ουταζει σ̣ . . ν . [.] . . . . ι̣ . . . . α̣ τον[
λογοις ινα̣ η̣ . ̀. ν̣ε . . . α[. . . .] επι τοις ε̣τ̣υ̣[μο]ι̣ς̣ . μ̣ọ[
σαι με . . μ̣α̣ς̣ κ̣α̣ . [.]κ̣[. . .] . [.]ς̣ υψηλοι δομοι πον . . [
50 παρα̣ [. . .] . [. .] . ι̣ . [. . . . . .] . μενων ανεμων . . . [
[.] η . [. . . . . .]α̣[. . . . . .] . . . ι̣αι δ̣ ορνιθες̣ α̣υ̣ . [
[.] . ̀. . [. . . . .] . [. . . . .]ειδε ṭιμα̣σ̣ . . . . . [
[18 letters α]κ̣οιτις θ̣α̣ν̣ο̣ντ̣ι̣ . νοια[

Fr. (*e*).

]ι̣σ̣ο̣πτ[
55]σ̣ε̣υ̣α̣υ̣ . [
. . .

Fr. (*h*).

. . . . . .
56] . . σ̣α̣ν̣[
] . . . ξ̣α̣π[

Fr. (*m*).

. . . . . .

67] . ις ρ[. .] . [
] α . ι . . [
] . δε γαρ αιδ[
70]τοις τοι . [
. . . . . .

]ει . . [.] . πολ[
] . . . . σε[.]αν[
60] . ον . . φ . [.]μι[
]τοις δει σε με[
]μεσ . . σ . [
]εσακ . . . . [
] . γειν θυν[
65] ε . [. .] . . [
] . [. .] . [
. . . . . .

Fr. (*p*).

. . . . .

71]υ εν[
]ουν θει . [
]ι . λεκτ[
74]ν . [
. . . . .

(2nd hand)
Fr. (*f*).

75]ου
]αι λεγω πλ[
] . εβαν [.]εισ[
]τρωι [.] . π . . [
] . ιον εξει π . [
80] .
] . . . ν . [. .] δι[
]ευ . . . . [. .] ε . [
] . . πι[
] . . [
85]π . ν[
. . .

Fr. (*n*) . . .

99]ν . [
100]και[
] . παροδι[.]
]
] . . .
] .
. . . .

Fr. (*g*).

. . . . .

86] . [. . .]ι
] . . [.] .
88]αιγωι

Fr. (*i*). PLATE VII.

89 [.]ακ[
90 χρη[
[
επειτα χρησθαι [
οσοι δοκουσιν ο . [
ειδως οθ[ο]υνεκ α[
φθειρουσιν ηθ[η χρησθ ομιλιαι κακαι
[
95 ωστ εμιν δοκ[ει
αλλ απλως τ[

Fr. (*a*).

97] σιδ[. .] .
98] . . .

12 = *El.* 369. ανδρα : so both MSS., M(urray). παῖδα W(ecklein) following Herwerden.

13 = 370. τ: so MSS. δ' Stob. *Flor.* 87. 10 and Orion, *Anth.* 8. 7, M., W.

14 = 371. The MSS. have λιμόν τ' ἐν ἀνδρὸς πλουσίου φρονήματι. For λιμόν, λοιμόν (Scaliger), ῥύπον (Nauck), λῆρον (Rauchenstein), δειμόν (Keene), and πίνον (W.) have been suggested. The papyrus certainly did not have λιμον, for the first letter must be δ or ζ, and the second, if not η, must be read ισ or υσ, while the third is certainly μ or ν, and the vestiges of the last two letters suit ον. δημον, if really the reading, must be wrong, and is much nearer to Keene's δειμόν than to any other of the conjectures. δειμόν, however, is not at all satisfactory. The last word of the line seems to have been originally πονηματι (possibly ποιηματι), which has been altered to φρονηματι by inserting φρο over the line and apparently correcting ο to ν, but whether the π was erased is uncertain.

16–22 = 373–9. These lines are bracketed by W. following Wilamowitz, who considers that they were introduced from another play.

16 = 373. διορισας: διαλαβών MSS. διορίσας, being the commoner word in this sense, is more likely to be a gloss on διαλαβών than vice versa.

17 = 374. ταρα: γ' ἄρα MSS., γ' ἆρα W.

19. δ: so L (W., M.), γ' P.

20 = 377. ελθω [τις]: so MSS., M.: ἐλθών τις W. following Heath. There is just room for ν in the lacuna, but it is more likely that the papyrus read ελθω.

22 = 379. This line is quoted as from the *Auge* by Diog. Laert. ii. 33.

32–3. For the two dots placed at the ends of these lines in order to divide them from the writing of the next column cf. **9**. 1 and **27**. 34.

65. ε is very likely the beginning of the name of the author of the following extract; cf. l. 9. Similar headings probably occurred in ll. 75 and 80.

91–4. The well-known line which apparently occurred in l. 94 is quoted by St. Paul (1 Cor. xv. 33) and many other Christian writers. Socrates (*Hist. Eccl.* 3. 16) assigns the authorship to Euripides, Photius (*Quaest. Amphil.* 151) and Jerome (vol. iii. p. 148, ed. Basil.) to Menander; cf. Nauck's Eurip. Fr. 1013. The remains of ll. 91–3 certainly suggest tragedy rather than comedy, and since another extract from Euripides occurs in this anthology, it is probable that he was the author of ll. 91–4. But φθείρουσιν ἤθη κ.τ.λ. may, of course, have been found in Menander as well.

95. ωστ: ως γ cannot be read. The Doric form ἐμίν and the apparent character of the metre suggest that this may be an extract from Epicharmus.

8–12. Poetical Fragments.

Some small unidentified fragments of poetry may here be conveniently grouped together; two are Epic, two Tragic, and the last is from a comedy.

8 (Mummy A) contains the beginnings and ends of lines from the upper parts of two columns of hexameters, written in a sloping cursive hand having a general similarity to that of the epic fragment P. Grenf. II. 5, especially in Col. ii, where the lines are much closer together than in Col. i. But there are some points of contrast: the letters in P. Grenf. II. 5 are less sloping, and some of them are rather differently formed; the papyrus is also of a lighter colour than **8**. We therefore hesitate to assign them to a single MS.; if they belong to the same work they must at any rate come from different parts of it.

On the verso of **8** is some much effaced small cursive writing; the verso of P. Grenf. II. 5 as now mounted is invisible. In Col. i a combat is described, while Col. ii contains a dialogue; Ἀχαιοί and Ἀργεῖοι are mentioned (ll. 9 and 24). The occurrence of the new compound ἀμφοτερήκης (= ἀμφήκης) may be noted in l. 8.

9 (Mummy 18) consists of seven small fragments, also in the Epic style. Phegeus, whose death at the hands of Diomedes is described in *Iliad* E 11 sqq., occurs here in connexion with Ajax in l. 2. Phegeus was one of the sons of Dares, the priest of Hephaestus (E 9–10), and the mention of this name suggests the possibility of a relation between these fragments and the *Iliad* attributed in antiquity to Dares, which according to Aelian was extant in his day (*Var. Hist.* xi. 2 οὗ Φρυγίαν Ἰλιάδα ἔτι καὶ νῦν σωζομένην οἶδα), and upon which the Latin prose work bearing the name of Dares professes to be based. The careful rather small hand is of an extremely archaic character; E and Σ are square, and Ω has the capital shape as in **6**. The only example of Ξ (l. 3) is imperfectly preserved, but probably had only a dot between the two horizontal strokes, not a vertical connecting line as in **4**. We should assign the fragments to the reign of Soter; cf. **4**, introd. The dated documents found with **9** in Mummy 18 range from about the 14th year of Philadelphus (**110** recto) to the 28th (**94**). Two corrections occur, one of which at least (l. 14) is due to a different scribe.

10 (Mummy A). Four fragments of Tragic iambics, apparently all from the same text; there is little doubt of this except in the case of Fr. (*d*), which though very similar (cf. Plate V) is so small that it affords but slight material for comparison. The hand, which is of a somewhat common early third century B.C. type (cf. e.g. **12**), is much like that of the longer pieces published in P. Grenf. II. 6 *a* (cf. the frontispiece of that volume; Fr. *c*. 2 may belong to *a*). But the evident resemblance is hardly strong enough to justify us in referring those fragments to the same MS. as **10**. Moreover, as Blass has shown (*Rhein. Museum*, lv. pp. 96 sqq.), they are probably to be referred to the *Niobe* of Sophocles, whereas the subject of **10** is apparently different; there is a mention of Achilles in l. 5. The metre indicates that Fr. (*a*) comes from the right side of a column while Fr. (*b*) occupied a more central position.

11 (Mummy A). The script of this fragment is on the other hand closer to that of P. Grenf. II. 6 *c* than to that of **10**. The M and Υ have the deep depression which is absent in **10**, and the head of the ϵ is bent over towards the cross stroke in the same way as in P. Grenf. II. 6 *c*. **11** is therefore, we think, to be connected with that group of fragments, which, if Blass is right (cf. introd. to **10**), belong to Sophocles' *Niobe*; J. Sitzler (*Neue Phil. Rundsch.* 1897, p. 386) would refer them to some play of Euripides. The contents of the fragment, so far as

they go, suit the attribution to the *Niobe* (l. 4 τ]υπεισα, l. 7 αιμα[, l. 9 ? στ]ηθος παρθεν[). The metre is perhaps partly or entirely lyrical; and the fragment is from the bottom of a column.

12 (Mummy A) consists of four small pieces of a comedy, written in medium-sized upright uncials similar in type to those of **10** and **11**. The character of the fragments is quite doubtful; a slave is addressing his master at l. 5, and Antiphon is mentioned in l. 6; but that is too common a name to be of much assistance towards identification. A point in the middle position is used, but whether for purposes of punctuation or to mark a change of speaker is not clear.

8. 13·7 × 6·7 *cm.* Circa B.C. 280–240.

Col. i.

] . ι̣σ̣α
]εσσον
] .
]ω̣τες
5] . . . . κ̣ε̣σ̣σιν
]ν αμφι δε πηληξ
] εμπεδος αει
α]μ̣φοτερηκες
]α̣ δ Αχαιοι
10]ν το δ ενεγκον
]α πελονται
? προ]τιει̣σιν
]α̣
] . . β̣η̣σ̣ε̣
15] υιον
αμ]φιγυ̣ο̣ι̣σιν
. . . . . .

Col. ii.

χωρ[
αυτο[
εσκε δ[
20 ενθη[
διοις εν[
εντε[
ιει πε[
Αργει[ο]ι̣[
25 ταυτα π̣ . [
τα προσθ[
ετλημε[
ως φατο . [
πευσομαι . [
30 ει̣ρ̣ο̣ντο α̣ν̣[
και θε̣ι̣ο̣υ̣[
ηδη Ζε̣υ̣[
[ε]κποθεν ε̣ . [
π̣ο̣υ̣ τ̣[
. . . .

9. Fr. (*a*) 4·8 × 8·6 *cm*. Circa B.C. 300–280. PLATE V (Fr. *b*).

Fr. (*a*). Col. i. Col. ii.

]μαων : 2 Φηγευς Αιαντος [. .]πα[
] δεξ[ι]τ[[$\overset{\epsilon}{\alpha}$]]ρην [
] ν[υ]ν δ[η] τοι φιλο[
] 5 α . [. . .]ιτοτ[
. . . . . .

Fr. (*b*). Fr. (*c*). Fr. (*d*).

. . . .
] . α . [
]σατ εριννυς
νεφεληγ]ερ[ετ]α Ζευς
] . ασκε
10] . [. .]ς
] . .
. . . .

. . . .
12]ν . [
]τυ φιλα[
να . [
]φεη[[διν[
]δεκο[
. . . .

. . .
15]ισ[
]μα[
]τ[
. . .

Fr. (*e*). Fr. (*f*). Fr. (*g*).

. . . .
]ουσι
]ι
20] . ητα
]μ . . ωι
. . . .

. . .
22]ηντο
]κιοωισ[
. . .

. . . . .
]ωμα
25]ινοι
. . . . .

1. The two dots at the end of the line are to separate it from the first verse of the next column (l. 2), to which it nearly reaches; cf. **7**. 32 and **27**. 34.

7. Perhaps αρη]σατ; cf. Homer, *Od.* β 135 μήτηρ στυγερὰς ἀρήσετ' ἐρινῦς.

Frs. (*e*)–(*g*). These three fragments may succeed each other immediately.]ηντο in l. 22 seems to be the end of the verse. In l. 23 the reading is apparently not σ]κιοωντο.

10. Fr. (*a*) 15·5 × 4·2 *cm*. Circa B.C. 280–240. PLATE V (Frs. *a* and *d*).

Fr. (*a*). Fr. (*b*).

]ιμον ωρισα[ς] πον[
] . [.]οι δε τους αυθαιρετ[ους

. . . . .
30]ιστι . [

]δ̣ε κινδυνους αρα [
]ς ηθληται ματην [
5]π̣ας δε τ[. .] Αχιλλεω̣[ς
]τ̣α̣των ελεγχεται [
]νοκ[
] εψ̣ευστα[ι
]ασι̣ περ[
10] κ̣ηδευεις α̣[
]ησδε . επι[
]α συγγαμο̣[
] ουχ απλου̣[
]ενους υπε[ρ
15]ωνταγεσ̣[
]τος οικτισ[
]ταμεσθ υπ[
]ι̣ μαλ αιμ̣[
]ς̣ δ αφιδρυ[
20]α̣ντα προυλ̣[
τ]α̣πιτυμβι[
]π̣ας δεκα ζ̣[
]ωρα τονδε̣[
]κ̣ισαν̣[
25] γ̣αρ ο[
] . νους τ̣[
]των ευ̣ . [
] . ειλισσω[
] . . [

. . . . .

νο]μιζειν ι̣σ̣α . [
ο]μοιως ως εμ[
] . ε̣ι̣α̣ς̣ ει πα̣[. . .] . . [
ο
]α̣ι ταξ ε̣μο̣[υ̣ .] . ναπ[
35] τ̣οις απω̣θεν̣ α̣ν̣τειπ̣[
εγγον
]τ̣ης [[ε̣ν̣α̣ι̣μ̣ι̣]]οις εψευ̣[σ . .] . [
]α̣ντα τας δε δαιμονω̣[ν
]ιπεις συμφοραις δ[
] . χων εστιν ωι πεπρ̣[
40] . . χ̣ει περγαμων κατ̣[
]ν κρυπτο̣ς̣ α̣ . . . τ̣ . [
]νεβλαστεν̣ [
] . . . [

. . . . .

Fr. (*c*).

. . .

] . [
45] π̣ε̣ριμ̣[
]ν̣ χρη[
]μεμη[
]τε̣ οπ[
]δε θ̣υμ̣[
50]στινα̣[

Fr. (*d*).

. . . .

55]τευ̣[
]καξ[
]ν̣ο̣υ̣[

	]αλλ[	]ρηξ[
	] περι[	]μαρ[
60	]ατ[	]ατ[
	]ρα α . [	]ον[
	. . . .	. . .

34. The letter below the superscribed ο was perhaps deleted; cf. l. 36.

36. εναιμιοις, which is unmetrical, seems to have been the original reading, though the second ι is further away from the μ than would be expected. ὁμαίμιος is found in Pindar, *Nem.* 6. 29, but ἐναίμιος is apparently new.

37. Cf. Eurip. *Aeol.* Fr. 17 τὰς δὲ δαιμόνων τύχας ὅστις φέρει κάλλιστ' ἀνὴρ οὗτος σοφός.

11. 6·2 × 2·8 *cm.* Circa B.C. 280–240.

. . .

]πει . [
α]λγος αδεκ . [
]ητε καλλι[
τ]υπεισα βασ[
5]ων ε[[ν]]πτεκ[
]νος συ τον[
]δαις εις αιμα[
]θομαι αστ[
]ηθος παρθεν[
10] αιθερος . [
]υσα . [

2. If the lines are lyrical, αδε may be ἁ δέ or ἅδε.

5. The letter apparently deleted between ε and π may be ν or μ.

8. The first letter is possibly ρ, but θ is more probable.

12. Fr. (*a*) 4·1 × 5·9 *cm.* Circa B.C. 280–240.

Fr. (*a*).

. . . .

[. . . . .] τ[εθ]εραπευσθ[ε
[. . . . . . . β]αδιζω ταυτ ερωτ[ησων
[. . . . . . .]ερα παντα· παραδεδωκ[
[. . . . . . .]ειν· ουκουν εγω παλιν ει[
5 [. . . . . . .]λε μαχης σε προς σε δεσπ[οτα

[επεμψεν] Αντιφωμ μ επερωτησοντ[α σε
[. . . . .]κει της κορης· ακηκοα[
[. . . . . ο]φειλωμ μοι δοκει καμ[
. . . .

Fr. (*b*). . . .
]σιμι[
10]οσαπ[
]υβον ωσι[
] αυτον ηδ[
]μ φυσει γ[
] δε α δρασ[
15]ος [
] ακηκο[
. . . .

Fr. (*c*). . . .
]μο[
]οι
]ψεται
20]σομα[ι
] .
]τ[
]εδ[
. . .

Fr. (*d*). . . .
]ων[
25] . σισ[
. . .

15. There is a broad blank space after]ος, which is perhaps part of a stage direction.

13. Hippias (?), *Discourse on Music.*

Mummies 69 and 70. Height 15·6 *cm.* Circa B.C. 280–240. Plate V (Col. ii.).

Two consecutive and nearly complete columns from an oration or discourse upon the subject of music, probably the actual commencement of it. The author is evidently very ancient, for he speaks of the ἁρμονία or enharmonic system as still in wide use, whereas by the time of Aristoxenus it had almost disappeared; cf. Plut. *Mus.* 37, Westphal, *Metrik der Griechen*, i. pp. 420–1. Blass makes the happy suggestion that the fragment should be attributed to Hippias of Elis, the contemporary of Socrates, who gives his name to two of the Platonic dialogues. This sophist was accustomed to discourse in public on a variety of topics, of which music was one; cf. Plato, *Hipp. Min.* 363 C ὅταν τὰ Ὀλύμπια ᾖ . . . παρέχω ἐμαυτὸν καὶ λέγοντα ὅτι ἄν τις βούληται ὧν ἄν μοι εἰς ἐπίδειξιν παρεσκευασμένων ᾖ, *Hipp. Mai.* 285 E ἐκεῖνα ἃ σὺ ἀκριβέστατα ἐπίστασαι ἀνθρώπων διαιρεῖν, περὶ . . . ῥυθμῶν καὶ ἁρμονιῶν, and *Hipp. Min.* 368 D. Some of these compositions were no doubt published in book form, but no part of them has survived beyond a short quotation in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 2. 624. No standard

of comparison is therefore available ; but the contents of this papyrus, if they be not by Hippias, represent what he might well have written.

The substance of the two columns is an attack upon certain musical theorists, who attributed to different harmonies and rhythms different moral effects. This is the view maintained by Plato in the well-known passage of the *Republic* 398–400, where some kinds of music are characterized as having a voluptuous or depressing tendency, and are therefore to be excluded from the ideal state. Hippias will have none of this theory, though it cannot be said that the arguments with which he opposes it are very convincing. He also ridicules the more extreme lengths to which it was carried by partisans who professed to express in music the attributes of natural objects, and whose perceptions would seem to have been even finer than any possessed by the writers of some of our modern programmes. Perhaps the person principally aimed at in this diatribe was Damon, the famous Athenian musician and contemporary of Hippias. Damon seems to have given more attention to the theory than to the practice of music (cf. ll. 7 sqq. below); and he was a believer in the effects of music upon character (Athen. xiv. 628 C, Aristid. Quint. ii. 14), and probably the views of Plato on this subject were to a large extent influenced by his teaching; cf. *Rep.* 400 B, and especially 424 C *οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ κινοῦνται· μουσικῆς τρόποι ἄνευ πολιτικῶν νόμων τῶν μεγίστων, ὥς φησί τε Δάμων καὶ ἐγὼ πείθομαι.* There is indeed some evidence for the existence of a work on music by Damon in the form of a speech to the Areopagus (*Rhein. Mus.* xl. pp. 309 sqq.). The Herculaneum fragments of the treatise of Philodemus *De Musica*, as Dr. Mahaffy reminds us, take the same side in the controversy as Hippias.

The short, broad columns of the text are carefully written in good-sized uncials of an ordinary type; the lines show a noticeable irregularity of length. Punctuation is effected by means of two (in l. 9 three) dots, which are sometimes combined with marks resembling a small coronis, e.g. in l. 13. On the verso is a good deal of badly damaged cursive writing, probably by more than one hand and running in contrary directions.

Col. i.

[πολλ]ακις επηλθε μοι θαυμασαι ω ανδρες [Ελληνες
[ει α]λλοτριας τιν[ες] τας επιδειξεις των ο[ικειων τε
[χν]ων ποιουμεν[οι] λανθανουσιν υμας λ[εγοντες γαρ
[ο]τι αρμονικοι εισι και προχειρισαμενοι ω[ιδας τινας
5 ταυτας συγκρινουσιν των μεν ως ετυχεν
κατηγορουντες τας δε εικηι εγκω[μιαζ]οντες

και λεγουσι μεν ως ου δει αυτους ου[τε ψ]α̣λ̣τας
ουτε ωιδους θεωρειν περι μεγ γαρ τ̣[αυτ]α ετεροις
φασιν παραχωρ[ε]ιν : αυτων δ̣ε̣ ιδιον [ει]ναι το θε
10 ωρητικον μερος φαινονται δε περι μεν ταυτα
ων ετεροις παραχωρουσιν ου μετριως εσπουδακο
τες εν οις δε φασιν ισχυειν εν τουτοις σχ[εδια]
ζ̣οντες)—: λεγουσι δε ως των μελων τ[α] μ̣εν
εγκρατεις τα δε φρονιμους τα δε δικαιους
15 τα δε ανδρειους τα δε δειλους ποιει)—: κακως ειδοτες οτι
ουτε χρωμα δειλους : ουτε αρμονια αν ανδρειους
ποιησειεν τους αυτηι χρωμενους)—: τις γαρ ουκ οιδεν

Col. ii.

[Αιτ]ωλους και Δολοπας : και παντας τους Θε̣[ρ
[μοπυλ]η̣σι διατονωι μεν τηι μουσικηι χρω[μενους μα
20 [λλον] δε των τραγωιδων οντας ανδρειο[υς των δι
[α πα]ν̣τος ειωθοτων εφ αρμονιας αιδειν)—: [ωστε
[ουτε] χρωμα δειλους ουτε αρμονια αν[δρειους ποι
[ει εις τ]ουτο δε ερχονται τολμης ωστε [ολον τον βιο]ν̣ κ̣α̣[τα
[τριβ]ε̣ι̣ν̣ εν ταις χορδαις : ψαλλοντες με̣ν̣ [πολυ χ]ε̣ι̣[ρον τω]ν
25 [ψαλ]τ̣ω̣ν̣ : αιδοντες δε των ωιδων : συνκρινοντες δε
[του τ]υ̣χοντος ρητορο̣ς̣ παντα παντω[ν χει]ρ̣ον ποιουντες
[και π]ερι μ̣εν των αρμ[ο]νικων καλουμ̣[ενω]ν εν οις δη
φ[ασι]ν διακεισθαι πως : ουθ ηντινα φων̣[ην] ε̣χοντες λεγ̣ε̣ιν :
εν[θο]υσιωντες δε : και παρα τον ρυθμ[ον δε] πα̣ι̣οντες
30 το υποκειμενον σανιδιον αυτοις̣ [αμα τοις] α̣π̣[ο] του
ψ[αλ]τηριου ψοφοις : και ουδε αισχυν[ομενο]ι̣ ε̣ξ̣ειπ[ειν
τω[ν] μελων τα μεν δαφνης εξειν [ιδιον] τ̣ι τα δε κιτ[του
ετ̣[ι δε ερω]τωντες ει ου φαινεται [. . . . .]α̣ ιδια επιτη[. . .
ε̣[. . . .]ν̣εισθαι : και οι σατυροι προς [αυλο]ν χορευον[τες

A fragment, possibly belonging to this papyrus:

. . .

35] . . [

]ω̣ν

]ψ[

. . .

'It has often been an occasion of surprise to me, men of Hellas, that certain persons, who make displays foreign to their own arts, should pass unobserved. They claim to be musical, and select and compare different tunes, bestowing indiscriminate blame upon some and praise upon others. They assert that they ought not to be regarded as harpers and singers, for these subjects, they say, they concede to others, while their own special province is the theoretical part. They appear, however, to take no small interest in what they concede to others, and to speak at random in what they say are their own strong subjects. They assert that some tunes make us temperate, others wise, others just, others brave, others cowardly, being unaware that enharmonic melody would no more make its votaries brave than chromatic will make them cowards. Who is there who does not know that the Aetolians and Dolopes, and all the folk round Thermopylae use a diatonic system of music, and yet are braver than the tragedians who are regularly accustomed to use the enharmonic scale? Therefore enharmonic melody makes men brave no more than chromatic makes them cowardly. To such lengths of confidence do they go that they waste all their life over strings, harping far worse than the harpers, singing worse than the singers, making comparisons worse than the common rhetorician,—doing everything worse than any one else. With regard to the so-called harmonics, in which, so they say, they have a certain state of mind, they can give this no articulate expression; but go into ecstasies, and keeping time to the rhythm strike the board beneath them in accompaniment to the sounds of the harp. They are not even ashamed to declare that some tunes will have properties of laurel, and others of ivy, and also to ask whether . . .'

2. ο[ικειων is very doubtful; the first letter may be ε or σ or possibly τ or υ.

18. If Θε[ρμοπυλ]ησι is right, l. 18 was remarkably short; but the letter before ι in l. 19 is almost certainly σ, and the preceding vestiges suit η. οἱ Θερμοπύλησι would include e. g. the Aenianes and Oetaeans, the eastern neighbours of the Dolopes and Aetolians. The mention of the Aetolians here, as Blass remarks, is appropriate in the mouth of Hippias of Elis, the Eleans and Aetolians being closely related.

19–20. The division μα|λλον is not usual, but [λον] seems insufficient for the lacuna at the beginning of l. 20, while [μαλλον] is too long.

28. Of the supposed dots after λεγειν only the upper one is preserved, and that not very clearly.

29. παρα might also mean 'in defiance of.'

30. π of απο is not quite satisfactory, and ν would in some respects be more suitable.

31–4. There can be little doubt that the small detached fragment]ι εξειπ[κ.τ.λ. contains the concluding portions of these lines, but its exact position is uncertain and the restoration proposed is highly conjectural. [ιδιον] τι in l. 32 is suggested by ιδια in the next line; but the supposed α before ιδια is quite doubtful, and may be e.g. λ. τ of] τι is represented only by the tip of the crossbar, which would also suit γ or υ, but these letters are far less likely here. Compared with [ομενο]ι in l. 31 the supplement [ιδιον] τι is somewhat long, but with three iotas may perhaps be admitted. [αυλο]ν in l. 34 corresponds well with [ομενο]ι. Of the letter before εισθαι all that is left is part of a vertical stroke, which would be consistent also with μ.

14. Lysias, *In Theozotidem.*

Bodl.

Mummy A. Fr. (*b*) 15·6 × 19·2 *cm.* Circa B.C. 280–240. Plate II (Fr. *c*, Cols. ii–iii).

The recto of this papyrus, of which there are twenty fragments, contains a speech of an Attic orator directed against a certain Theozotides. This, as was observed by Blass, must be the oration of Lysias κατὰ Θεοζοτίδου mentioned by Pollux 8. 46; cf. Sauppe, *Fr. Orat. Att.* p. 189. The script is a good-sized uncial, a thick pen being used and the lines written close together. On the verso are a series of poetical extracts (7) in two hands, of which one is a somewhat later type of cursive than most of those found in this volume. But, though the writing on the verso may perhaps belong to the reign of Philopator, the oration does not present any appearance of being appreciably later than the other literary fragments found with it, which probably belong for the most part to the reign of Philadelphus, or at latest to the early part of the reign of Euergetes. No stops are used; but the paragraphus is found, and a blank space is sometimes left at the beginning of a new sentence.

The three principal fragments, (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*), contain the lower portions of columns and clearly do not admit of any combination. The order of the three is uncertain, but Fr. (*a*) more probably precedes (or follows) the other two than comes between them, because the writing on the verso is different from that on the verso of Frs. (*b*) and (*c*). Of the small pieces, Frs. (*e*), (*h*), (*m*), and (*p*), on account of the writing on the verso, may be connected with Frs. (*b*) and (*c*), while Frs. (*f*), (*g*), and (*n*), of which the writing on the verso is in another hand, cannot be combined with Frs. (*b*) and (*c*), but may be connected with Fr. (*a*). Frs. (*d*), (*i*), (*k*), (*l*), (*o*), (*q*)–(*x*) have no writing on the verso, and to which part of the roll they belong is quite obscure.

It is difficult to glean much information about the nature of the speech from these scattered fragments, connected sense being only obtainable in a few passages. That the accusation against Theozotides was a γραφὴ παρανόμων is however clear. From Frs. (*a*) and (*b*) it appears that he had proposed to exclude illegitimate and adopted sons of citizens fallen in war from the benefits which the State conferred upon orphans, while Frs. (*c*) and (*d*) are concerned with a proposal, which was apparently carried by Theozotides, to reduce the pay of the ἱππεῖς from 1 drachma to 4 obols per diem, while raising that of the ἱπποτοξόται, an inferior class of soldiers, from 2 obols a day to 8. The description of this measure, which was obviously directed against the richer classes in the interests of the poorer, supplies some interesting information on the pay of the Athenian cavalry; cf. note on ll. 72–81. How the two seemingly distinct questions of legitimate

ancestry and pay of cavalry soldiers were connected is not evident. The text is not very accurate, several corrections being necessary; cf. notes on ll. 29, 41, and 85.

Fr. (*a*). Col. i.

. . . .

[15 letters][. . .][. .
[ ]
[. . . . .]τους[. . . .]ινομ[.
[. . . . . .] . . τους μαλιστα δε
5 [14 letters]υτης μισ
[. . . .] τ[ο]υς νοθους τε και τους
[ποιη]τους ουτε νομιμως ου
[θ υγιω]ς εμοι γαρ δοκει των ορ
[φανων . . .] . . . . των τους νοθους
10 [. . . . . τ]ημ πολιν η τους
[ποιητους τους] γαρ γνησιους
[15 letters κ]αταλει
[13 " του]ς νοθους

Col. ii.

. . .

νομο[
15 βοσκη[
το[.]ολ[
κωι το[
ρησεν[ου
κ εστ[
20 πατ[
σιον τ[
ν . τω[

Fr. (*b*). Col. i.

. . . .

[πατ]ρωιων [
[. . τ]ης μισθοφο[ριας] . [. . .] ο . [. .
25 [. .] . ε[. .]ος κατελιπεν αυτοις [
[. . .] παντων δεινοτατον ει
[το καλ]λιστον των εν τοις
[νομο]ις κηρυγμα Θεοζο
[τιδ]ης διαβαλλει και ψευδος
30 [κα]ταστησει Διονυσιοις γαρ
[οτα]ν ο κηρυξ αναγορευηι τους
[ορ]φανους πατροθεν υπειπων
[οτι] τωνδε των νεανισκων οι
πατερες απεθανον εν τωι πο
35 λεμωι μαχομενοι υπερ της

Col. ii.

πατριδος ανδρες οντες αγαθοι
[και] τουτους η πολις ετρεφε με
[χρι] ηβης   ενταυθα ποτερα χωρις
περι των ποιητων και των νο
40 [θ]ων ανẹρẹις λεγων οτι τουσδε
δια Θεοζοτιδην ουκ ετρεφον
η̣ παντας α[ναγορε]υων ομοιως
. [11 letters των] ποιητω̣ν̣
και τω̣ν̣ [νο]θω̣ν̣ . . . . . [ψευσε
45 ται̣ περι της τροφης υ̣π̣ο̣σ̣ι̣[ωπων
ταυτα ουχ υβρις και [μ]εγαλη διαβο
[λ]η [14 letters ε]πειδη δε Κλε
[ομενης . . . . ω αν]δρες δικασται
[. . . . . την ακροπ]ο̣λιν κατελαβε̣

. . . . .
50 του̣ λ̣[
π̣[.] . [
. [
[. .] . . [.] . . . . [
[. .] . . των δ̣ι̣α̣ . [
55 [
[
. . . ων . . [. . . .] . . . [
γαρ τα ελε̣υ̣[.] . [. . . .] . [
[λ]αβοιεν ε̣[.] . . . . [.] . τ . [
60 . [.] . . α̣λ̣λ̣η̣ι̣ δ̣[

Fr. (*c*). Col. i.

. . . .
61] .
]υ̣τω
] απο
]ν υστε
65 ρ]τωι κ[.]
]αι και
] . . απο
τ]η̣μ μισ
θοφοριαν]υ̣ρ̣η̣θη

Col. ii. PLATE II.

. . . . . .
70 . [11 letters] . ουτος ει πρε̣σ
. [11 ,,] περι φυλακης
[12 ,,] . [.]σαμ περι πο
[λ]ε̣μ̣[ου Θεοζο]τιδης ουτοσ
ι̣ τη̣[γ γνω]μην αγορευει
75 τους μεν ιππεας αντι δρα
χμης τεσσαρα[ς οβ]ολους μισ
θοφορειν το̣[υς δ ιπ]ποτοξο
τας οκτω ο[βολους] αντι δ̣υ̣ο̣ι̣ν̣
[ο]β[ο]λ[ο]ι̣ν̣ και τ̣[αυ]την τηγ
80 γνωμην ε̣ . [. . . . .]υ̣α̣κ̣υ̣μ̣[.
ενικησε̣[ν εν τωι δ]ημωι δ̣[ι
ου και μ̣[. . . . . . γν]ω̣μην

Col. iii. PLATE II.

. . . . . .
απασαν τους ιππε[ας η υπερ
του παροντος και του με[λλον

υπαρχοντων αλλα προφ[υλατ
τειν οπως πλειω των ο̣ν̣[των

85 τος συντεινειν τημ μισθ[οφο
ριαν εγω δε το οριζειν ου̣[κ α
ποστερειν ωιμην ειναι των [

90 η μηδεν ελαττω των υ[παρ
χοντων εσται τοιου̃το . [. . .
[τ]ο̣υτον ουχ οκνειν χρη [. . . .
[. .]ν αλλα̣ . . [. .] . . [. . . . . . .

Fr. (*d*).

]ε̣πεισεν υμας π̣[
95]κ̣η εξειναι̣ μ̣[
]ης̣ διωβελιας̣ [
]α̣ [χ]ρηματα [
] . [
. . . . . .

Fr. (*e*).

οφειλο̣[
100 καιτοι̣ υ̣[
. . .

Fr. (*f*).

Col. i.

101]ι̣στε
]τ̣α̣ ε
]εσθ̣αι
]ωσε̣σ
105] . ε̣ιτε̣ οι̣ υ
αν]δρες
] . . . ι φυ
] . χι
] . [.] .
110 .]λ̣ . [. .] .
. . .

Col. ii.

111 τ̣[
τ̣[
8 lines lost.
121 η̣ . [
. [
τ̣[
. . [
. . . .

Fr. (*g*).

. . . .
125 [. .]ν̣ι̣ν̣ . . [
η . . ων . α̣ν̣α̣ι̣σ̣[
λ̣ων συγκα̣[
1 or 2 lines lost.

Fr. (*h*).

. . . .
128]υ̣σα̣ν . . [
ι]ππευς̣ [
130 ο]ρφαν̣ . [. . . .]α̣η̣[
]πολ . . . ε̣ρ̣[
] . ν̣ σ̣υντ̣ι̣[
]π̣οι̣ . . . α̣ποτ̣[
] . ου τημ μισθ[οφοριαν
135]ασαν ε̣ν̣τ̣ε̣λη [
]ι̣ς̣ το π̣ερ̣ιτ̣[
] μισθοφορια[
] . . . . τ̣ . λ̣ . . [

Fr. (*i*).

. . . .
142]δ̣η̣μ̣η
]τα̣ το δεινον
] . ημηδη
145] . βουλευ
] . [.] βουλευσηι
]ευσει
]α̣λεγων
]κ̣ο̣
150 π]αρανομα
] . . [. .] . ο̣ι̣
. . . . .

Fr. (*k*).

. . . .
152]ρ̣[.]χ . [
]ασατο τ̣[
] . ρειτ̣ . . [
155]ε̣ων . ι̣̣α̣ν̣[
] . ι̣αι̣ η̣[
[ ]
] . ι̣δ[
] . . [
160]ο̣μ̣[
. . . .

] . . . . . ων π[
140]αν . [.] . ναπ[
]ρου[. .] . . [
. . . . . .

Fr. (*l*). . . .
161]ντιτωι . [
]πατω[
] . [. . .]ε[
. . .

Fr. (*m*).
. . . . .
164 [. . . .]μ[
165 και τους . [
ηγωνιστα[ι
μεν η δικ[η
[ο]υδεν απ[
. . . . . .

Fr. (*n*). . . .
169] . [
170 [ ]
]ατ[
] . ευπ[. . . .]υκε[
]ζην ειναι της ε . [
]υγκαταθει[
. . . .

Fr. (*o*).

Col. i.
. .
175] .
. .

Col. ii.
. . .
176 [. . . . . .] . [
[. .] . ν επηρεα[
μεν γαρ κλε . [
ξηι[
180 τα . [
το [
. . .

Fr. (*p*).
. . . . . .
182] . ωντ[.]ι . [
]ωματι . [
]λουσιν [
185 τη]ς μισθοφορια[ς
] . [
] . [
. . . . . .

(Fr. (*q*).
. . .
188]φορ[
] . . λο[
190]νιτ . [
] . πο[
] . . α[
. . .

Fr. (*r*).
. . . .
193] . . [.] . [
]ηναι τρε[
195] . . . ουστο[
] . . [
. . . .

Fr. (*s*).
. . . .
197] . . [. .] . [
]λαβειν [
] . [.]πρ . [
200]ρηιν[
] . . λε[
. . . .

Fr. (*t*).
. . .
202] . [
]οωι κ . [
]ους δ[
. . .

Fr. (*u*).
. . .
205]ευσ[
]ολ . [
] . [
. . .

Fr. (*w*).
. .
208] . [
]πισ
210]μιν
. .

Fr. (*x*).
. . .
211]πο[
] . π[
. . .

7. [ποιη]τους: cf. l. 39. This restoration is the basis of our calculation of the size of the lacunae at the beginnings of lines in this column, and, if it is correct, the supplements μισ[θοφοριας] in ll. 5–6 and ου[τε δικαιω]ς in ll. 7–8 are both too long. The addition of three or four more letters to the initial lacunae throughout this column would render the restoration of l. 7 very difficult and make the lines longer than in the other columns.

26–47. 'Most monstrous of all is it that Theozotides should misrepresent the most splendid proclamation that is enjoined by law and establish a falsehood. At the Dionysiac festival when the herald proclaims the orphans with their fathers' names, and adds that the fathers of these youths died in war fighting for their country as brave men, and these youths were brought up by the State until manhood, is he then to make a separate announcement concerning the adopted and illegitimate sons, saying that owing to Theozotides these were not brought up, or is he to proclaim them all alike . . . and speak falsely by passing over in silence their bringing up? Would not this be an insult and the height of misrepresentation?'

Cf. Aesch. *In Ctes.* 154 ταύτῃ ποτὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μελλόντων ὥσπερ νυνὶ τῶν τραγῳδῶν γίγνεσθαι . . . προελθὼν ὁ κῆρυξ καὶ παραστησάμενος τοὺς ὀρφανοὺς ὧν οἱ πατέρες ἦσαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότες νεανίσκους πανοπλίᾳ κεκοσμημένους ἐκήρυττε τὸ κάλλιστον κήρυγμα καὶ προτρεπτικώτατον πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὅτι τούσδε τοὺς νεανίσκους ὧν οἱ πατέρες ἐτελεύτησαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι μέχρι μὲν ἥβης ὁ δῆμος ἔτρεφε, νυνὶ δὲ καθοπλίσας τῇδε τῇ πανοπλίᾳ ἀφίησιν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τρέπεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν, καὶ καλεῖ εἰς προεδρίαν. Other references to this ceremony are Isocr. viii. 82, Aristotle, *Pol.* ii. p. 1268 B 8.

25–6. Perhaps [ε]τι δε] παντων.

29. διαβαλλει: l. διαβαλει.

40. l. ανερει. Cf. Aesch. *In Ctes.* 155 τί ποτ' ἀνερεῖ.

41. ετρεφον: l. ετρεφεν, sc. ἡ πόλις.

46. Blass suggests κατα της πολεως for the lacuna, and in l. 49 [την υμετεραν ακροπ]ολιν.

47–9. The reference seems to be, as Blass remarks, to the expulsion of Isagoras in B.C. 508.

72–81. '. . . with regard to war Theozotides here advocates the motion that the knights should be paid four obols instead of a drachma, but the mounted archers eight obols instead of two, and this motion . . . he carried in the assembly of the people . . .'

The ἱππεῖς, who in the Peloponnesian war numbered 1000, received from the State (1) on enrolment a κατάστασις, i. e. a sum of money for equipment, which, as some think, had to be restored when their liability for service ended, and (2) a yearly μισθός for the maintenance of their horses (Schol. ad Dem. *In Timocr.* p. 732. 6); but they probably received no personal pay, at any rate in times of peace (Ar. *Eq.* 577 προῖκα γενναίως ἀμύνειν); cf. Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung* (3rd ed.), i. p. 317, and Gilbert, *Staatsalt.* i. p. 362, note 2. The sum of about 40 talents, which according to Xen. *Hipp.* 1. 19 the State paid annually εἰς τὸ ἱππικόν, is identified by Boeckh and Gilbert with the allowance for the horses. It is tempting at first sight to connect this payment of 40 talents, which makes 4 obols a day for each ἱππεύς, with the 4 obols a day which Theozotides' scheme substituted for the previous drachma; but Xenophon was speaking of times of peace, while it is fairly certain that the payments in the Lysias passage refer to time of war. For the payments to the knights during war the only piece of evidence is Dem. 1 *Phil.* 28, from which it appears that they received 30 drachmae a month, i.e. 1 drachma a day, so that in the interval between the speech against Theozotides and the first Philippic the rate which prevailed before Theozotides'

law seems to have been restored. The scale of payments to the ἱπποτοξόται was previously unknown; if our reading of ll. 78–9 is correct (neither διδραχμου nor δυοιν δραχμαιν can be read), Theozotides raised their daily pay from 2 obols to 8. They were a body of 200 men, of inferior rank to the ἱππεῖς and probably drawn, like the τοξόται, from the lower classes of citizens, since it may be inferred from Lysias xv. 6 that service as a ἱπποτοξότης was despised; cf. Gilbert, *op. cit.* p. 363. The proposal to pay them twice as much as the ἱππεῖς was evidently a democratic measure. The μισθοφορία of which the papyrus speaks must have been independent of the allowance for keeping a horse, since 2 obols would be ludicrously insufficient for that purpose.

85. συντεινειν seems to be an error for συντεμνειν: cf. Thuc. viii. 45 τήν τε μισθοφορὰν ξυνέτεμεν.

92. l. ουκ.

93–6. Cf. Ar. *Ath. Pol.* 28. 3.

151. This line was very likely the last of a column.

15. Rhetorical Exercise. BM 1825

Mummy A. 19·2 × 38·3 *cm.* Circa B.C. 280–240. Plate II (Part of Cols. i–iii).

Though in point of size the second of the literary papyri from Hibeh, this piece proves to be disappointing. It contains six consecutive columns, some in excellent preservation, from an oration which in Blass's judgement—and his opinion on such a point is not likely to be challenged—was never really delivered, but is only a rhetorical composition. The supposed occasion is considered by Blass to be the situation resulting from the death of Alexander the Great, and the speaker, who is addressing an Athenian audience and advocating a forward policy, to be Leosthenes. That orator and soldier was with Hyperides the most active opponent at Athens of the Macedonian dominion, and played the principal part in the movement which resulted in the defeat of the Macedonian general Antipater in Thessaly. Antipater threw himself into Lamia, and there Leosthenes, who commanded the Greek allies, met his death. The phraseology of the papyrus is somewhat colourless, but references occur which suit this interpretation, e.g. the mention of a sudden change in the position of affairs (l. 43), the allusion to the speaker's office as general (l. 116), and his personal risk in the cause he championed (l. 61) (a danger which as events were to prove he did not over-estimate), the possible reference to Taenarum (l. 58), and the exhortations to make a bold bid not only for freedom but for the leading position which freedom, if gained, might bring (ll. 73 sqq., 106 sqq., &c.). The composition is a favourable specimen of its class, and the early date gives it a certain interest. In spite of frequent confusion between ι and ει and other misspellings, there is no doubt that this text, which is carefully written in a handsome hand of medium size, is of approximately the same date as the bulk of the literary papyri in this

volume, and it is most unlikely to be later than the reign of Philadelphus. The formation of omega, in which the second curve is unfinished and an intermediate stage between Ω and ω is shown, should be noticed; cf. **26**, which illustrates an earlier stage in the transition. Punctuation is effected by a paragraphus, which, when the pause comes within the line, is accompanied by a horizontal dash marking the exact point. The text has been corrected with some care, apparently by the original scribe. There is some illegible writing on parts of the verso; cf. note on Fr. (*a*).

Col. i. PLATE II.

]
] . . ạρọụ
] . [. . .]
]τẹ
5]α̣[. .
]
]ε̣ν̣ι̣
]τα̣
μ]ικραν
10]ο̣ν
] .
]α̣
] γαρ
]τι
15]ωτ̣ιαν
]ναν α̣[.]
]πανει
]ν̣ των
]την
20] . [. .]τω[[.]]
] . ζημιαν
]ροι εμ̣οι
]τα̣ .
]ε̣[.] .
25]τας
ευ]α̣

Col. ii. PLATE II.

ρ̣ε̣σ̣τ̣ο̣τερους συμμαχους
εξετε και φανερον απασι
κα̣τ̣αστησετε διοτι το της
30 πολεως ηθος ουτω μακραν
[α]πεχει του κακως τινα ποειν
των μηθεν αδικουντων
Ελληνων — ωστε και τους
φανερως εξημαρτηκοτας
35 αθωιους αφιησιν δια την
υπερβολην της φιλανθρω
πιας — μαλιστα δε λογι
ζεσθε προς των θεων ω αν
δρες Αθηναιοι [δ]ιοτι το βρα
40 δυνειν τοις νυν καθεστω
σιν ηκιστα συμφερον εστιν
οξεις γαρ εικος ειναι τους ε
κ των μεταβολων καιρους
λαβεσ
ων αντι[[ληψεσ]]θε και παυσασ
45 [[σ]]θε προσεχοντες τοις την
ραθυμιαν ασφαλειαν
αποκαλουσιν — και μη φοβη
θεντες τ̣[. . . . . .]ε̣ι̣τε
την σωτηριαν αλ[λα] και θαρ
50 σησαντες τοιαυτα βουλ[ε]υ
σασθε δι ων μηδεποτε μ[η]θεν

Col. iii. Plate II.

α̣[

α̣λ̣λ̣[α] η̣δ̣[.] . . [.]ησ̣θε των [. .

π̣ . [.]ο̣νωṿ τ̣[οι]ς μεν αλ

55 λοις επ̣ . [. . . . . .]ν̣ο̣ν υμιν

δε μ[[ε]]ι̣μ̣ε̣ι̣σ̣θ̣α̣[ι καθ]ηκον εστι̣ν

κ̣[α]ι̣ λογι̣ζ̣ε̣σ̣θ̣α̣[ι με η]κ̣ι̣σ̣τ αν

ε̣ν̣ Τ̣α̣ι̣ν̣[αρωι καθη]μ̣ενον

και μηθενος υσ̣τ̣[ερουν]τα

60 των εν τηι πολει σ̣ . [.] . ν̣ων

ουτως αμ φιλοκι[ν]δυνως επι

στηναι το[ι]ς π[ρα]γμασιν ει μη

τα των καιρων ηπισταμην

κατεπειγοντ[α] και κρισιν εω

65 ρων ουσαν της ημετερας

σωτηριας — και τ[. . . . .]

των εφοβ[ο]υμην [. . . . .]

καθεστηκοτων [. . . . .]

εν υμ[[ε]]ιν αυτοις [. . . . .]

70 και ταπεινος υπ̣[ολ]ηφθε̣ι̣ην

ως μηθεν των συμφεροντων

προιδειν αν δυνηθεις

αλλα και νυν προ[ο]ρω τα μελ

λοντα και παρακαλω προς τα

75 πραγματα υμας και [[παρα

καλω]] την τυχην ην

Col. iv.

[μη κα]

τ]α̣λειπειν — και δεομαι

μαλιστα των ^ν εωτερων

80 των παρ υμ[[ε]]ιν εκ πα^ι δος τα

περι τον πολεμον ικανως
παιδευθεντων — ακμασαι
ποτε ταις διανοιαις και χρη
σασθαι τοις οι[κ]ειοις σωμασιν
85 ευκαιρως την αποδειξιν
ποιησαμενους της αυτων
αρετης — ιν[α] νομιζωνται
και τον αλλον χρονον
ησυχαζειν μη δι ανανδριαν
90 αλλα δι ευλαβειαν — και μη
θεις ω ανδρες Αθηναιοι
χωρις της υμετερας δυνα
μεως επι τα πραγματα
καταδεεστερον βαδιζωμεν
95 μηθ υμεις αναγκαζησθε
δυοιν θατερον η ποητε ετερ[ο]ι[ς]
το κελευομενον η μετ ελατ
τονο στρατοπεδου κινδυ
νευειν ημων αλλως πως

Col. v.

100 α[
και ταις εμ[. . . . .
αποχρησασθε και την εν
τωι πραττειν ορθως ασφα
λειαν ελεσθε μετα πλειονων
105 την σωτηριαν υμ[[ε]]ιν αυτοις
παρασκευαζοντες — ως
αναξιον εστιν ω ανδρες
Αθηναιοι των εμ Μαραθωνι
και Σαλαμιν κινδυνων δια
110 τελειν ημας το συνολον

απογινωσκοντας την η
γεμονιαν — η νομιζοντας
ταυτην εσεσθαι ποτε υμιν
απο ταυτοματου μηδ οτι
115 ουν αυτοις πονουσιν
ν
εγω με ουν επει στρατηγου
ης
ην μη τ[[ε̣]] ιδιας ασφαλει[α]ς̣ κ̣αι
χειροτονια[ς] φροντιζει[ν]
αλλα της υμ[ε]τερα[ς σωτη]
120 ριας τουτο πραττω[ν̣] [προσε]
ληλυθα προταξας εμ̣[αυτον
υπερ της κοινης ελευθερ[ιας

Col. vi.

[
ω̣σ̣θ[
125 ε̣κ̣ . [
τ̣ο̣ιτε . [
ο καιρος [.]α̣ι̣ . [. . . . .
ελθειν επι τ . [. . . . .
ριων και την̣ [. . . . .
130 υμας εκκηρ̣[υ . . . .
την τε της πολεως αρχη
γετιν [[δ]] και τους αλλους [εγ
χωριους θε[ους .]ο̣υ̣[. .] . α̣ι̣[. .
εσεσθαι ε̣χ[. . . . .
135 ταις ελπις δ[. . . . .
μνημης λα̣[. . . . .
. [.] . . [
δουλειας φε̣ . [. . . . .
ελευθεριας̣ ο̣ . [. . . . .
νον ειρ̣ . . . [. . . . . Αθη
140 ναιους υ̣περ[. . . . .
θεους ε̣ρισαι μ̣[. . . . .

γα . εινητ[. . . . .
υπηκοους οντ[ας . . . .
ξεται μεγα[. . . . .
145 [. . .]ικα[

Fragments.

(a) . . . . . .
]αται τους κ[
] . αλλ[ο]ν με[
]αβας π . [
]τερον μεν [
150]τον κα[
] . . [
. . . . .

(b) . . . .
]μενον . [.
]
.]ν
155]ς δε υμεις εαν
]εν νυν δε υμας
α]λλ ει προτερ . [
[ ]
] . εια .
. . . . . .

(c) . . . .
160]ται[
]τοτε[.] . [

(d) . . . .
162] αλλης . . [
. . . .

(e) . . .
163] και τ[
. . .

(f) . . . .
] . [
165] . ιατ[.] . . [
. . . .

(g) . . . .
166]κρι[
. . . .

17. The letters παν are on a separate fragment placed here conjecturally.

26–51. '. . . you will have more contented allies, and will make it plain to all that the temperament of the State is so far from doing an injury to any one of the innocent Greeks that in the excess of its kindness it leaves unpunished those who are plainly guilty. Most of all, by heaven, consider, men of Athens, that delay in present circumstances is fatal, for the opportunities arising from the change are likely to be short. Seize them then, and give ear no longer to those who misname inaction safety. Do not miss your salvation through fear, but take courage, and adopt resolutions by means of which you will never . . .

26. ευ]αρεστοτερους συμμαχους: cf. Diod. xviii. 10 τῶν πρέσβεων ἐπιπορευομένων τὰς πόλεις . . . αἱ πλεῖσται μὲν συνέθεντο τὴν συμμαχίαν.

43. τῶν μεταβολων: i.e. the situation created by the death of Alexander.

44. πανσα|σθε has been altered to πανσασ|θε; with combinations of σ both methods of division are frequent.

54. The first word does not seem to be πλειονων, though των may be the last word in l. 53. γι may be read in place of π, but γιτονων is unsuitable.

55–66. '. . . you ought to imitate . . . , and reflect that although I am inferior to no . . . in the city, I should not have stationed myself at Taenarum and courted danger so freely in my conduct of affairs, if I did not know that the occasion was pressing, and that the turning-point of our salvation was at hand.'

58. For εν Ταιν[αρωι καθη]μενον cf. Diod. xviii. 9 μισθοφόρους, ὄντας μὲν ὀκτακισχιλίους, διατρίβοντας δὲ περὶ Ταίναρον τῆς Πελοποννήσου. The reading Ταιν[αρωι is however very uncertain.

60. Cf. ll. 116 sqq. At the end of the line the vestiges of the letter before νων would suit η, and Ελ[λ]ηνων is a possible reading; but this is not satisfactory in itself, and moreover the initial letter is much more like σ than ε. στρατηγων is inadmissible.

73–99. 'But now I foresee the future, and urge you to take action and not to neglect the good fortune which . . . Especially the younger men, who have had among you a sufficient military training from their youth, I entreat to exert all their powers of mind and to employ their bodies in a timely display of their prowess, in order that their tranquillity in the past may be ascribed not to unmanliness but to prudence; and that we, men of Athens, may not proceed to action with inadequate numbers and without the aid of your power, nor yourselves be forced to the alternatives of either obeying the orders of others, or with an inferior force risking an engagement . . .'

78. τα of καταλειπειν was at first omitted owing to homoioteleuton, but was added before the insertion of the paragraphus.

90. l. μηθ ⟨ημ⟩εις (sc. the mercenary troops), balancing μηθ υμεις in l. 95.

96. l. ποειν for ποητε.

101–122. 'Make use of . . . and choose the safety which lies in right conduct, working out your own preservation in larger force. For it is unworthy of the daring deeds at Marathon and Salamis, men of Athens, that you should persevere in the complete renunciation of the hegemony, or in the idea that it will ever come to you of its own accord without a single effort on your part. I therefore, since it was the duty of a general not to consider his own safety or chances of election but your preservation, have come forward with that object in view in championship of general liberty . . .'

107 sqq. Cf. Diod. xviii. 10 καὶ πρότερον μὲν ὁ δῆμος . . . τοὺς ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ στρατευσαμένους βαρβάρους ἠμύνατο κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ νῦν οἴεται δεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας . . . προκινδυνεύειν.

131. πολεως αρχηγετιν: i.e. Athena; cf. C. I. G. 476 Ἀθηνᾷ ἀρχηγέτιδι καὶ θ[εοῖς, &c.

Fr. (*a*). The shape of this fragment suggests that it should be placed at the top of Col. vi, so that l. 124 combines with l. 148, but to this there are two objections, apart from the difficulty of finding suitable readings:—(1) the column would then be higher by a line than the others; (2) on the verso of this column there is some half-effaced writing, while the verso of Fr. (*a*) seems to have been left blank. The verso of Frs. (*b*) and (*c*) on the other hand has been used, and they may well belong to Col. vi, though we have not succeeded in placing them. Fr. (*e*), judging from its colour, is likely to belong to Col. i.

16. Theophrastus (?).

Mummy A. 13·3 × 19·5 *cm.* Circa B.C. 280–240.

One nearly complete column of twenty-two lines, and parts of two other columns, from a philosophical work, the subject of the fragment being a discussion of Democritus' atomic theory, particularly in relation to the composition of the sea. The author is, as Blass suggests, very likely Theophrastus, a passage in whose works affords a close parallel to part of the papyrus; cf. note on l. 41. The treatise to which the papyrus belongs may have been that περὶ ὕδατος (Diog. Laërt. v. 45) or one of his other numerous works on Natural Philosophy.

The text is written in a thick inelegant hand of a somewhat cursive character. It formed part of the same piece of cartonnage as Cols. ix–xi of **26**, and belongs more probably to the reign of Philadelphus than to that of Euergetes. The paragraphus is employed, and a blank space is left before the beginning of a new section in the middle of a line.

We are indebted to Prof. H. Diels for some suggestions in the interpretation of this papyrus.

Col. i.

]
] .
] .
]ν
5]σ̣
] . ο̣
] .
] . [.]νειν . . . [. . .] .
]α̣ μεν ουν μαλι
10 στα] περι της γενεσε
ως] ο̣ι μεγ γαρ υπο
] τ̣ης υγροτητος
υ]δατων οι δε
Δη]μοκριτος δε
15] . ι̣ ποιειν
] . τ̣ρ̣ων

Col. ii.

22 π̣ε̣δ̣ο̣ν̣ο̣ς α̣π̣ο̣ . λ . λ̣ιπ̣ομενης απ̣[.]δ̣[. .
π̣εσθαι φησ[ι]ν̣ εν τωι υγρ̣ω̣ι̣ τ̣α̣ ο̣μ̣ο̣ια
προς τ̣α ομοια καθαπερ εν τωι παντι
25 κ̣α̣ι ουτως [γ]ε̣ν̣ε̣σθαι θαλατταν και
ταλλα τα α̣[. .] . . τ̣α παντα συνενε
χθεντων τ̣[ω]ν ο̣μ̣ο̣φυλων οτι δε
εκ τ̣ω̣ν̣ ο̣μ̣ο̣γενων εστιν̣ θαλαττα
και εξ αλλων ειναι φανερον ουτε γαρ
30 λιβανωτον ουτε θειον ουτε σιλφιον
ουτε νιτρον ουτε στυπτηριαν ουτε
ασφαλτον ουτε οσα μεγαλα και θαυμα
στα πολλαχου γινεσθαι της γης του
τωι μεν ουν προχειρον ει και μηθεν
35 αλλο σκεψασθαι διοτι μερος ποιων
την θαλατταν του κοσμου τον αυ
τον τρ[ο]πον φησι γενεσθαι και τα

5 lines lost.

θαυμαστα και τα παραλογωτατα
της φυσεως ωσπερ ου πολλας ουσας
40 εν τηι γηι διαφορας   επει ποιουντι
[γε] του[ς] χυλους δια τα σχηματα και
[το] α[λ]μυρον εγ μεγαλων και γωνιο
[ει]δων ουκ [α]λογον πως περι την

30. θ of θειον corr.   34. ν ει of προχειρον ει corr.

Col. iii.

κτ . [
45 [. .]π . [
τε προ[
νιτ . . [. . .] . [
καλλ . [. .] . ω[
ει δε[. . .] . π . [
50 αλλα κ . . . [
π . . . τα . [
ουτε . . ν . [
σου το . . . . . [

λεγ . . ωι εα . [
55 ο γ . [.]ουμ . . . [
. [. .] . . . . . . [
τοιουτ[. .]αλ[
ζωιων απο . . [
κεκρισθαι π[υ
60 περ φυσιν . [
και π . . . . [
πεσπ[. .] . [
ισως κατ[

23–43. '. . . he says that in a wet substance like is (drawn) to like as in the whole creation, and thus the sea was created and all else that is . . . , through the combination of homogeneous atoms; and that the sea is composed of homogeneous atoms is also evident in another way; for neither frankincense nor sulphur nor silphium nor nitre nor alum nor bitumen nor any other important and wonderful things occur in many places in the earth. In this way, therefore, it is easy to perceive this at any rate, that by making the sea a part of the world he maintains that it is produced in the same manner as the wonderful and most unexpected things in nature, on the view that there are not many differences in the earth; for to one at any rate who considers that flavours originated by reason of atom-forms, and saltness out of large and angular particles, it is not unreasonable . . .'

22. Probably στη|πεδονος, as Diels suggests. δε πολλης επομενης αγε[λ]α|ζεσθαι cannot be read.

26. α[. .] . . τα: αλμυρα is inadmissible. Diels' suggestion α[λλ]οκοτα (cf. ll. 32 and 38) is possible, but the vestiges before τ (which is nearly certain) do not suit οκο at all well.

41. Blass well compares the discussion of Democritus' theories in Theophr. *De Sens.* 66 (Diels, *Fragm. d. Vorsokr.* p. 393) ἁλμυρὸν δὲ τὸν ἐκ μεγάλων καὶ οὐ περιφερῶν κ.τ.λ.

17. SAYINGS OF SIMONIDES.

Mummy 69. 27·7 × 15 *cm.* Circa B.C. 280–240.

A single column, written in cursive, containing a series of wise sayings, which according to the heading at the top were by Simonides, on the subject of expense. This heading suggests that the collection is a fragment of an anthology, but whether the papyrus itself formed part of an extensive work is doubtful; for there are 3 cm. of margin on one side of the column and 2½ on the other, without any signs of adjacent columns; on the left side however there is the junction of another sheet. The hand is a clear cursive which grows smaller in the last few lines; on the verso are parts of two columns of an account, which may be by the same writer. The date of the papyrus is about B.C. 250.

This Simonides, as the reference to the wife of Hiero (l. 4) at once shows, is Simonides of Ceos, who enjoyed a great reputation as a practical philosopher, and is ranked by Plato with Bias and Pittacus (*Rep.* i. 335 E). One of the sayings here recorded, which alludes to the poet's well-known miserly tendencies, explains a reference in the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle (cf. note on ll. 10–13). The others we have not traced, though some illustrations will be found in the commentary. A Vienna papyrus (Wessely, *Festschr. f. Th. Gomperz*, pp. 67–74) contains part of a similar collection of anecdotes about Diogenes.

ανη̣λ̣ω̣μ̣ατων

Σιμωνιδου

ευδοκιμει δ αυτου προς αληθε[ι
αν και το προς την Ιερωνος γυ
5 *ναικα λεχθεν ερωτηθε[ις*
γαρ ει παντα γηρασκει ναι
εφη πληγ γε κερδους ταχισ[τα
δε αι ευεργεσιαι και το πρ[ο]ς
τον πυνθανομενον δια τι ει
10 *η φειδωλος εφη δια τουτ ειναι*
φειδωλος ο[τ]ι μαλλον αχθοι
το τοις ανηλωμενοις η τοις
περιουσιν τ[ο]υτων δε εκα
τερον ηθος μεν εχειν φαυ
15 *λον παρα δε τας οργας και*

τας α̣[. . . . .] των α[ν
θρωπω[ν . . . .]λ̣ειν̣ διοπε[ρ
ουτε π̣[. . . . .] ουτε απλ[ως
ειπειν [εξ αυτω]ν ωφελεισθ[α]ι
20 χαλεπον̣ [δ ειναι] το μη χρη
σθαι τοις αυ[του .] . . . ι̣κ̣ο̣ις αλ
λα τοις αλλοτριοις
το δε ανηλωθεν ολιγου μεν
ειληπται προσαναλισκεται δε
25 το διπλασιον διο δει ελκειν τας ψηφους
και το παρ αυτου δανειζεσθαι
οταν τηι αναγκαιαι και φυσικηι
τροφηι χρησηται ωσπερ τα ζωια
απληι´

'Expenses: Simonides. Esteemed also for its truth is his remark to the wife of Hiero: being asked whether everything grows old, he replied, "Yes, everything except love of gain, and benefits quickest of all"; and his answer to the question why he was frugal, which was that he was frugal because he disliked expenses more than savings. Each of these habits had a bad side, but was . . . owing to the passions and . . . of men. Therefore one was neither (harmed) nor strictly speaking benefited by them. But it was irksome to use other people's property and not one's own. Expenditure is reckoned of slight account, and twice as much is spent again; so one should draw back the counters (?). A man borrowed his own money when he used only necessary and natural food, as the animals do.'

4–5. About the last ten years of Simonides' life were spent at Hiero's court in Syracuse. Another reply made to Hiero's wife is recounted by Aristotle, *Rhet.* ii. 16.

6–7. Cf. Plut. *An Seni*, p. 786 B Σιμωνίδης ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας αὐτῷ φιλαργυρίαν, ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεστερημένος διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἡδονῶν, ὑπὸ μιᾶς ἔτι γηροβοσκεῖται τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ κερδαίνειν.

10–13. This is evidently the saying of Simonides referred to in Arist. *Rhet.* iv. 1 εὐκοινώνητός ἐστιν ὁ ἐλευθέριος εἰς χρήματα· δύναται γὰρ ἀδικεῖσθαι μὴ τιμῶν γε τὰ χρήματα, καὶ μᾶλλον ἀχθόμενος, εἴ τι δέον μὴ ἀνάλωσεν, ἢ λυπούμενος, εἰ μὴ δέον τι ἀνάλωσε, καὶ τῷ Σιμωνίδῃ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος. Love of money was a favourite reproach against Simonides; cf. e.g. Aristoph. *Pax* 697–9.

17. Perhaps λυσιτε]λειν. π or σ may be read in place of λ.

18. An infinitive having the sense of 'injured' is lost in the lacuna; the first letter may also be γ or μ, or perhaps α or λ.

20–2. The unpleasantness of dependence upon others is apparently here the point. Cf. Stob. *Ecl.* x. 61 Σιμωνίδης . . . εἶπεν, βουλοίμην ἂν ἀποθανὼν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς μᾶλλον ἀπολιπεῖν ἢ ζῶν δεῖσθαι τῶν φίλων.

25. ελκειν τας ψηφους is perhaps a technical phrase derived from account-keeping, but we have found no other example of it. According to Hdt. ii. 36 the Greeks in counting with ψῆφοι moved the hand from left to right, so 'drawing in the ψῆφοι' might mean 'keep

on the credit side of the account.' Prof. Smyly makes an alternative suggestion that the phrase may be equivalent to the Latin *calculum reducere*, to take back a move (at draughts), to retire from a position, the meaning practically being διὸ δεῖ μὴ ἀναλῶσαι. But the expression would be extraordinarily fanciful and obscure if that is the sense. τὰς ψήφους ἑλκύσ[ας occurs in P. Petrie II. 13 (6). 15, but since that papyrus relates to quarrying the meaning there is probably quite different.

26. It is not very clear whether δανειζεσθαι also is governed by δει or whether και το begins a new sentence, the inf. δανειζεσθαι reverting to the oblique construction of ll. 13–22; on the whole the latter view seems to give the better sense. Cf. Seneca, *De Benef.* v. 7 *M. Cato ait, 'quod tibi deerit, a te ipso mutuare'*, *Ep. Mor.* 119, §§ 2 and 12 (Smyly).

29. The short oblique stroke after απλῃι apparently represents a stop.

18. Literary Fragment.

Mummy A. Frs. (*a*)+(*b*) 9·2 × 5·9. Circa B.C. 280–240.

The following small pieces of a literary work of uncertain character remain unidentified. Frs. (*a*) and (*b*) both come from the top of a column, but their relation is doubtful; the combination suggested in our text seems likely, but is far from certain. The resulting lines, so far as they go, will scan as the latter parts of iambic verses, and Blass seems to be right in regarding the fragments as derived from a comedy. The hand is slightly larger than that of **10–12**, but is of a similar appearance, and probably dates from about the middle of the third century B.C.

Frs. (*a*) and (*b*).

]. ρωδε̣ς̣ καθ[. . . .]η̣κυσαν̣[
ε]μ̣πεφυκεν [αρμ]ο̣νια τρο[
]ης και σκ . . [. .] . α̣ κ̣αι βα[
ο]μ̣οιαν ταν̣υ̣[. .] . τωι γεν[
5]χι παντα [τα] σ̣οφα γινε̣[ται
κα]τεργαζομ[εν]α και επιθ̣[
]υσε̣ι μικρο[ν α]υ̣ξησαι μ[
] ψευδει̣ τ̣[. . . .] . αι̣ διαπ̣[
]ιμ̣οις̣ τ̣ι̣θ . [. .] . υ̣ . α η̣π̣[
10]ν̣αι ο̣υχ ε . [. . . τρ]οπων [
]υτα̣ς δε[. . . .]μασο[

Fr. (*c*).

. . .
16] παρα[
] ουν π̣[
]α̣ . αφ̣[
]α̣[
. . .

]α̣τος οδ[. . . . .]κρον [
] . ω̣ς γιν[ετ]α̣ι̣ αμαθ[
]των̣ [σοφ]ωτατα[
15] . ε̣νεχ[
. . . . . .

1. The letter before ρ has a high projecting tip, which would suit e.g. γ, τ, or υ.
3. Probably σκια[or σκυθ[.

II. FRAGMENTS OF EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS

19. HOMER, *Iliad II and III.*

Mummy A. Fr. (*l*) 11·1 × 11 *cm.* Circa B.C. 285–250. PLATE VI (Fr. *i*).

Twenty-three fragments, of which nine very small ones remain unidentified, containing parts of 105 lines from Books ii and iii of the *Iliad*. The writing is a handsome uncial, Ω still retaining a tendency to approximate to the epigraphic form, Є and O being written very small, M and Π very large. It represents one of the earlier types of literary hands in the present volume and, like **26**, much more probably belongs to the reign of Philadelphus than to that of Euergetes.

In common with **21** and **22**, both of which are fragments of MSS. already in part known from other pieces published in P. Grenf. II (cf. p. 5), **19**, of which no published fragments exist, is remarkable for its variations from the ordinary text of the *Iliad*, especially in the insertion of additional lines, of which there are at least 12 or 13. Four of these expand a line describing the impartiality of Zeus (Γ 302), and three the description of Menelaus arming himself (Γ 339). As is the case with most of the additions in early Ptolemaic Homer fragments, where the 'new' lines in **19** are sufficiently well preserved to be intelligible, they are generally found to have been derived with little or no alteration from other passages in Homer; and many of the variants are also due to the influence of parallels, one conventional phrase being substituted for another, e.g. in Γ 361. Of the readings peculiar to **19** some are probably errors, e.g. the nominative

ειρηνη in B 797, the amusing variant *εισορωων* for *ἄψ ὁρόων* in Γ 325, and *ηκε* for *ἦλθε* in Γ 357; but others are quite defensible, e.g. B 826 [*των αυ*]*θ* *ηγεμονευ*[*ε* for *Τρῶες τῶν αὖτ' ἦρχε*, and Γ 304 *Δαρδανοι ηδ* [*ε*]*πικ*[*ουροι* for *ἐϋκνήμιδες* *Ἀχαιοί*; and though none of the new readings can quite definitely be called an improvement, one of the additional lines inserted after Γ 302 (302 *b*) tends to support a conjecture of Nauck in B 39, from which Γ 302 *b* is derived.

Comparing the text of the papyrus with what is known about the readings of the Alexandrian critics, **19** has three lines (B 673–5) of which two were athetized and one omitted by Zenodotus, and two other lines (B 724–5) which he athetized, but agrees with him in reading *μαρτυρες* (Γ 280), where Aristarchus had *μάρτυροι*, while in Γ 295 **19** agrees with Aristarchus in reading *αφυσσομενοι*, not *ἀφυσσάμενοι*, but contains five lines (B 791–5) obelized by him; and no particular connexion is traceable between this text and that of the chief Alexandrian grammarians. Nor does **19** exhibit any marked affinity to the text of other and later Homeric papyri which partly cover the same ground, the most important being the Bodleian Homer discovered in the Fayûm, P. Brit. Mus. 126 and P. Oxy. 20. It is specially noteworthy that the new line inserted in P. Oxy. 20 after B 798 is absent in **19**, which also differs from P. Oxy. 20 in B 795 and 797. Among other peculiarities of the papyrus are its preferences for augmented forms, e.g. Γ 296 *ηυχοντο*, Γ 370 *ειλκε*, Γ 371 *ηγχε*, and for *φη* in place of *ἦ* (Γ 355 and 369).

The supplements of lacunae in **19–21** and **23** follow the text of Ludwich; in **22** that of La Roche.

In P. Grenf. II. pp. 12–13 we gave, in connexion with those fragments belonging to **20**, **21**, and **22** which were published in 1897, our views upon some of the problems arising from the great variations in early Ptolemaic texts of Homer. Our contentions, in common with the much more far-reaching claims advanced by some critics upon the earlier discovery of the Petrie and Geneva fragments, were subjected to a searching examination by Prof. A. Ludwich in his exhaustive discussion of the subject, *Die Homervulgata als voralexandrinisch erwiesen*. The main objects of that work were (1) to dispose of the idea that the texts of the early Homeric papyri represented the pre-Alexandrian condition of the poems, out of which the vulgate was produced by the labours of the Alexandrian critics; (2) to show from a detailed investigation of the Homeric quotations in writers of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. that the texts used by them substantially agreed with the vulgate; and (3) to deny practically any critical value to the early papyrus fragments, which exhibit neither the vulgate nor the critical texts, but an 'erweiterte oder wilde' category of Ptolemaic MSS. (p. 66). We take the present opportunity therefore of restating our views in the light of Ludwich's criticisms and the new evidence.

The present volume supplies additional fragments (**20**–**22**) of P. Grenf. II. 2–4, and pieces of two previously unknown Homeric papyri, **19** and **23**. In the case of **21** and **22** the published fragments had already proved with sufficient clearness the existence of great divergences from the vulgate, and the newly discovered pieces merely provide further illustrations of the same tendency, which is particularly marked in the case of **21**. **20**, however, of which there are now extant parts of 71 lines in all, enables us to form a fairer estimate of the real nature of the MS. hitherto represented only by P. Grenf. II. 3, parts of Δ 109–13 containing no variations from the vulgate. So far as the insertion of new lines is concerned, **20** still seems to be more free from expansions than **19**, **21**, and **22**, since the insertion of a line after Δ 69 is more than balanced by the omission of three lines which are found in the ordinary texts. The total number of lines is thus two less than in the corresponding portions of the vulgate, but on the other hand the existence in this MS. of numerous variations similar in character to those found in **19**, **21**, and **22** is now clear; for although the fragments of **20** are very small and most of the lines are represented by a few letters only, there are several noteworthy variants. Considering that additional lines tend to be very unevenly distributed, especially in **19** and **21**, the circumstance that only one happens to occur in the extant pieces of **20** is quite compatible with the possibility that this text presented the same characteristics as those found with it; but the *prima facie* evidence is in favour of drawing a marked distinction between **20** and its companions, and probably that papyrus represents either a text which has been subjected to critical revision, especially by the omission of many superfluous lines, or else a tradition which from its origin was relatively free from interpolations, being in this respect perhaps superior even to the vulgate. In any case **20** certainly cannot be claimed to represent the vulgate. Both the two new papyri, **19**, with 12 or 13 new lines out of 105, and **23**, with 3 out of 30, exhibit the same degree of divergence from the vulgate as **21** and **22**, **23** being of particular importance because it is the only early Ptolemaic fragment of the *Odyssey*, the text of which seems to have been in as fluctuating a condition as that of the *Iliad*. With regard to the later Ptolemaic period there is now a little more evidence for determining the date at which the vulgate superseded other texts. P. Fay. 4 (Θ 332–6 and 362–8) and P. Tebt. 4 (B 95–210, with Aristarchean signs) both belong to the latter part of the second century B.C., and agree fairly closely with the vulgate, at any rate as to the number of lines, whereas the numerous Homeric fragments of the Roman period published in recent years very rarely contain new verses, and serve to illustrate only too well the overwhelming predominance of the vulgate. Since the Geneva fragment, which is a MS. of the same type as the third century B.C.

fragments, belongs to the second century B.C., probably the earlier half of it, the dividing line, after which the tendency for Homeric papyri to vary from the vulgate rapidly diminishes, would seem to be best placed about B.C. 150 or even earlier, rather than at the end of the Ptolemaic period.

Briefly, therefore, the situation is as follows. There are extant fragments of six different papyri earlier than B.C. 200, most of them certainly, and perhaps all, earlier than B.C. 240 (the doubts expressed by Ludwich, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–10, as to the early date of the Petrie fragment, though justified by some remarks of the first editor, have become, through the advance in knowledge of the palaeography of early Greek papyri, quite baseless). Of these six, one comes from the Fayûm, four from either the Heracleopolite or Oxyrhynchite nome, not improbably Oxyrhynchus itself, one (**23**) from the Heracleopolite nome. Five of them belong to the *Iliad*, one to the *Odyssey*; and all six exhibit very marked divergences from the text of the vulgate, particularly in the insertion of new lines. These are distributed through five of the papyri unevenly, in proportions ranging from one new line out of four in **21** to one line out of about twelve in **22**, but are much less conspicuous in the sixth (**20**), which, so far as it goes, exhibits a shorter text than the vulgate. In the fragments of the second century B.C. there is only one which shows similar characteristics to the same extent; and by the end of that century the vulgate, so far as can be judged, seems to have almost attained to that pre-eminence which is attested by plentiful evidence in the Roman period.

From these facts we should draw the following conclusions:—

(1) The effect of the new evidence afforded by the present volume is to confirm and amplify the evidence regarding the characteristics already known to exist in early Ptolemaic Homeric fragments, and to reduce still further the probability that the prevalence of these divergences is due to chance. It could formerly be maintained that, side by side with the 'eccentric' traditions represented by the papyri, there were circulating in the Fayûm (the supposed provenance of all the previously known fragments) as many or even more texts representing the vulgate, and that, taking the Homeric papyri earlier than B.C. 150, the majority of 4 to 1 in favour of the 'eccentric' traditions gave quite an unfair idea of their preponderance. The majority in favour of the 'eccentric' traditions has now become 6 to 1, while even the one exception (**20**) is not the vulgate text; and the area in which there is evidence for their currency has been extended, so that the probability that the extant fragments illustrate not unfairly the prevailing texts in Upper Egypt is greatly strengthened. Whoever and wherever the readers of the vulgate in the third century B.C. may have been, they certainly do not seem to have included more than the minority, if any at all, of the Greek settlers in Upper Egypt. Accordingly we adhere more strongly

than ever, in spite of Ludwich's objections (*op. cit.*, p. 188), to the view (P. Grenf. II. p. 12) that 'if there was any one tradition generally accepted in Egypt in the third century B.C., it was at any rate not our vulgate. . . . It is clear that the rise of the vulgate into general acceptance took place in the interval (between B.C. 150 and 30).' The point of view implied by that sentence is rather seriously misunderstood by Ludwich. He supposes (*ibid.*) that we wished to maintain 'dass unsere Homervulgata . . . erst in der zweiten Hälfte der Alexandrinerzeit entstanden ist,' a hypothesis which runs counter to the main argument of his book, that the vulgate was in existence long before the third century B.C. But though his presentation of the case against the position that the vulgate was not yet in existence when the early papyri were written leaves nothing to be desired in thoroughness, it does not affect our contention which was something quite different. What we meant and what in fact we said in the passage quoted above, though perhaps with insufficient clearness, was not that the rise of the vulgate took place after B.C. 150, but that its *rise into general acceptance* occurred after that date, i.e. that it did not supersede the 'eccentric' traditions until then, the evidence indicating that the text generally accepted in Egypt in the early Ptolemaic period was not the vulgate. And this we believe more firmly than before. The question how and when the vulgate, whether identical or not with the text called by Didymus and Aristonicus the κοινή, took its origin is another point; and even granting Ludwich's contention that the vulgate is substantially the text quoted by the fifth and fourth century Greek authors (which is by no means certain), so far from there being any evidence that in the earlier Ptolemaic period the vulgate was the normal text in circulation through Egypt apart from Alexandria, there is now fresh proof to the contrary.

(2) A more satisfactory comparison of the 'eccentric' texts with those of the chief critical editions is now possible, because among the Homeric fragments contained in the present volume, unlike those in P. Grenf. II, there are several passages in which the readings of the Alexandrian critics are known. On the whole the new evidence does not suggest any particular connexion between the 'critical' and the 'eccentric' texts, and supports our previously expressed view that, beside the enormous differences between the vulgate and these papyri, its disagreements with the text of Zenodotus and Aristarchus appear comparatively insignificant. Through the publication of Ludwich's most valuable collection of Homeric citations in fifth and fourth century B.C. authors, the position which these occupy in relation to the vulgate and the 'eccentric' texts can now be estimated. Ludwich's statistics (*op. cit.*, pp. 140–1) show that out of 480 verses quoted by various authors before B.C. 300 only 9–11 are not found in the vulgate; from which he concluded (1) that the text used by the pre-Alexandrian writers

was much nearer to the vulgate than were the 'eccentric' traditions, and (2) that so far from the Homeric tradition being in a chaotic condition before the time of the Alexandrian grammarians, most of the pre-Alexandrian writers (24 or 25 out of 29) already used the vulgate, not the 'eccentric' texts. Without advocating the extreme position maintained on the appearance of the Petrie Homer fragment by some critics who denied the existence of the vulgate text at all before the Alexandrian period, and admitting that the fifth and fourth century B.C. quotations are on the whole slightly nearer the vulgate than are the 'eccentric' texts, we have less confidence than Ludwich in the inferences which he bases upon his figures. It is quite true that the average of new lines in the 'eccentric' texts (about 70 in 547 lines[1], i.e. 1 in every 8 approximately) is higher than that in the quotations (about 1 in 48), and if the new lines in the 'eccentric' text had been at all evenly distributed the argument from the difference in the averages would have considerable weight. But, as we pointed out in P. Grenf. II. p. 13, and as is again clearly illustrated by **19** and **21**, the additional lines are distributed very unevenly. They tend to come at points where the thread of the narrative is loose, and to occur in batches; and between the premiss that there are few of them to be found in the pre-Alexandrian quotations and the conclusion that the texts from which those quotations are derived were free from extensive insertions of new lines, there is a broad gap, over which Ludwich's bridge is very insecure, as will appear more clearly from an instance. In **19** there are 12 additional lines out of 105, but of the 13 fragments (treating Frs. (*m*) and (*z*) as one) 7 have no additional lines at all, and 8 out of the 12 additional lines occur on 2 fragments. Similarly in **21** (Θ) there are (including P. Grenf. II. 2) at least 26 new lines out of 105, a proportion of 1 in 4; but 9 of these occur after l. 65, 4 before and 4 after l. 55, and 4 after l. 52: throughout the other passages additional lines are scarce. It is obvious that several citations might be made from the extant fragments of **19** and **21**, particularly quotations of 2 or 3 lines such as figure largely in Ludwich's list, without in the least betraying the fact that the average proportion of new lines in **19** is 1 in 8 or 9 and in **21** is actually 1 in 4, and that if only one or two short quotations were made from **19** or **21** the chances against the true average being indicated are very considerable, especially as the additional lines are seldom very striking. Moreover, of the 29 authors who appear in Ludwich's list, and 25 of whom he claims as supporting the vulgate, those who are represented by more than 3 quotations and 10 lines in all (when the evidence is less than that it is really too slight to be of much value) number only 7, and 2 of these 7 (Aeschines and Aristotle),

[1] In this calculation we omit **20** for the reasons explained on p. 69, but include the Geneva fragment, which contains 9–13 new lines out of 77.

and possibly a third (Diogenes of Sinope), make quotations containing extra lines, indicating that if they sometimes quoted from the vulgate they also at other times quoted from the 'eccentric' texts. The question of the relation of the quotations in fifth or fourth century B.C. authors to the vulgate can only be decided satisfactorily if a sufficient amount of the 'eccentric' traditions is recovered to make possible a direct comparison between it and the quotations. Passages in which the pre-Alexandrian quotations happen to coincide with the extant fragments of the 'eccentric' texts are naturally very rare, but one occurs in Θ 20–2, where Aristotle (*π. ζῴων κιν.* 4. p. 699 B, 35) transposes ll. 20 and 22 of the vulgate, whereas **21** agrees with the vulgate with regard to the order. There is however a quotation in Plutarch (*Consol. ad Apoll.* 30) of a passage which is partly preserved in P. Grenf. II. 4 (Ψ 223), and in this it is curiously significant that Plutarch's text had an additional line which is also found in the papyrus. And if a writer as late as Plutarch was using a text which apparently resembled the 'eccentric' class long after the pre-eminence of the vulgate was unquestioned, have we the right to believe in the widespread circulation of the vulgate any earlier than the date attested by strong and direct evidence? The papyri, as we have shown, lend no support to the vulgate until the second century B.C.; and the quotations from fifth and fourth century B.C. authors are for the most part so small and so easily reconcilable with an inference exactly opposite to that drawn from them by Ludwich, as to be quite inconclusive. To maintain, therefore, as Ludwich proposes, in the face of the four additional lines added to Θ in the Pseudo-Platonic *Alcibiades* II and the quite different version of Ψ 77–91 in Aeschines' speech against Timarchus, in spite of the consensus of the early Ptolemaic papyri and notwithstanding the obviously hazardous character of an argument from averages based on comparatively few instances, the thesis 'dass es ganz unmöglich ist, die Existenz und die überwiegende Herrschaft dieses Vulgärtextes für die voralexandrinische Zeit zu leugnen,' seems to us a considerable exaggeration. In this, as in several other respects, the truth would seem to lie between the two extremes represented by Ludwich and the critics whom he was chiefly opposing. However unwelcome it may be, the fact remains that the history of the Homeric vulgate prior to B.C. 150 is still involved in very great obscurity, and dogmatism of any kind is to be deprecated. Before B.C. 200 we can distinguish a certain number of texts, represented either by papyri or by quotations, which certainly were not the vulgate, and a much larger number of texts, represented however only by quotations, which may or may not have been the vulgate. Until we know what were the readings of the 'eccentric' texts in the passages corresponding to these quotations, and whether they coincided or not with the

vulgate, the agreement between the quotations and the vulgate do not prove much, since the 'eccentric' texts often agree with the vulgate in the matter of lines throughout quite long passages. The extreme view that the vulgate was the creation of Alexandria is rightly rejected by Ludwich; for there is evidence to show that much of the Alexandrian criticism failed to influence the vulgate, and it is on general grounds unlikely that the vulgate could have attained its pre-eminence by B.C. 150 if it had only come into existence in the previous century. That some of the texts represented by the fifth and fourth century B.C. quotations were of the same character as the vulgate is likely enough. But that it had any right to the title of the 'common' text before the second century B.C. is extremely disputable. So far as the evidence goes at present, the use of the vulgate text seems to have been rather the exception than the rule down to B.C. 200.

(3) This brings us to another point. What were the causes of the rise of the vulgate into pre-eminence? For Ludwich, who regards the vulgate as already firmly established when the text of Homer first emerges from the mists of antiquity in the fifth century, the answer is easy. But if we are right in thinking that in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. the text which became the vulgate was fiercely competing with other texts which tended to be much longer, and that it only achieved the victory about B.C. 200, something more than its intrinsic merits would seem to be required to account for its success. If the 'eccentric' texts, which are, we think, as old as the vulgate, were good enough not only for Aeschines and the author of *Alcibiades II*, but for the first three generations of Greek settlers in Upper Egypt, why were they abandoned by the succeeding generations? It is very difficult to acquit the Alexandrian Museum of having had some part in the matter, at any rate in Egypt itself, and to disconnect entirely, as Ludwich wishes, the foundation of the chief University of antiquity from the great changes wrought during the next century and a half in the ordinary copies of the text of that author who was more studied than any other. Of the general teaching received by students of Homer at the Museum very little is known except the views of particular grammarians on particular points; and the fact that very few of the readings preferred by the great critics seem to have affected the text of the vulgate is by no means inconsistent with the hypothesis that the influence of the Museum, as a whole, in some way tended to foster the reproduction of the vulgate in preference to the 'eccentric' editions. Here too, as we have stated, we have endeavoured to strike a mean between the position of those who contended that the Alexandrians created the vulgate and that of Ludwich, who denies that they were in any way responsible for its general currency.

(4) With regard to the value of the variants in the early papyri, the new

lines are in many cases no doubt interpolated from other portions of the poems, and the other differences are often due to the unconscious influence of parallel passages. Some of the new readings, however, especially the omissions in **20**, are at least defensible, and in themselves as good as those of the vulgate, though none of those found in **19** and **21–3** has so strong a claim to be considered superior as that much-discussed variant ωκα δε Ιρις (Ψ 198), found in P. Grenf. II. 4, in place of ὠκέα δ' Ἶρις. That Ludwich rejects this is not surprising in view of his threefold classification of Ptolemaic Homeric MSS. (cf. p. 68) and his anxiety to deny any critical value to the 'erweiterte oder wilde' category. But in his continued preference for ὠκέα δ' Ἶρις in the face of the other reading Ludwich has not commanded general support (ὦκα δὲ Ἶρις is accepted, e. g. by Monro and Allen, though not by Leaf); and the attempt to limit the knowledge of the truth to particular families of MSS. to the exclusion of the rest is not likely to be more successful in the case of Homer than in that of other authors. One of the most valuable results of recent discoveries is the proof of the fallacy of pinning one's faith to one tradition. A comparison of the papyri of extant Greek authors with the corresponding portions of the mediaeval MSS. shows that the early texts (cf. e. g. **26** introd.) hardly ever favour in a marked degree any one of the later MSS. or families of MSS., while in the case of some authors, e. g. Xenophon (cf. P. Oxy. III. pp. 119–20), the papyri show that modern critics have often gone too far in preferring one family of MSS. to another, and prove clearly, what is apt to be sometimes forgotten, that the proper guiding principle in the reconstruction of the text of any ancient author is a judicious eclecticism. And though from the point of view of Homeric criticism of the twentieth century it may be convenient to label the texts of the early papyri as 'eccentric' or 'wilde,' it should be remembered that there was a long period during which this class probably formed the majority of texts in circulation, and that the similar variants existing in several of the quotations of Homer in the fifth and fourth century B.C. writers are now freed by the evidence of papyri from much of the suspicion of error which formerly attached to them. As was pointed out by Mr. Allen (*Class. Rev.* 1899, p. 41), it is now known that Aeschines and the author of *Alcibiades II* neither were the victims of imperfect recollection nor adapted passages to their own ends, but were quoting copies more or less resembling the texts of the early papyri.

Fr. (*a*).

. . . .

B 174 [ουτω δη οικον δε φιλην ες πατριδα γαι]αν
175 [φευξεσθ εν νηεσσι πολυκληισι πεσοντ]ες

176 [καδ δε κεν ευχωλην Πριαμωι και] Τρωσι λ[ιποιτε
177 [Αργειην Ελενην ης εινεκα πολλοι] Αχα[ιων
178 [εν Τροιηι απολοντο φιλης απο πατ]ριδος αιη[ς
179 [αλλ ιθι νυν κατα λαον Αχαιων μηδε] τ [ερωει

. . . .

179. For μηδε τ ερωει the first hand in P. Brit. Mus. 126 has χαλκοχιτωνων, which is possible here.

Fr. (*b*).

. . . .

Β 204 ουκ αγαθη π[ολυκοιρανιη εις κοιρανος εστω
205 εις βασιλευς ωι ε[δωκε Κρονου παις αγκυλομητεω

. . . .

204. αγαθη: ἀγαθόν MSS.
205. ε[δωκε: so most MSS. δῶκε Aristarchus and a few MSS.

Fr. (*c* 1).

. . . .

Β 621 [υιες ο μεν Κτεατου ο δ αρ Ευρυτου Ακτ]οριωνος
622 [των δ Αμαρυγκειδης Διωρης ηρχεν α]μυμων
623 [των δε τεταρτων ηρχε Πολυξεινος θεοε]ιδης

The position assigned to this fragment, which was suggested by Blass, is almost certain. The remains of the first and third lines suit Β 621 and 623, and though α]μυμων in l. 2 conflicts with the termination of Β 622 in the MSS., the variant presents no difficulty. ἀμύμων occurs at the end of a line in Β 876, but the ends of the other two lines are there different.

621. Ακτ]οριωνος: the MSS. are divided between Ἀκτορίωνε (Aristarchus) and Ἀκτορίωνος.
622. Διωρης ηρχεν α]μυμων: ἦρχε κρατερὸς Διώρης MSS. The reading of the papyrus avoids the spondaic ending of the verse.

Fr. (*c* 2).

. . . .

Β 673 [Νιρευς ος καλλιστος ανηρ] υπ[ο Ιλιον ηλθε
674 [των αλλων Δαναων με]τ αμυ[μονα Πηλειωνα
675 [αλλ αλαπαδνος εην πα]υρος δε οι εσπ[ετο λαος

676 [οι δ αρα Νισυρο]ν τ ειχον [Κρα]παθον [τε Κασον τε
677 [και Κων Ευρ]υπυλοιο πολιν [νησους τε Καλυδνας
678 [των αυ Φειδ]ιππος τε και Αντ[ι]φ[ος ηγησασθην
679 [Θεσσαλου υιε δυ]ω [Ηρα]κλειδαο [ανακτος

. . . .

673. This line and 675 were athetized by Zenodotus, who omitted 674.
675. εσπ[ετο : εἵπετο MSS. (except one which has ἕπετο).

Fr. (*d*).

B 715 [Αλκηστις Πελιαο θυγ]ατρων [ειδος αριστ]η
716 [οι δ αρα Μηθωνην κα]ι Θαυμακιην ερατεινη[ν
717 [και Μελιβοιαν εχον και Ολι]ζωνα τρηχειαν
718 [των δε Φιλοκτητης ηρχεν τοξω]ν ευ [ε]ιδω[ς]
719 [επτα νεων ερεται δ εν εκαστηι πε]ν[τ]ηκοντα
720 [εμβεβασαν τοξων ευ ειδοτες ιφι μαχ]εσθα[ι
721 [αλλ ο μεν εν νησωι κειτο κρατερ αλγεα πασ]χ[ων
722 [Ανμνωι εν ηγαθεηι οθι μιν λιπον υιες Αχ]αιων [
723 [ελκει μοχθιζοντα κακωι ολοοφρονος] υδρου
724 [ενθ ο γε κειτ αχεων ταχα δε μνη]σε[σθαι εμελλον

. . . .

716. ερατεινη[ν : ἐνέμοντο MSS.
718. Zenodotus read here τῶν αὖ ἡγεμόνευε Φιλοκτήτης ἀγὸς ἀνδρῶν.
722. The reading αιων is very doubtful, especially the α, and 31 letters are rather long for the lacuna ; in l. 723, which has 31 letters in the corresponding space, there are 7 omicrons, and in l. 724 only 21 or 22 letters are lost in the corresponding space.
724. This line and 725 were athetized by Zenodotus.

Fr. (*e*).

. . . .

B 794 [δεγμενος οπποτ]ε να[υφιν αφορμηθειεν Αχαιοι
794 *a* εις πεδιον Τρωεσσι φονογ κα[ι κηρα φεροντες
795 [τωι] μιν αρ ειδομενη προ[σε]φ[η ποδας ωκεα Ιρις
796 [ω γερον] αει τοι μυθοι φιλ[ο]ι α[κριτοι εισιν
797 [ως τε πο]τε ειρηνη πολεμ[ος δ αλιαστος ορωρεν
798 [ηδη μεν] μαλα πολλα μαχ[ας εισηλυθον ανδρων

799 [αλλ ου πω] τοιονδε τοσονδε [τε λαον οπωπα
800 [λιην γαρ φυλλοισιν] ε[οι]κοτ[ες η ψαμαθοισιν

. . . .

794. For the new line inserted after this cf. B 352 Ἀργεῖοι Τρώεσσι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέροντες.

795. μιν αρ ειδομενη: μιν εισαμενη the Bodleian papyrus discovered at Hawara (collated in Leaf's edition), σ]φιν εεισαμενη P. Oxy. 20, μιν ἐεισαμένη other MSS. Cf. λ 241, where ἄρα εἰδόμενος is found in a Vienna MS. in place of ἄρ' ἐεισάμενος or ἄρα εἰσάμενος. Lines 791–5 were obelized by Aristarchus.

796. αει: so X; αἰεί other MSS. Cf. Γ 296.

797. [ως τε πο]τε ειρηνη: the restoration of the lacuna is uncertain. The beginning of this line seems to have given much trouble in early times. P. Oxy. 20 has ως τε ποτ επ [ειρηνης which will construe but not scan, the Bodleian papyrus ως τε ποτ ειρηνης which will scan and is defensible. The vellum MSS. mostly have ὥς ποτ' ἐπ' εἰρήνης, with the unmetrical variant ὥς τ' ἐπ' in three instances, and ὥσπερ ἐπ' in one. **19** is unique in having the nominative εἰρήνη, which can hardly be justified and may represent a corruption of the reading ως τε ποτ ειρηνης.

798. After this verse P. Oxy. 20 inserts from Γ 185 a new line ενθα ιδον π[λειστους Φρυγας α]νερας αιο[λοπωλους.

Fr. (*f*).

. . . .

B 813 τ[ην η τοι ανδρες Βατιειαν κικλησκουσιν
814 αθαν[ατοι δε τε σημα πολυσκαρθμοιο Μυρινης
815 ενθα [τοτε Τρωες τε διεκριθεν ηδ επικουροι
816 Τρωσ[ι μεν ηγεμονευε μεγας κορυθαιολος Εκτωρ
817 [Π]ρ[ι]αμ[ιδης αμα τωι γε πολυ πλειστοι και αριστοι

. . . .

Fr. (*g*)

. . . .

B 826 [των αυ]θ ηγεμονευ[ε Λυκαονος αγλαος υιος
827 [Πανδ]αρος ωι και τοξ[ον Απολλων αυτος εδωκεν
828 [οι δ] αρ [Α]δρηστειαν να[ιον και δημον Απαισου
829 [και Πιτ]υειαν εχογ κα[ι Τηρειης ορος αιπυ
830 [των ηρ]χε Αδρηστος τε [και Αμφιος λινοθωρηξ

826. [των αυ]θ ηγεμονευ[ε: the doubtful θ might be ε, but there is not room for [των αυτ]ε. Most MSS. (including the Bodleian papyrus) read Τρῶες τῶν αὖτ' ἦρχε, a few having the

variants τ' αὖτ' or τ' αὖ. The papyrus version can be defended against that of the vulgate; for οἳ δὲ Ζέλειαν ἔναιον in 824 are in any case contrasted with Τρωσὶ μὲν ἡγεμόνευε in 816 and Δαρδανίων αὖτ' ἦρχεν in 819. But Τρῶες is, as Blass observes, in accordance with E 200 and 211, where Pandarus calls his people Τρῶες.

828. αρ: so A and some other MSS.; the Bodleian papyrus and the rest omit it. ναίον: τ' εἶχον MSS. The papyrus avoids the repetition εἶχον . . . ἔχον in 828–9.

Frs. (*h*) and (*i*). PLATE VI.

. . . .

Γ 277 [Ηελιος θ ος πα]ντ εφοραι κα[ι παντ επακουει
278 [και ποταμοι] και γαια κ[αι οι υπενερθε καμοντας
279 ? [24 letters]ντα[
280 [υμεις μαρτ]υρες εστε φυλασσετε δ ορκια π[ιστα
281 [ει μεν κεν] Μενελαον Αλεξανδρος κατα[πεφνηι
282 [αυτος επειθ Ε]λενην εχετω και κτημ[ατα παντα
283 [ημεις δ εν νη]εσσι νεωμεθα κουροι Αχαιω[ν
283 *a* [Αργος ες ιπποβοτον κ]αι Αχαιδα καλλιγυν[αικα
284 [ει δε κε τοι Μενελαος Α]λεξανδρον κατ[απεφνηι
285 [Τρωας επειθ Ελενην κ]αι κτηματ[α παντ αποδουναι

. . . .

277. εφοραι . . . [επακουει: so P. Brit. Mus. 126 (-ρα corr. from -ρας) and Sch. Apoll.; ἐφορᾷς . . . ἐπακούεις other MSS. Cf. λ 109, μ 323 Ἠελίου ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει.

279. Lines 277–8 are on a separate fragment, the position of which in relation to the following one is not certain. The vestiges of the line preceding 280 are not reconcilable with any letters from the middle of l. 279 as given in our texts ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθον ὅτις κ' ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ, but whether the papyrus merely differed from the vulgate in that line or contained it and inserted one or more new lines afterwards cannot be decided. The combination γαια κ[αι οι υπενερθε καμο]ντα[ς is not admissible.

280. μαρτ]υρες: so Zenodotus and a few MSS.; μάρτυροι Aristarchus and the majority of MSS.

283. κουροι Αχαιω[ν: ποντοπόροισι most MSS. The line is not infrequently omitted. The new line inserted after 283 comes from Γ 258.

284. The MSS. have εἰ δέ κ' Ἀλέξανδρον κτείνῃ ξανθὸς Μενέλαος. The papyrus reading simply repeats l. 281 with the fewest necessary changes.

Fr. (*k*).

. . . .

Γ 295 [οινον δ εκ κ]ρητηρο[ς α]φυσσο[μενοι δεπαεσσιν
296 [εκχεον η]δ ηυχοντο θεοις αει[γενετηισιν

297 [ωδε δε τις ειπ]ạσκεν Αχαιων τε Τρωων τ[ε

. . . .

295. α]φυσσο[μενοι: so Aristarchus, A (second hand) and other MSS.; ἀφυσσάμενοι P. Brit. Mus. 126, A (first hand) and others.

296. ηυχοντο: εὔχοντο MSS. Cf. p. 68.

αει[γενετηισιν: αἰειγενέτῃσιν MSS. Cf. B 796.

297. ειπ]ασκεν: the doubtful α might be δ or λ, but there is hardly room for even a narrow letter such as ι between it and σκεν. εἴπεσκεν is uniformly found in the MSS.

Fr. (*l*). Col. i.

Γ 302 [ως εφαν ε]ụ[χο]μ̣ενοι μεγα δ εκτυπε μητιετα Ζευς
302 *a* [εξ Ιδης βρον]ṭων επι̣ δε στεροπην εφεηκ[ε]ν
302 *b* [θησεμεναι γ]αρ̣ εμελλεν ετ αλγεα τε στοναχας τε
302 *c* [Τρωσι τε και] Δαναọι̣[σι] δια κρατερας υσ[μ]ινας
302 *d* [αυταρ επει ρ ο]μοσεν τε τελευτησεν [τε] τον ορκ[ον
303 [τοισι δε Δαρδανι]δ[ης] Πριαμος προς μυθον εειπ[εν
304 [κεκλυτε μευ Τ]ρωες και Δαρδανοι ηδ [ε]πικ[ουροι
304 *a* [οφρ ειπω] τα μ[ε θυ]μος ενι στηθεσσιν αν[ω]γε[ι
305 [ητοι ε]γων ειμι πρ[ọ]τι Ιλιον ηνεμοεσσαν
306 [ο]υ γαρ κεν τλαιηṿ [ποτ εν οφθα]λμοισιν ορασθ[αι
307 [μα]ρναμ[ε]νον φιλο[ν υιον Αρηιφιλωι Μενελαωι
308 [Ζευς μεν που] ṭ[ο] γ̣[ε οιδε και αθανατοι θεοι αλλοι
309 [οπποτερωι θα]νατοιο τελ[ος πεπρωμενον εστιν
310 [η ρα και ες διφρο]ṿ α̣ρ̣[νας θετο ισοθεος φως

. . . .

Col. ii.

325 εισορο[ων Παριος δε θοως εκ κληρος ορουσεν
326 οι μεν [επειθ ιζοντο κατα στιχας ηχι εκαστου
327 [ι]π̣π̣[οι αερσιποδες και ποικιλα τευχε εκειτο

. . . .

302. For this the MSS. have ὣς ἔφαν οὐ δ' ἄρα πώ σφιν ἐπεκραίαινε Κρονίων, which is expanded in the papyrus into five lines. The papyrus version of l. 302 comes from Θ 377 ὣς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος μεγὰ δ' ἔκτυπε μητίετα Ζεύς.

302 *a–d*. For the restoration [εξ Ιδης βρον]των cf. Θ 170 τρὶς δ' ἄρ' ἀπ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων κτύπε μητίετα Ζεύς and Θ 75 αὐτὸς δ' ἐξ Ἴδης μεγάλ' ἔκτυπε. The supposed τ might be combined

with the supposed tail of the υ of ε]υ[χο]μενοι in the line preceding so as to read]φων, but this arrangement is less satisfactory. επι followed by εφεηκεν is awkward, but the reading is almost certain; ετι is inadmissible. The next two lines, [θησεμεναι γ]αρ . . . υσ[μ]ινας, are derived from B 39–40 θήσειν γὰρ ἔτ' ἔμελλεν ἐπ' ἄλγεα κ.τ.λ., where Nauck had conjectured θησέμεναι γὰρ ἔμελλεν ἔτ', which seems to have been found in the papyrus. For the stock line [αυταρ επει ρ ο]μοσεν κ.τ.λ. cf. Ξ 280, &c.

303. προς: μετά MSS.

304. Δαρδανοι ηδ [ε]πικ[ουροι: ἐϋκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί MSS. For the papyrus reading, which is as appropriate as that of the vulgate, cf. Γ 456, &c. The line which follows, ὄφρ' εἴπω κ.τ.λ., occurs (with -σι κελεύει for -σιν ἀνώγει) in H 68, 349, 369, and Θ 6, being omitted in the last two instances by the better MSS. For the variant ἀνώγει cf. I 703 θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἀνώγῃ.

306. [ο]υ γαρ κεν τλαιην [ποτ: ἄψ, ἐπεὶ οὔ πω τλήσομ' MSS.; cf. Ω 565 οὐ γάρ κε τλαίη βρότος.

310. διφρο]ν αρ[νας: the reading is very uncertain. Perhaps the papyrus had a new line here.

325. εισορο[ων: ἂψ ὁρόων MSS. The variant, which makes Hector behave in a very unheroic manner, is probably a mere error.

Frs. (*m*) and (*z*).

. . . .

Γ 337 *a* [13 letters]την[
338 ? ειλε[το δ αλκιμα] δουρε δυ[ω κεκορυθμενα χαλκωι
339 ως δ α[υτως Μεν]ελαος Αρηια [τευχε εδυνεν
339 *a* ασπιδα κα[ι πηλη]κα φαεινη[ν καὶ δυο δουρε
339 *b* και καλα[ς κνη]μιδας επισφ[υριοις αραρυιας
339 *c* αμφι δ α[ρ ωμοισι]ν βαλετο ξι[φος αργυροηλον

. . . .

337 *a*. The remains of this line are inconsistent with l. 337 ἵππουριν· δεινὸν δὲ λόφος καθύπερθεν ἔνευεν. Perhaps the papyrus elaborated the description of the helmet in one or more new lines.

338. Here the MSS. have εἵλετο δ' ἄλκιμον ἔγχος ὅ οἱ παλάμηφιν ἀρήρει, with an ancient variant ἀκαχμένον ὀξέι χαλκῷ (cf. K 135) attested by Schol. A, and perhaps ειλε[το δ αλκιμα] κ.τ.λ. is a new line altogether, l. 338 occurring previously. Zenodotus athetized ll. 334–5 and inserted after 338 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὤμοισιν βάλετ' ἀσπίδα τερσανόεσσαν. For κεκορυθμενα χαλκωι cf. Γ 18, Λ 43 δοῦρε δύω κεκορυθμένα χαλκῷ.

339. Αρηια [τευχε εδυνεν: Ἀρήϊος ἔντε' ἔδυνεν MSS. For the papyrus reading cf. Z 340 Ἀρήϊα τεύχεα δύω. The three new lines expand the description of Menelaus arming himself. For ασπιδα κα[ι κ.τ.λ. cf. α 256 ἔχων πήληκα καὶ ἀσπίδα καὶ δύο δοῦρε. 339 *b* και καλα[ς κνη]μιδας επισφ[υριοις αραρυιας = Σ 459 (cf. Γ 331), and 339 *c* αμφι δ α[ρ κ.τ.λ. repeats l. 334.

Frs. (*j*) and (*n*).

. . . .

Γ 351 Ζε̣[υ ανα δος τει]σ̣ασ̣θ̣α̣[ι ο με προ]τ̣[ερος κακ εοργε
352 διον Α[λε]ξανδρον κα[ι] ε[μ]ηις υ[πο χερσι δαμασσον
353 οφ[ρ]α τις ερριγηισι και ο[ψι]γονων [ανθρωπων
354 [ξεινο]δοκ[ο]ν κακα ρεξαι ο τ̣ις φ[ιλοτητα παρασχηι
355 φη ρα κα[ι] αμπεπαλων προιει δ̣[ολιχοσκιον εγχος
356 και β[α]λε [Π]ρια̣μιδαο κατ ασπιδ[α παντοσ εισην
357 δ[ια με]ν ασπιδος ηκε φαεινης [οβριμον εγχος
358 [και δια] θωρηκος πολυδαιδα[λου ηρηρειστο
359 [α]ντικρυ δε παραι λαπαρην δια[μησε χιτωνα
360 [ε]γχος ο δ εκλινθη και αλευατο κ[ηρα μελαιναν
361 Ατρειδης δ αορ οξυ ερυσαμενος [παρα μηρου
362 πληξεν επαιξας κ[ορυ]θος φαλ[ον ιπποδασειης
362 *a* χαλκειης δεινο̣ν [δε κορυς λακεν αμφι δ αρ αυτηι
363 [τ]ριχθα τε και τ[ετραχθα διατρυφεν εκπεσε χειρος
364 Ατρει[δης δ ωιμωξεν ιδων εις ουρανον ευρυν
365 Ζευ πατερ [ου τις σειο θεων ολοωτερος αλλος
366 η τε εφαμη[ν τεισασθαι Αλεξανδρον κακοτητος ?
366 *a* διον Αλεξα[νδρον Ελενης ποσιν ηυκομοιο
367 νυν δε μ[οι εν χειρεσσιν αγη ξιφος εκ δε μοι εγχος
368 ηιχ[θη] παλ[αμηφιν ετωσιον ουδ εβαλον μιν
369 φη και επαιξ[ας κορυθος λαβεν ιπποδασειης
370 ειλκε δ επε̣ι[γομενος μετ ευκνημιδας Αχαιους
371 ηγχε δε [μιν πολυκεστος ιμας απαλην υπο δειρην

. . . .

352. This line was athetized by Aristarchus.
354. τις: κεν MSS.
355. φη: ἦ MSS. Cf. l. 369.
357. ηκε: ἦλθε MSS. The use of ἥκειν in such a context is not Homeric.
361. For this line the MSS. have Ἀτρείδης δὲ ἐρυσάμενος ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον. The papyrus reading corresponds to Φ 173, with the substitution of Ἀτρείδης for Πηλείδης.
362. επαιξας: ἀνασχόμενος MSS. Cf. l. 369. After φάλον the MSS. have ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτῷ (αὐτῇ Aristarchus and αἱ χαριέστεραι) which probably came at the end of l. 362 *a*. For χαλκείη as an epithet of κόρυς cf. Μ 184, Υ 398, and for ἱπποδάσεια Γ 369, Δ 459, &c. For δεινον [δε κορυς λακεν (suggested by Blass) cf. Δ 420 δεινὸν δ' ἔβραχε χαλκός, and Ξ 25 λάκε δέ σφι περὶ χροΐ χαλκός.

363. After this line there is a break in the papyrus, and Fr. (*n*), containing ll. 364–71, does not quite join Fr. (*j*), but it is improbable that any line is lost in the interval.

366 *a*. This new line comes from Γ 329. Whether the papyrus had Ἀλεξάνδρου κακότητος in l. 366 is very doubtful.

369. φη: ᾗ MSS. Cf. l. 355.

370. ειλκε: so P. Brit. Mus. 126 and Eustathius. ἕλκε MSS. επει[γομενος: ἐπιστρέψας MSS.

371. ηγχε: ἦγχεν Eust., ἄγχε MSS.

Fr. (*o*).

. . . . . .
]τ̣[
]σαντο δε λα̣[
] . [. .] δε πλεο[ν
. . . .

Fr. (*p*).

. . . .
] . υκων[
] π̣ερι π̣ . [
. . . .

Fr. (*q*).

. . . . .
]ρατονα̣[
]μοιστ̣ι̣ν̣ ε̣κ̣[

Fr. (*r*).

. . .
] . [
] . . [
]λ̣λ̣ατ̣[

Fr. (*s*).

. . .
] . [
]η̣ι εν[
. . .

Fr. (*t*).

. . .
]νησ̣[
] . ηγ̣[

Fr. (*u*).

. . . .
] . . . . . [
]ρ . . π̣ . . . εκπ[
]ω̣ ε̣ι̣ . [.] . . . [
. . . . . .

Fr. (*w*).

. . . .
]μοι βασ . [
] . [. . . .] . ενεμ̣[
]νομ . . ο̣μ̣ . . [

Fr. (*x*).

]ω̣ς ερε[
. . .

Fr. (*o*) 2. Perhaps [ηρη]σαντο δε λα[οι should be restored, as Blass suggests, and this line identified with Γ 318 which begins λαοὶ δ' ἠρήσαντο. The supposed τ in l. 1 would suit [οππο]τ[ερος, the first word of l. 317; but after [ηρη]σαντο δε λα[οι the papyrus must have continued quite differently from the MSS., which proceed θεοῖσι δὲ χεῖρας ἀνέσχον· ὧδε δέ τις εἴπεσκεν Ἀχαιῶν τε Τρώων τε.

Fr. (*q*) 1. Probably στ]ρατον; but the fragment does not suit Β 207, 439, or 779. It is from the bottom of a column, as apparently are also Frs. (*r*), (*t*) and (*w*).

Fr. (*u*). It is tempting to read εκπ[εσε in l. 2 with εις in the next line and place this fragment at Γ 363–4, but the vestiges of other letters do not suit διατρυφεν and ουρανον.

Fr. (*x*), from the top of a column, was probably in immediate proximity to Fr. (*w*).

20. Homer, *Iliad III–V*. BM 1826

Mummy A. Fr. (*a*) 8 × 4 *cm*. Circa B.C. 280–240. Plate VI (Frs. *d, f, h*).

Twelve small fragments containing parts of 66 lines from Books iii–v of the *Iliad*, forming part of the same MS. as P. Grenf. II. 3, a small fragment containing parts of 5 lines with no variants. **20** is much less remarkable than **19** and **21–3** for the presence of additional lines; only one is found (after Δ 69), and this is more than balanced by the omission of Γ 389, Δ 89, where the papyrus exhibits a striking agreement with Zenodotus, and E 527. The total number of lines is thus two less than in the corresponding portions of the vulgate, and, though most of the 71 lines are represented by only a few letters, there are several marked divergences from the ordinary text, e.g. in Γ 388, Δ 57, E 530 and 797. Owing to the rarity of additional lines **20** can hardly be placed in the same class as the other Homeric papyri in this volume (cf. p. 69); but it is clear that it differed widely from the vulgate.

The papyrus was probably written during the reign of Philadelphus.

Fr. (*a*). Col. i.

. . . .

Γ 347 [*και βαλεν Ατρειδαο κατ ασπιδα παντοσ εισ*]*ηṿ*
348 [*ου δ ερρηξεν χαλκος ανεγναμφθη δε οι αιχ*]*μ̣η*
349 [*ασπιδ ενι κρατερηι ο δε δευτερος ωρνυτο χαλ*]*κωι*
350 [*Ατρειδης Μενελαος επευξαμενος Δυ πα*]*τ̣ρ̣ι*
351 [*Ζευ ανα δος τισασθαι ο με προτερος κακ εοργ*]*ε̣*

Two lines lost.

354 [*ξεινοδοκον κακα ρεξαι ο κεν φιλοτητα παρασχ*]*ηι*
355 [*η ρα και αμπεπαλων προιει δολιχοσκιον εγ*]*χ̣ο̣ς*
356 [*και βαλε Πριαμιδαο κατ ασπιδα παντοσ ει*]*σην*

354–6. It is not absolutely certain that the ends of these three lines, which were originally on a separate fragment, are to be placed here. But]*ηι* followed after an interval of one line by]*σην* only suits this passage in Books iii–v. The difficulty lies in l. 355, *εγ*]*χος*, for the traces of the *χ* are very faint and the supposed *ο* is not joined at the top. But as no other letter is more suitable than *ο* and the surface of this fragment has suffered a good deal *εγ*]*χος* is probably right.

Col. ii.

. . . .

Γ 383 [α]υτ[η δ αυθ Ελενην καλεουσ ιε την δε κιχανε
384 πυργ[ωι εφ υψηλωι περι δε Τρωαι αλις ησαν
385 χειρι [δε νεκταρεου εανου ετιναξε λαβουσα
386 γρ[η]ι [δε μιν εικυια παλαιγενει προσεειπεν
387 ειροκ[ομωι η οι Λακεδαιμονι ναιεταωσηι
388 ειρι[α — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ μαλιστα δε μιν φιλεεσκε
390 δευ[ρ ιθ Αλεξανδρος σε καλει οικον δε νεεσθαι
391 κειν[ος ο γ εν θαλαμωι και δινωτοισι λεχεσσι
392 καλ[λει τε στιλβων και ειμασιν ουδε κε φαιης
393 ανδ[ρι μαχησαμενον τον γ ελθειν αλλα χορον δε
394 ερχε[σθ ηε χοροιο νεον ληγοντα καθιζειν

. . . .

388. The MSS. have ἤσκειν (or ἤσκει) εἴρια καλά, μάλιστα δέ μιν φιλέεσκε with τῇ μιν ἐεισαμένη προσεφώνεε δῖ' Ἀφροδίτη in l. 389, which is omitted by the papyrus and is quite unnecessary since Aphrodite is the subject throughout ll. 380 sqq. If the papyrus had προσεειπεν in l. 386, it probably had μαλιστα δε μιν φιλεεσκε in l. 388, in which case the beginning of l. 388 may have been ειρι[α ησκει καλα or ειρια καλ ησκεσκε or ειρι επεικεν καλα (cf. σ 316 εἴρια πείκετε), though none of these suggestions is satisfactory. An alternative to this arrangement is to read ειρια καλ ησκει προσεφωνεε δι Αφροδιτη in l. 388 with another word instead of προσεειπεν at the end of l. 386.

Fr. (*b*).

. . . .

Δ 19 [αυτις δ Αργειην Ελενην Μενελαος α]γοι[το
20 [ως εφαθ αι δ επεμυξαν Αθηναιη τε και] Ηρη
21 [πλησιαι αι γ ησθην κακα δε Τρωεσσι μ]εδεσθη[ν
22 [η τοι Αθηναιη ακεων ην ουδε τι ε]ιπε

. . . .

22. ε]ιπε: the vestiges do not suit π very well, especially as the space is rather narrow for this usually broad letter.

Frs. (*c*), (*d*), and (*i*), Col. i. PLATE VI (Fr. *d*).

Δ 55 [ει περ γαρ φθονεω τε κ]α̣ι̣ [ο]υ̣κ̣ [ειω διαπερσαι
56 [ουκ ανυω φθονεουσ] ε̣π̣ει η [πολυ φερτερος εσσι
57 [αλλα χρη και εμον κ]ρ̣ηναι [πονον ουκ ατελεστον ?
58 [και γαρ εγω θεος ειμι] γενος δ[ε μοι] ενθεν ο̣θ̣ε̣[ν σοι
59 [και με πρεσβυτατην] τ̣ε̣κ̣ε̣τ̣ο̣ [Κρονος] αγκυλο̣μ̣η̣[της
60 [αμφοτερον γενεηι τε και ουνεκα] ση παρακοιτ[ις
61 [κεκλημαι συ δε πασι μετ αθανατ]οισιν ανασσ[ε]ις

. . . .

55–6. These lines were athetized by Aristarchus.

57. κ]ρηναι: or] φηναι. ἀλλὰ χρὴ καὶ ἐμὸν θέμεναι πόνον οὐκ ἀτέλεστον MSS. How the line should be restored is quite uncertain. πόνον οὐκ ἀτέλεστον may, as Blass observes, come from Δ 26 πῶς ἐθέλεις ἅλιον θεῖναι πόνον ἠδ' ἀτέλεστον.

Frs. (*e*) and (*f*). PLATE VI (Fr. *f*).

. . . .

Δ 67 [αρξωσι προτερο]ι̣ υ̣[περ ορκια δηλησασθαι
68 [ως εφατ ουδ απι]θησ[ε πατηρ ανδρων τε θεων τε
69 [αυτικ Αθηναι]ην επ[εα πτ]ερ[ο]εντα π̣ρ̣[οσηυδα
69 *a* [ορσε Αθηναιη κ]υδι[στη Τριτ]ογενεια
70 [αιψα μαλ ες στ]ρα[τον ελθε] μετα Τρωας και Α̣[χ]α̣ι̣[ους
71 [πειραν δ ως κε Τρωες υπερκ]υδαντας Αχαι̣[ους
72 [αρξωσι προτερον υπερ ορκια δ]ηλησασθα[ι

. . . .

69*a*. For κ]υδι[στη Τριτ]ογενεια cf. Δ 515 ὦρσε Διὸς θυγάτηρ κυδίστη Τριτογένεια. Considerations of space are against the restoration [ορσο Διος θυγατερ κ]υδι[στη, and it is not satisfactory to make Zeus address his daughter as Διος θυγατερ.

Fr. (*g*).

. . . .

Δ 80 [Τρωας θ] ι̣[π]π̣[οδαμους και ευκνημιδας Αχαιους
81 [ωδε δε] τις ειπ[εσκεν ιδων ες πλησιον αλλον
82 [η ρ αυτις] πολε[μος τε κακος και φυλοπις αινη
83 [εσσεται η] φ̣[ι]λ̣ο̣[τητα μετ αμφοτεροισι τιθησι

. . . .

Fr. (*h*). PLATE VI.

. . . .

Δ 86 [η δ ανδρι ικελη Τρωω]ν κατεδυσεθ ομι[λον
87 [Λαοδοκωι Αντηνοριδ]ηι κρατερωι αιχμ[ητηι
88 [Πανδαρον αντιθεον δι]ζημενη ηυρε δ[ε] τ̣[ονδε
90 [εσταοτ αμφι δε μιν κρατεραι σ]τιχες ασπι[σταων
91 [λαων οι οι εποντο απ Αισηπ]π̣[οιο ροαων

. . . .

88. ηυρε δ[ε] τ[ονδε : so Zenodotus, omitting l. 89 like the papyrus ; εἴ που ἐφεύροι | εὗρε Λυκάονος υἱὸν ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε (=E 168–9) Aristarchus, P. Brit. Mus. 126, MSS.

Frs. (*i*), Col. ii, and (*k*).

. . . .

Δ 98 [αι κεν ιδηι Μενε]λαον Αρη[ιον Ατρεος υιον
99 σω̣[ι βελει δμηθ]εντα πυρ[ης επιβαντ αλεγεινης
100 αλ[λ αγ οιστ]ευσον Μενε[λαου κυδαλιμοιο
101 ευ[χεο δ Απο]λλωνι λυ[κηγενει κλυτοτοξωι
102 α[ρνων πρωτογονων ρεξειν κλειτην εκατομβην

. . . .

Fr. (*l*)=P. Grenf. II. 3.

Δ 109 [του κερα] εκ κεφαλης εκκαι[δεκαδωρα πεφυκει
110 [και τα μ]εν ασκησας κεραοξοος [ηραρε τεκτων
111 [παν δ ευ λ]ειη[νας χ]ρυσεην ε[πεθηκε κορωνην
112 [και το μεν ευ κατεθηκ]ε τανυσ[σαμενος ποτι γαιηι
113 [αγκλινας προσθεν δε σα]κεα σχε[θον εσθλοι εταιροι

Fr. (*m*).

. . . .

E 525 [ζαχρειων ανεμων οι τε νεφεα σκιοεν]τα
526 [πνοιηισιν λιγυρηισι διασκιδνασιν αεν]τες
528 [Ατρειδης δ αν ομιλον εφοιτα πολλα κελευ]ων
529 [ω φιλοι ανερες εστε και αλκιμον ητορ ελε]σθε
530 [αλληλους τ αιδεσθε κεδασθεισης (?) υσμι]νης

531 [αιδομενων ανδρων πλεονες σοοι ηε πεφα]ν[ται
532 [φευγοντων δ ουτ αρ κλεος ορνυται ουτε τ]ις [αλκη
. . . .

526. After this line the MSS. have ὣς Δαναοὶ Τρῶας μένον ἔμπεδον οὐδὲ φέβοντο, which is not necessary and may have come from O 622.

530. κεδασθεισης υσμι]νης: κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας MSS. For κεδασθεισης cf. O 328, Π 306 ἔνθα δ' ἀνὴρ ἕλεν ἄνδρα κεδασθείσης ὑσμίνης. An alternative restoration is κατα κρατερης υσμι]νης; cf. Schol. T on N 383 (κατὰ κρατερὴν ὑσμίνην) τινὲς κατὰ κρατερῆς ὑσμίνης.

Fr. (*n*).

. . . .

E 796 [ιδρως γαρ μιν ετειρε]ν υ[πο πλατεος τελαμωνος
797 [ασπιδος αμφιβροτ]ης [τωι τειρετο καμνε δε χειρα
798 [αν δ ισχων τελα]μω[ν]α [κελαινεφες αιμ απομοργνυ
799 [ιππειου δε θεα ζυγο]υ η[ψατο φωνησεν τε
800 [η ολιγον οι παιδ]α εοικο[τα γεινατο Τυδευς
801 [Τυδευς τοι μικρος με]ν εη[ν δεμας αλλα μαχητης
802 [και ρ οτε περ μιν] εγω [πολεμιζειν ουκ ειασκον
803 [ουδ εκπαιφασσειν] οτ[ε τ ηλυθε νοσφιν Αχαιων
. . . .

797. αμφιβροτ]ης: εὐκύκλου MSS.; εὐκύκλου ἢ ἀμφιβρότης Eustathius. ἀσπίδος ἀμφιβρότης occurs in B 389, M 402, and Υ 281.

21. HOMER, *Iliad VIII.*

Mummy A. Height 22·7 *cm.* Circa B.C. 290–260. PLATE VI (Frs. and *m*).

A single fragment of this MS. also (cf. 20) was published in P. Grenf. II. 2, and was remarkable for several new lines. We are now able to add a number of other pieces, all from the earlier part of the book, and one of them actually joining the fragment which appeared in 1897 (cf. note on l. 216 *a*). That fragment proves to have been a very fair sample of the MS., for the newly recovered pieces differ widely from the accepted text, which is frequently expanded. As many as 21 new lines are inserted at intervals between l. 52 and l. 66, one of the additions consisting of 9 verses. This extraordinary rate of augmentation is not maintained, but it remains high throughout. The average

for the surviving fragments is about one new line in every four verses; for indications concerning some of the lost columns see note on l. 180. There are also a certain number of otherwise unrecorded variants, some of which are unobjectionable in themselves, though none is a definite improvement, unless ὤιγοντο in l. 58 may be so considered. The scribe as usual makes occasional mistakes; he wrote a small and rather curious sloping uncial hand, in which the archaic Ω is conspicuous. A specimen is given in Plate VI, in addition to the piece figured on the frontispiece of P. Grenf. II. We should assign the papyrus to the earlier part of the reign of Philadelphus.

Fr. (*a*).

. . . .

Θ 17 [γνωσετ επειθ οσον ειμι θε]ω[ν καρτιστος απαντων
18 [ει δ αγε πειρησασθε θεοι] πασα[ι τε θεαιναι
19 [σειρην χρυσειην εξ ουρα]νοθεν [κρεμασαντες
20 [παντες δ εξαπτεσθε θεο]ι̣ πασ[αι τε θεαιναι
21 [αλλ ουκ αν ερυσαιτ εξ ουρ]ανοθ[εν πεδιον δε
22 [Ζηνα υπατον μηστωρα] ουδ [ει μαλα πολλα καμοιτε

. . . .

Fr. (*b*).

. . . .

24 [αυτηι κεν γαιηι ερυσαιμ αυτηι] τε θαλ[ασσηι (Col. ii)
25 [σειρην μεν κεν επειτα περι ριον Ου]λυμπ[οιο
26 [δησαιμην τα δε κ αυτε μετηορα] παντ[α γενοιτο
27 [19 letters ανθρωπ]ων τ̣ε [θεων τε
28 [ως εφαθ οι δ αρα παντες ακην εγε]ν̣ο̣ν̣[το σιωπηι

. . . .

Fr. (*c*).

. . . .

29 [μυθον αγασσαμενοι μαλα γαρ κρα]τερ[ως αγορευσεν
30 [οψε δε δη μετεειπε θεα γλαυκωπ]ις Αθηνη
31 [ω πατερ ημετερε Κρονιδη υπατ]ε κρειο[ντων
32 [ευ νυ και ημεις ιδμεν ο τοι σθενος ο]υκ [επιεικτον

. . . .

Frs. (*d*), (*e*), (*f*), and (*g*). Col. i.

38 [ως φατο μειδησεν δε πα]τ[η]ρ ανδ[ρ]ων τε θεων τε (Col. iii)
38 *a* [χειρι τε μιν κατε]ρεξεν επος τ εφατ εκ τ [ον]ομ[α]ζε
39 [θάρσει Τριτο]γενεια φιλον τεκος ου νυ τι θυμ[ω]ι
40 [προφρονι μυθεομ]αι εθελω δε τοι ηπιος ει[ν]αι
41 [ως ειπων υ]π οχεσφι τετυ[σκε]το χαλκ[οπο]δ [ι]ππω
42 [ωκυπετα] χρυσεαισιν εθε[ιρησι]ν κομ[ο]ωντε
43 [χρυσον δ αυ]τ[ο]ς εδυνε περι [χροι γεν]το δ [ι]μασθλην
44 [χρυσειην ευ]τυκτον εου δ [επεβησετο διφ]ρου
45 [μαστιξεν δ ε]λααν τω δ ου[κ αεκοντε πε]τασθην
46 [μεσσηγυς γαιη]ς τ[ε κ]αι ουρα[νου αστεροεν]τος
47 [Ιδην δε ικανε]μ πολυπιδ[ακα μητερα θ]ηρων
48 [Γαργαρον ενθ]α δε οι [τε]με[νος βωμος τε θυηε]ις
49 [ενθ ιππους εστησε Κρονου παις αγκυλομ]ητεω
50 [λυσας εξ οχεων, κατα δ ηερα πουλυν εχευ]εν
51 [αυτος δ εν κορυφηισι καθεζετο κυδει γαιων]
52 [εισορoων Τρωων τε πολιν και νηας Αχαι]ων

4 lines lost.

53 [οι δ αρα δειπνον ελοντο καρη κομοωντες Αχαιο]ι
54 [ριμφα κατα κλισιας απο δ αυτου θωρησσον]το
54 *a* [28 letters]ισεσ . [. .]ι
54 *b* [16 letters μετα δε κρειων] Αγα[μ]εμνων
54 *c* [ομματα και κεφαλην ικελος Δι τερ]πικερ[αυ]νωι
54 *d* [Αρει] δε ζ[ωνην στερνον δε Ποσειδαω]νι
55 Τρωες δ [αυθ ετερωθεν ανα πτολι]ν ωπλι[ζο]ντο
55 *a* Εκτορα τ [αμφι μεγαν και αμυμον]α Που[λυ]δαμαντα
55 *b* Αινεια[ν θ ος Τρωσι θεος ως τιετο δημωι
55 *c* τρεις τ Α[ντηνοριδας Πολυβον και Αγηνορα διον

Frs. (*d*), (*e*), and (*h*). Col. ii.

55 *d* [η]ιθεον τε Ακα[μαντ επιεικελον αθανατοισιν (Col. iv)
56 παυροτεροι μεμ[ασαν δε και ως υσμινι μαχεσθαι
57 χρηηι αναγκα[ιηι προ τε παιδων και προ γυναικων

58 πασαι δε ωιγο[ντο πυλαι εκ δ εσσυτο λαος
59 πεζο[ι θ ι]ππη[ες τε πολυς δ ορυμαγδος ορωρει
60 οι δ οτε [δη] ρ ε[ς] χ[ωρον ενα ξυνιοντες ικοντο
61 συρ ρ εβ[α]λον ρ[ινους συν δ εγχεα και μενε ανδρων
62 χαλκ[εοθ]ωρηκ[ων αταρ ασπιδες ομφαλοεσσαι
63 επλη[ντ αλλ]η[ληισι πολυς δ ορυμαγδος ορωρει
64 ενθα δ [αμ] οιμω[γη τε και ευχωλη πελεν ανδρων
65 ολλυντων τ[ε και ολλυμενων ρεε δ αιματι γαια
65*a* εν δ Ερις [ε]ν δε Κ[υδοιμος ομιλεον εν δ ολοη Κηρ
65*b* αλλον ζ[ω]ιον εχ[ουσα νεουτατον αλλον αουτον
65*c* αλλον τε[θ]ν[ηωτα κατα μοθον ελκε ποδοιιν
65*d* ν . [.]τ[

4 (?) lines lost

65*i* . . [
66 οφρ[α] με[ν ηω]ς ην [και αεξετο ιερον ημαρ
67 τοφρα μα[λ α]μφοτ[ερων βελε ηπτετο πιπτε δε λαος
68 ημος δ ηε[λιο]ς μεσ[ον ουρανον αμφιβεβηκει
69 και τοτ[ε δ]η χρυ[σεια πατηρ ετιταινε ταλαντα
70 εν δ ετιθ[ει] δυο [κηρε τανηλεγεος θανατοιο
71 [Τρω]ων θ ι[π]ποδ[αμων και Αχαιων χαλκοχιτωνων
72 [ελκε δε μεσ]σα λ[α]βων ρεπε δ αισιμον ημαρ Αχαιών
73 [αι μεν Αχαι]ων [κηρες επι χθονι πουλυβοτειρηι

. . . .

Fr. (*i*).

180 [αλλ οτε κεν δη νηυσιν επι γλαφυρηι]σι γενω[μ]αι (Col. ix)
181 [μνημοσυνη τις επειτα πυρος δηιοιο] $\overset{\theta}{\text{γενεσω}}$
182 [ως πυρι νηας ενιπρησω κτεινω δε κ]αι αυτου[ς]
183 [Αργειους παρα νηυσιν ατυζομενους] υπο καπν[ου]
184 [ως ειπων ιπποισιν εκεκλετο φαιδιμος] Εκτωρ

. . . .

Fr. (*k*).

. . . .

187 [Ανδρομαχη θυγατηρ μεγαλ]ητορος Η[ετιωνος

188 [υμιν γαρ προτεροισι μελι]φ[ρ]ονα πυρο[ν εθηκεν
189 [οινον τ εγκερασασα πιειν οτε] θυμο[ς ανωγοι
190 [η εμοι ος περ οι θαλερος ποσις] ευχομα[ι ειναι

. . . .

Fr. (*l*). PLATE VI.

203 [οι] δ̣ε̣ σοι εις Ελικ[ην τε και Αιγας δωρ αναγουσι (Col. x)
204 πολλα τ̣ε̣ κ̣[αι χαριεντα συ δε σφισι βουλεο νικην
204 *a* [. . . . . . .] και μ[
205 [ει πε]ρ γαρ κ εθ[ελοιμεν οσοι Δαναοισιν αρωγοι
206 [Τ]ρωας απ̣[ωσασθαι και ερυκεμεν ευρυοπα Ζην
206 *a* [. . .]μ̣ι̣[

. . . .

Fr. (*m*) with P. Grenf. II. 2. Col. i. PLATE VI.

. . . .

216 *a* [ενθα κε λοιγος εην και αμηχαν]α εργ εγ[ε]νοντο
217 [και νυ κ ενεπρησεν πυρι κηλεωι ν]ηες Αχ[αι]ων
218 [ει μη επι φρεσι θηκ Αγαμεμνον]ι̣ ποτν[ι]α Ηρη
219 [αυτωι ποιπνυσαντι θοω]ς οτρυνα εταιρους
220 [βη δ ιεναι παρα τε κλισι]ας και νηες ε̣ισ̣[ας
221 [πορφυρεον μεγα φαρος ε]χων εγ χ[ει]ρ̣ι̣ π̣[αχειηι

. . . .

Col. ii.

. . . .

249 παρ δε Δι[ος βωμωι περικαλλει καββαλε νεβρον (Col. xi)
250 ενθα πανομφαιωι Ζηνι ρεζ[εσκον Αχαιοι
251 οι δ ως ουν ειδοντο Διος τερας [αιγιοχοιο
252 μαλλον επι Τρωεσσι θορομ μν[ησαντο δε χαρμης
252 *a* Ζευς δε πατηρ ωτρυνε φ[αλαγγας κυδει γαιων ?
252 *b* εισαν δε Τρωες τυτθον δα[
253 ενθ ου τις [προτερος Δαναων πολλων περ εοντων

. . . .

Fr. (*n*).

. . . .

255 *a*? [21 letters] . κειν[
256 [αλλα πολυ πρωτος Τρωων ελε]ν αν[δρα κορυστην
257 [Φραδμονιδην Αγελαον ο με]μ φυγα[δ ετραπεν ιππους
258 [τωι δε μεταστρεφθεντι μ]εταφρεν[ωι εν δορυ πηξεν

Fr. (*o*).

. . .

]εν ολεθρο[
] . ευστον[
] . ε . . . [
] . δ[.] . . ιδο[

18. The line should end ἵνα εἴδετε πάντες, in place of which the papyrus evidently repeats πασαι τε θεαιναι from l. 20. This is no doubt to be regarded as a mere blunder.

22. Even if the final α of Ζηνα and μηστωρα be left unelided (cf. e.g. l. 58), the supplement at the beginning of this line is shorter by two or three letters than in the foregoing verses. The difference, however, is not sufficiently marked to necessitate the inference that there was a variant here. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 371 B, has καὶ μήστωρα, which is unmetrical. In a quotation in Arist. περὶ ζῴων κιν. 4, p. 699 B 35 l. 20 is placed after l. 22.

25–6. These lines were athetized by Zenodotus.

27. The ordinary version of this line is τόσσον ἐγὼ περί τ' εἰμὶ θεῶν περί τ' εἴμ' ἀνθρώπων, but in the papyrus the letter after]ων is clearly τ not π, and, moreover, τοσσον . . . θεων would not fill the lacuna, which is of the same length as in the preceding lines. The verse therefore probably ended with ανθρωπων τε θεων τε, and περί τ' εἰμί was replaced by some synonymous phrase, e.g. τοσσον εμοι κρεισσον σθενος; cf. Φ 190 τῷ κρείσσων μὲν Ζεύς.

28. Aristarchus athetized ll. 28–40.

30. The ν of Αθηνη has been corrected; the scribe apparently began to write a τ.

38–9. The vulgate here has τὴν δ' ἐπιμειδήσας προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς· θάρσει κ.τ.λ. In the papyrus l. 38 apparently = Ε 426, Ο 47, and it is followed by the verse found also in Α 361, Ε 372, Ζ 485, Ω 127. These two verses are not combined elsewhere in Homer. The margin is lost above both l. 38 and the corresponding l. 55 *d*, but if, as is practically certain, l. 55 *d* directly succeeded l. 55 *c*, ll. 38 and 55 *d* were the first of their respective columns. This conclusion, however, produces a complication with regard to the first column of the roll, which if it agreed with the ordinary text would have contained 37 lines, or 7 more than the column following it. Col. ii of Frs. (*d*)–(*h*) also apparently contained 30 lines, l. 73 being opposite l. 55 *a*; and though a certain variation is admissible, this will hardly account for a difference of 7 verses. Perhaps, therefore, there was an omission of three or four lines; or ll. 1–37 of the book may have been divided between two columns of which the first was a very short one, and the second contained several new lines, though none occur in what remains of it; or, again, the roll may have originally included Book vii. At the

end of l. 38 *a*, near the bottom of the final ε, is a short diagonal stroke, which may be accidental.

39. The supposed θ of θυμ[ω]ι has perhaps been corrected. The vestiges remaining of the ends of this and the next line are very slight.

41. l. τιτυσκετο.

42. χρυσεαισιν: χρυσέῃσιν vulg., as is normal.

45. πε]τασθην: this form is not found elsewhere, the aorist being always of the syncopated type ἐπτάμην &c. πετέσθην MSS.

47–8. The ρ of θηρων is not very satisfactory, but as the ν is nearly certain, and the traces of the other letters suit well enough, we hesitate to suppose a variation from the accepted text here. Similarly with regard to τεμενος in l. 48, the vestiges hardly suggest με, but they are too slight to be conclusive.

49. According to the ordinary version this line ends πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, in place of which the papyrus gives the synonymous stock phrase Κρονου παις αγκυλομητεω (Δ 75 &c.); cf. ll. 38–9.

52. There is a break in the papyrus below l. 50, and one line at least is lost between l. 50 and the vestiges which we have attributed to Αχαι]ων in l. 52. Between these vestiges and l. 53 there were four more lines, as is shown by the height of the margin. It is thus necessary to suppose the insertion of at least 4 new lines at some point between ll. 50 and 53. If Αχαι]ων is right, they occurred between ll. 52 and 53; but that reading is quite uncertain, and they may equally well have been inserted e.g. between ll. 50 and 51. Their source is in any case obscure, for the passage would admit of many forms of expansion; perhaps one of the additional lines was Θ 1, which was added before l. 53 by Zenodotus. It is possible that the loss between ll. 50 and 52 (?) is larger than we have supposed. But the column is already rather tall, and it is safer not to assume the insertion between ll. 50 and 53 to be longer than necessary. The corresponding passage in Col. ii gives no assistance, for the break there occurs in the middle of a series of additional lines, the precise number of which is uncertain; cf. note on ll. 65 *a* sqq.

54 *a–d*. 54 *b* μετα δε . . . 54 *d* correspond to Β 477–9. These lines are preceded in Β (476–7) by ὣς τοὺς ἡγεμόνες διακόσμεον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ὑσμίνην δ' ἰέναι, and it is of course possible that ὑσμίνην δ' ἰέναι stood at the beginning of l. 54 *b*; but ενθα και ενθα cannot be read at the end of l. 54 *a*, nor would the commencement of Β 476 be suitable to the present passage without some alteration. The connecting link between ll. 54 and 54 *b* must therefore be sought elsewhere. Unfortunately the remains of l. 54 *a* offer a very slender clue; the final letter is possibly ν.

55. ωπλι[ζο]ντο: so most MSS.; ὁπλ. Aristarchus.

55 *a–d* = Λ 57–60, where the beginning of the preceding line Τρῶες δ' αὖθ' ἑτέρωθεν ἐπὶ θρωσμῷ πεδίοιο coincides with that of l. 55 in this book. There is not much doubt about the identity of l. 55 *d*, although none of the letters except the τ is perfect; cf. note on ll. 38–9.

57. χρηηι: χρειοῖ most MSS., but there is considerable authority for χρείῃ, for which χρηηι would be an easy clerical error. χρηηι, however, is itself defensible, since χρηία is attested by Hesychius as an Ionic form of χρεία.

58. ωιγο[ντο: ὠΐγνυντο MSS., but ὠ(ε)ίγοντο is preferable as the older form; cf. the Lesbian infin. ὀείγην.

61. The first ρ, if it be ρ, has been corrected; συν cannot be read. Such an attraction of ν to ρ, though natural, is unusual.

65 *a* sqq. The identification of ll. 65 *a–c*, which are found in Σ 535–7 (cf. Hesiod, *Scutum*, 156–8), is due to Blass. The scanty remains of l. 65 *d* do not suit Σ 538, nor would that verse be likely to appear in the present passage. The extent of the lacuna between

ll. 65 *d* and *i* depends on that at the corresponding point in Col. i between l. 50 and the supposed vestiges of l. 52. If only one line is there lost, not more than 4 lines are missing here, but the lacuna may be larger in both cases; cf. note on l. 52.

73. This line and 74 were athetized by Aristarchus. There would be room for two more lines in this column, l. 73 being opposite l. 55 *a*.

180. This line is to all appearances the first of a column. Since the last line of the preceding column was probably l. 75 (cf. the previous note), there are 104 lines to be accounted for in the uncertain number of columns intervening between Frs. (*d*)–(*h*) and (*i*). If the average length of a column is taken as 30 lines (cf. note on ll. 38–9), three columns would contain 90 lines, four columns 120. That the papyrus version was shorter than the vulgate is highly improbable, its tendency being decidedly in the opposite direction. There were therefore four columns between ll. 75 and 180, containing additions which amounted to approximately 16 lines. Similarly there must have been an addition of about 7 lines between l. 184 and l. 203, which is again the top of a column.

183. The majority of the MSS. omit this line, which is printed in small type by Ludwich.

184. φαιδιμος] Εκτωρ: φώνησέν τε MSS., a variant μακρὸν ἀΰσας being recorded by U. The new reading of the papyrus is in itself as good as either of these.

189. This line was rejected by Aristophanes and Aristarchus; cf. l. 73, note.

203. This line is the first of a column; cf. note on l. 180.

δε σοι: δέ τοι (δέ τι, δ' ἔτι, δέ τ') MSS.

204. All that remains of the κ of και is the vertical stroke, which could be read as an ι; but the second half of the κ may be supposed to have disappeared, as the papyrus is evidently rubbed.

204 *a*. Another new line, of which the remains are hardly sufficient for identification. There may, of course, have also been a variation in the termination of l. 204.

206 *a*. The vestiges of this line are inconsistent with l. 207 αὐτοῦ κ' ἔνθ' ἀκάχοιτο καθήμενος οἷος ἐν Ἴδῃ. The doubtful μ is possibly an α, in which case κ or ρ might be read in place of ι.

216 *a* sqq. The discovery of a new fragment which joins on to the first column of the piece published in 1897 in P. Grenf. II. 2 confirms the restoration there proposed. For the line ενθα κε κ.τ.λ. which precedes l. 217 cf. Θ 130 and Λ 310, where it occurs in a precisely similar context. ἔργα γένοντο is the common reading, but ἐγένοντο, as in the papyrus, is found in two MSS. at the latter passage.

217. ν]ηες Αχ[αι]ων: if ενεπρησεν was written in l. 217 νηες is a mistake for νηας as in l. 220; but it is possible, as Blass suggests, that ενεπρηθεν was substituted. ἐΐσας vulg. for Αχ[αι]ων, with Ἀχαιῶν at the end of l. 220. The papyrus transposes the epithets.

219. l. οτρυναι. εταιρους: Ἀχαιοὺς MSS.

220. νηες εισ[ας: cf. note on l. 217. ἐΐσας is found also in Vrat. b.

251. ειδοντο κ.τ.λ.: cf. Ε 741–2 Γοργείη κεφαλὴ . . . Διὸς τέρας αἰγ. The ordinary reading is εἴδονθ' ὅ τ' ἄρ' ἐκ Διὸς ἤλυθεν ὄρνις.

252 *a–b*. These two lines are not found elsewhere in Homer. The supplement in 252 *a* is that proposed by Ludwich, *Homervulgata*, p. 58; for φ[αλαγγας cf. Δ 254 and Ν 90, where the word follows ὤτρυνε. But the verse may be completed in various other ways, e.g. φ[όβον Τρώεσσιν ἐνόρσας, as suggested by van Leeuwen. In l. 252 *b* the papyrus has εισαν, not ειξαν as printed in P. Grenf. II. 2. εἶσαν . . . τυτθόν, however, makes a very unsatisfactory combination, and εισαν may well be a mistake for ειξαν. In that case the line may be completed Δα[ναοισιν οπισσω (Ludwich) or Δα[ναων απο ταφρου (van Leeuwen).

256. ελε]ν αν[δρα: or perhaps ανδ]ρα κ[ορυστην, though this does not suit the spacing so well. The remains of the previous line do not agree at all with l. 255 in the vulgate, τάφρον τ' ἐξελάσαι καὶ ἐναντίβιον μαχέσασθαι.

Fr. (*o*). This fragment from the bottom of a column remains unidentified. *ολεθρος*, which is the only certain word, is found nowhere in the eighth book; either]*εν* or]*ον* may precede. In the second line either]. *ευστον* or]. *ευετον* may be read. The first letter is very indistinct, but does not seem to be *ζ*.

22. HOMER, *Iliad XXI–XXIII.*

Mummy A. Fr. (*c*) 13·3 × 11 *cm.* Circa B.C. 280–240.

This series of fragments of the *Iliad*, Books xxi–xxiii, as in the case of **20–1**, belongs to a MS. of which other pieces have previously been published in P. Grenf. II. (no. 4)[1]. In all there are parts of about 190 lines, a number which affords a sufficiently accurate estimate of the general character of the text. New verses appear sporadically, though never more than two are found together, and the proportion of them—at least 11 lines, perhaps 9 or 10 more, out of the 190, or about 1 in 13 probably—is much smaller than in **21**. Other variations from the accepted text are not infrequent, the more remarkable being those at Φ 426, X 102, 110, 393, 442, 462, Ψ 129. Cf. introd. to **19**.

The three books were written in the same hand, an upright rather large uncial, of which facsimiles are given in P. Grenf. II, Plates II and III, and which is probably of the reign of Philadelphus. The scribe was somewhat careless, and is guilty of several obvious slips. A correction by a second hand occurs in at least one passage (Ψ 129).

Frs. (*a*) and (*b*). Book xxi.

. . . .

Φ 421 *κ̣α̣ι̣ [δη αυθ η κυναμυια αγει βροτολοιγον Αρηα*
422 *δηιου εκ πο[λ]εμοιο κα[τα κλονον αλλα μετελθε ·*
423 *ως φατ Α[θην]αιη δ̣ε̣ μ̣[ετεσσυτο χαιρε δε θυμωι*
424 *και ρα [. . .] . ο̣σαμενη πρ[ος στηθεα χειρι παχειηι*
425 *ηλασε τ̣η̣[ς] δ̣ αυτου λυτο γου[νατα και φιλον ητορ*
426 *[τω μ]ε̣[ν] α̣ρ̣ α̣μφω θεινε ποτι χθο[νι πουλυβοτειρηι*
427 *[η δε αρ] ε̣πευχομενη επ[εα πτεροεντ αγορευε*
428 *[τοιουτοι νυν π]αντες οσοι Τρω[εσσιν αρωγοι*

[1] There are also a few small pieces at Heidelberg; cf. footnote on p. 5.

429 [ειεν οτ Αργειοισι μα]χοιατο κυδα[λιμοισιν
430 [ωδε τε θαρσαλεοι] κ̣α̣ι τλημονες [ως Αφροδιτη

Φ 422. There are horizontal marks like paragraphi below this line and 424, but there is other superfluous ink on this fragment, and a paragraphus below l. 424 would be out of place. Moreover, there are no other cases of its use in this MS.

424. καί ρ' ἐπιεισαμένη MSS., but this is certainly not to be read in the papyrus. The supposed ο before σαμενη cannot be correct, and was perhaps deleted; or it might be explained as a blotted σ, which would be more intelligible. Possibly επιεισσαμενη was written and the first σ afterwards cancelled; επιμασσαμενη is unsuitable. There are ink marks above the line here, but they are more probably to be regarded as accidental than as an interlinear correction; cf. note on l. 422.

426. θεινε ποτι: κεῖντο ἐπί MSS., though some read ποτί for ἐπί. For θεινε (sc. Ἀθηναίη) cf. ι 459 θεινομένου πρὸς οὔδει.

429. κυδα[λιμοισιν: θωρηκτῇσιν or θωρηκτοῖσιν MSS.

Frs. (*c*) and (*d*). Book xxii.

Col. i.

. . . .

Χ ? [ ] .
? [ ] . [.]ν̣ειη
77 [η ρ ο γερων πολιας δ αρ ανα τριχας ελκετο χ]ερσιν

. . . .

Col. ii.

. . . .

Χ 96 [ως Εκτωρ ασβεστο]ν ε̣χ[ων μενος ουχ υπεχωρει
97 [πυργω]ι επι προυχοντ[ι φαεινην ασπιδ ερεισας
98 [ο]χ[θ]ησας δ αρα ειπε πρ[ος ον μεγαλητορα θυμον
99 οιμοι εγων η με[ν κε πυλας και τειχεα δυω
99 *a* λωβητος κεν ιο̣[ιμι ?
100 Πουλυδαμας μ[οι πρωτος ελεγχειην αναθησει
101 ος μ εκελευε̣ν̣ Τρ̣[ωσι ποτι πτολιν ηγησασθαι
102 νυκτα ποτι δνοφ[ερην οτε τ ωρετο διος Αχιλλευς
103 αλλ εγω ου πιθομην η τ̣ αν πολ[υ κερδιον ηεν
104 νυν δ επει ωλεσα λαο[ν ατασ]θαλιησιν εμησ[ιν
105 [α]ιδεομαι Τρωιας κα[ι] Τ[ρωιαδα]ς ελκεσιπεπλους

106 μ[η] ποτε τις ειπηισι κακωτ[ερος αλλος εμει]ο
107 Εκτ[ωρ η]φ[ι βι]ηφι πι[θησας ωλεσε λαον
108 ως [ερεουσιν ε]μοι δε . . δ α[ν πολυ κερδιον ηε]ν
109 [αντην η Αχ]ι[λ]ηα [κατακτειναντα νεεσθαι
110 η [αυ]τωι π[ρο πολ]ηος ευκλειω[ς απολεσθαι
111 [ει δε κε]ν ασ[πι]δ[α] μεν [καταθειομαι ομφαλοεσσαν
112 [και κορ]υθα βριαρην δ[ορυ δε προς τειχος ερεισας
113 [αυ]τος [ι]ω[ν Α]χιληο[ς αμυμονος αντιος ελθω

. . . .

Col. iii.

. . . .

X 137 αυθι μενειν οπισ[ω δε πυλας λιπε βη δε φοβηθεις
138 Πηλειδης δ επορου[σε ποσι κραιπνοισι πεποιθως
139 ηυτε κιρκος ορεσφιν [ελαφροτατος πετεηνων
140 καρπαλιμ[ως] ωρμη[σε μετα τρηρωνα πελειαν
141 η δε τ υπαι[θ]α φοβε[ιται ο δ εγγυθεν οξυ λεληκως
142 τα[ρφε]α επαισσει ν[
143 [ως αρ ο γ εμμ]εμαω[ς ιθυς πετετο τρεσε δ Εκτωρ

. . . .

Fr. (*e*).

. . . .

X 197 [τοσσακι μιν προπαροιθεν αποστρ]εψασκεν Αχιλλε[υς
198 [προς πεδιον αυτος δε ποτι πτολιος πετετ α]ιει

. . . .

Fr. (*f*).

. . . .

X 232 ? τη[ν δ αυτε προσεειπε μεγας κορυθαιολος Εκτωρ
233 ? Δηιφοβ [η μεν μοι το παρος πολυ φιλτατος ησθα

. . . .

Fr. (*g*).

. . . .

X 247 [ως φαμενη και κερδοσυνηι ηγησα]τ Α[θ]ην[η
248 [οι δ οτε δη σχεδον ησαν επ αλλη]λοισιν ιοντες

249 [τον προτερος προσεειπε μεγας κο]ρυθαιολος Εκτωρ
250 [ου σ ετι Πηλεος υιε φοβησομαι ως το] παρος περ
251 [τρις περι αστυ μεγα Πριαμου διες ο]υδε ποτ ετλης
252 [μειναι επερχομενον νυν αυτε με] θυμος ανωγει
253 [στημεναι αντια σειο ελοιμι κεν η κεν αλ]ο̣ιην
254 [αλλ αγε δευρο θεους επιδωμεθα τοι] γαρ αριστ[οι
255 [μαρτυροι εσσονται και επισκοπο]ι ερμον[ιαων
256 [ου γαρ εγω σ εκπαγλον αεικιω αι κε]ν εμοι Ζ[ευ]ς

. . . .

Fr. (*h*).

. . . .

X 326 τη ρ̣α επι [οι μεμαωτ ελασ εγχει διος Αχιλλευς
327 [αν]τικρυ δ απ̣α̣λ̣[οιο δι αυχενος ηλυθ ακωκη
328 [ουδ αρ απ ασ]φ[αραγον μελιη ταμε χαλκοβαρεια

. . . .

Fr. (*i*). Col. i.

. . . .

X 392 *a* [και τ̣ε̣θ̣νηοτα περ τοσα γαρ κακ εμη[σατ] Αχαιους
393 [. . . . . . .]ι̣ν μεγα κυδος επεφνομεν Εκ[τ]ορα διον

Col. ii.

. . . .

426 Εκ̣τ̣[ορος ως οφελεν θανεειν εν χερσιν εμησι

Fr. (*j*).

. . . .

X 441 [διπ]λακα πορφ[υρεην εν δε θρονα ποικιλ επασσε
442 [αι]ψα δ αρ αμφι[πολοισιν εκεκλετ ευπλοκαμοισιν
443 [αμφι π]υρι στη[σαι τριποδα μεγαν οφρα πελοιτο
444 [Εκτορ]ι θερμα λ[οετρα μαχης εκ νοστησαντι
445 [νη]π̣[ιη ο]υδ ενοη[σεν ο μιν μαλα τηλε λοετρων
446 [χερσ] υπ Α[χι]ληο[ς δαμασε γλαυκωπις Αθηνη
447 [κωκυτο]υ̣ς̣ δ ηκ[ουσε και οιμωγην απο πυργου
448 [της δ ελ]ελιχθη γυ[ια χαμαι δε οι εκπεσε κερκις

Fr. (*k*).

. . . .

X 458 [η μιν εχεσκ επει ου ποτ ενι πληθυι μ]ε̣[ν]ε̣ν̣ [ανδρων
459 [αλλα πολυ προθεεσκε το ον μενος] ο̣υ̣δε̣ν̣ι εικ̣[ων
460 ? [29 letters] . . [

. . . .

Frs. (*l*), (*m*), and (*n*).

. . . .

X 462 [αυταρ επει Σκαιας] τ̣ε̣ π̣υ̣λ̣[ας και] π̣υ̣ρ̣γον ικανεν
463 [εστη παπτη]νασ επι τειχ[ει] τον δε νοησεν
464 [ελκομενον προσθε]ν πολε[ως τ]αχεες δε μιν ιππ[οι
465 [ελκον ακηδεστ]ω̣ς̣ κοιλας [επι] ν[η]ας Αχαιων

. . . .

Fr. (*o*).

. . . .

X 513 [ουδεν σοι] ο̣φ̣ε̣[λος επει ουκ εγκεισεαι αυτοις
514 [αλλα π]ρ̣ος Τρω[ων και Τρωιαδων κλεος ειναι
515 [ως αρα ε]φη κλ[αιουσ επι δε στεναχοντο γυναικες
Ψ 1 [ως οι με]ν̣ σ̣τεν[αχοντο κατα πτολιν αυταρ Αχαιοι

. . . .

X 77. Whether the two preceding lines are to be identified as ll. 75–6 is doubtful. The traces at the end of the former of them are not inconsistent with a ς, but the conclusion of the second diverges from l. 76, which is τοῦτο δὴ οἴκτιστον πέλεται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν. Before [.]νειη is what appears to be the top of a tall vertical stroke, like that of κ, φ or ψ. Perhaps κ[ε]ν(?) ειη is only a variant for πέλεται, and the line, according to this version, may have run τοῦτο δὴ οἴκτιστον δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσί κεν εἴη. The construction would be irregular after ὅτε . . . αἰσχύνωσι, but cf. e.g. Υ 250 ὁπποῖόν κ' εἴπησθα ἔπος τοῖόν κ' ἐπακούσαις. But it is remarkable that l. 73 ends with φανείη (so C, &c.; φανήῃ other MSS., Aristarchus); and since in the papyrus φ[α]νειη is so suitable a reading and χαλκω]ι in the preceding line is quite possible, there is a considerable probability that ll. 74–6 were omitted. The three verses are not essential here; but they do not occur elsewhere in Homer. For another instance of omission in this MS. cf. note on Ψ 129.

99. οιμοι: ὤ μοι (ὤιμοι, ᾤμοι) MSS. l. ει for η.

99 *a*. A new verse, not found elsewhere in Homer. The adjective λωβητός only occurs in Ω 531 λωβητὸν ἔθηκε. Any round letter, e.g. θ or σ, may be read after the ι.

101. εκελευεν: though the final letters are broken, there is not much doubt as to the reading. ἐκέλευε MSS.

102. νυκτα ποτι δνοφ[ερην: νύχθ' ὕπο τήνδ' ὀλοήν MSS., ὑπὸ λυγαίην Et. Mag. 571. 22. For the temporal use of ποτι cf. ρ 191 ποτὶ ἕσπερα, Hes. *Op.* 550 ποτὶ ἕσπερον.

105. Τρωιας: so L; Τρῶας most MSS.

106. There is some ink above κακωτ[ερος which might represent a correction, but is more probably accidental.

108. The remains of the middle of this line are very difficult to decipher. ε]μοι δε may just be read, but apparently not τοτ, which would be expected to follow. Possibly τοδ was written; but the papyrus may have been quite different from the common text here. The doubtful δ before α[ν could be ε.

110. The ordinary reading here is ἠέ κεν αὐτῷ ὀλέσθαι ἐυκλειῶς πρὸ πόληος. The arrangement in the papyrus avoids the long syllables shortened in hiatus. απολεσθαι seems preferable to κεν ολεσθαι; κεν is superfluous here and hardly parallel to the other uses of ἤ κεν. αὐτῷ, which is found in most MSS. (v. l. αὐτόν), was read by Aristarchus.

113.]τος is on a small fragment originally adhering, but of which the correct position is doubtful; the reading is very uncertain.

140. καρπαλι[μως] ωρμησε: ῥηιδίως οἴμησε (ἤμισε C) MSS.

141. τ υπαι[θ]α: l. θ υπ.; but all the letters except the two alphas are very doubtful.

142. ἐπαΐσσει, ἐλέειν τέ ἑ θυμὸς ἀνώγει vulg., but the letter after επαισσει in the papyrus is certainly either ν or μ. Perhaps there was a variant μαπεειν or μαρπτειν, as Blass suggests; or επαισσειν may have been written owing to a confusion with ἐλέειν.

143. The letters preserved are on a small detached fragment, which seems to be rightly placed here.

197–8. The identification of these two lines seems tolerably certain, notwithstanding the discrepancy from the vulgate, which has ἀποστρέψασκε παραφθάς or παραστάς.

232–3. On the whole it is more probable that the remains of these two lines are to be referred to 232–3 than to 226–7. The slight vestiges indicate that the letter above Δ had a vertical stroke, the position of which suits an initial τ rather better than an η.

251. l. ετλην. The error is easily intelligible, as Mr. T. W. Allen remarks, if the papyrus had διες, the reading of αἱ χαριέστεραι (Didymus) and Vat. 10, in place of the vulgate δίον.

252. ανωγει: ἀνῆκε MSS. Cf. Φ 396 (P. Grenf. II. p. 6), where the papyrus has ανωγας for the vulgate reading ἀνῆκας.

255. l. αρμονιαων.

327. The scribe seems to have miswritten the π of απαλ[οιο, which has a vertical stroke too much; otherwise the letters must be read απο αλ[or απελα[, but both of these readings are difficult to deal with, and the π would still be not quite satisfactory.

392 *a*. This additional line probably followed directly upon 392. τ]εθνηοτα seems to be required, but can only be read by ignoring a tiny fragment loosely adhering to the papyrus and having a vertical stroke which gives the supposed θ the appearance of a ρ; it may, however, be misplaced. Cf. Ω 20, where καὶ τεθνηότα περ occurs in the same position of the verse. The latter part of the line is found in Κ 52.

393. The letter before μεγα is certainly a ν, and is preceded apparently by an ι, or at any rate not by an ε; perhaps ημ]ιν. ἠράμεθα MSS. Aristarchus athetized ll. 393–4.

442. Here again, though the sense of the line is the same, there is a marked divergence from the vulgate, which has κέκλετο δ' ἀμφιπόλοισιν ἐυπλοκάμοις κατὰ δῶμα. The verse may, of course, be completed in many other ways than that suggested in the text, e.g. ευπλοκαμοις εκελευσεν.

446. χερσὶν Ἀχιλλῆος MSS.; but ὑπὸ χερσίν is the regular Homeric phrase, and may well be right here. For χέρσ' ὕπο in the same position cf. Π 420, 452, Φ 208. l. Αχιλληος; the same error occurs in CD.

447. [κωκυτο]υς: κωκυτοῦ . . . οἰμωγῆς MSS. The letter before the δ can hardly be read otherwise than as ς, and there is a spot of ink low down before it which suits the tail

of a *υ*. The accusative is quite unobjectionable (cf. e.g. Φ 575 ὑλαγμὸν ἀκούσῃ), but the plural is somewhat suspicious, and it may be doubted whether this is a genuine variant, and not rather a mistake on the part of the scribe. An alternative would be to suppose that the line began with some feminine synonym of κωκυτός.

448. Though the margin below this line is incomplete, it has quite the appearance of being the last of a column; but if so the column must have contained an unusually large proportion of new lines. L. 448 is only the twenty-second line, according to the vulgate, from the end of the preceding column, whereas the average length of other columns is about 30 lines. A column which covers only 25 lines of the vulgate is, however, shown by a comparison of Fr. (*p*) l. 168, which is probably the last of a column, with P. Grenf. II. 4 (*c*). Fr. 2, where l. 195 is the second of a column; and the more lengthy columns may to some extent be due to omissions; cf. notes on Χ 77 and Ψ 129.

458–60. This identification is doubtful; l. 459 is fairly satisfactory, but the scanty vestiges of the preceding and following lines give small support. Those below ουδενι might be read as]να[, i. e. μαι]να[δι, but something nearer the end of the line would be expected.

462. The ordinary version of this line is αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πύργον τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἷξεν ὅμιλον. Blass is probably right in suggesting the restoration of Σκαιας τε πυλας και from Ζ 237, Ι 354 Σκαιάς τε πύλας καὶ φηγὸν ἵκανεν, though the reading must be admitted to be very doubtful. τε is satisfactory, but of the other letters as far as -ον only the merest vestiges remain. They seem, however, to support πυργον as against φηγον.

463. τειχ[ει]: τειχ[εσι] would suit the space better.

464. πολε[ως: πόλιος MSS., though πόλεως is well supported in other passages, e.g. Λ 168.

513 sqq. That these lines are rightly identified hardly admits of doubt. The variant in l. 515 causes no difficulty, and the absence of any division between the end of one book and the beginning of the next has a parallel in the Geneva papyrus (Nicole, *Rev. de Phil.*, 1894), Λ 848–Μ 1.

513. If the indistinct vestiges are correctly read as οφε[λος, the γ', which precedes in the common text, was probably omitted, since ουδεν σοι amply fills the lacuna. γ' is absent also in D.

515. ὣς ἔφατο vulg. It suits the space better to suppose that the final α of αρα was unelided.

Ψ 1. Cf. note on Χ 513 sqq. The space between this line and the preceding one is of the usual width, but there may, of course, have been a coronis or marginal note indicating the commencement of a new book.

Fr. (*p*). Col. i.

. . . .

Ψ 129 ?	[28 letters	]α̣ς̣ ε̣κελ[ευσε
131 ?	[" "	]τ̣ε[.] . [.]εντ̣[
132	[αν δ εβαν εν διφροισι παραιβαται ηνι]ο̣χ̣ο̣ι̣ τ̣ε	
133	[προσθε μεν ιππηες μετα δε νεφος ε]ι̣πετο πεζων	
134	[μυριοι εν δε μεσοισι φερον Πατροκλον ετ]αιροι	
135	[θριξι δε παντα νεκυν καταειννυσαν α]ς επεβαλλον	
136	[κειρομενοι οπιθεν δε καρη εχε διος Αχι]λλευς	

136 *a* [αμφοτερηισι δε χερσι κομην ηισχυν]ε̣ δ̣αιζων
137 [αχνυμενος εταρον γαρ αμυμονα πεμπ Α]ιδος δε
138 [οι δ οτε χωρον ικανον οθι σφισι πεφραδ Αχιλλ]ε̣υ̣ς̣
139 [κατθεσαν αιψα δε οι μενοεικεα νηεον] υ̣λ[ην
140 [ενθ αυτ αλλ ενοησε ποδαρκης διος Αχιλ]λ̣[ε]υ[ς
141 [στας απανευθε πυρης ξανθην απεκ]ειρατο χα[ιτ]ην

Col. ii. (with P. Grenf. II. 4 (*c*), Fr. 1).

. . . .

Ψ 165 ? [. . . .] . ε̣[.]ρ̣α̣λ̣υ[. .] ν̣εκρο̣[
165 *a* μ̣υ̣ρ̣[ι ονει]ατα χερσιν αμησα[μενοι
166 πολλ̣α̣ δε ι̣φ̣ι̣α̣ [. .] μ̣η̣[λ]α̣ [και ειλιποδας ελικας βους
167 προσθε πυρης [εδερον τε και αμφεπον εκ δ αρα παντων
168 δημον ελων [εκαλυψε νεκυν μεγαθυμος Αχιλλευς

. . . .

Fr. (*q*).

. . . .

Ψ 265 [τωι πρωτωι αταρ αυ τωι] δευ[τερωι ι]ππον ε[θηκεν
266 [εξετε αδμη]την βρεφ[ος] ημιονον κυεουσα[ν
267 [αυταρ τωι τριτ]ατωι απυρογ κατεθηκε λεβ[ητα
268 [καλον τεσσαρα μετρα κεχα]ν̣δ̣[οτ]α λευκον ετ αυτ[ω]ς

. . . .

Fr. (*r*).

. . . .

Ψ 276 [ισ]τε γαρ [ο]σ̣σ̣ο̣ν̣ [εμοι αρετηι περιβαλλετον ιπποι
277 αθανατοι τε [γαρ εισι Ποσειδαων δε πορ αυτους
278 πατρι εμωι Πηλη[ι ο δ αυτ εμοι εγγυαλιξεν
278 *a* ως τω γ αθανατοι κ̣[αι αγηραοι ουδε εοικε
278 *b* θνητους αθανατοισι [δεμας και ειδος εριζειν
279 αλλ η τοι μεν εγω μ[ενεω και μωνυχες ιπποι
280 τοιογ γαρ σθενος εσθλον απωλεσαν ηνιοχο[ιο
γρ
281 ηπιου ο σφωιν μαλα πολλακις υγρον ελαιον

Ψ 129 ?. It is clear that the papyrus differed considerably here from the ordinary text.

]ας εκελ[ευσε (?), which apparently corresponds to the end of l. 129 αὐτίκα Μυρμιδόνεσσι φιλοπτολέμοισι κέλευσε, has been inserted close above l. 131 (?) by a different hand, and seems to have been originally omitted altogether.]ας suggests Μυρμιδον]ας, with a lengthened α, or some variant for φιλοπτολέμοισι, e. g. ανα κλισι]ας; cf. Π 155–6 Μυρμιδόνας . . . θώρηξεν Ἀχιλλεὺς πάντας ἀνὰ κλισίας. If this be so, 130–1, χαλκὸν ζώννυσθαι, ζεῦξαι δ' ὑπ' ὄχεσφιν ἕκαστον ἵππους· οἱ δ' ὤρνυντο καὶ ἐν τεύχεσσιν ἔδυνον, would seem to have been reduced to a single verse. εντ[at the end (the τ is quite doubtful) suggests a termination parallel to Γ 339 ἔντε' ἔδυνεν, preceded possibly by τε και, though there is barely room for και. The letter before ε, if not τ, must be a γ. But in the absence of the line above]ας εκελ[ευσε these suggestions must be regarded as merely tentative.

136 *a*. The proposed restoration, which is due to Blass, is based on Σ 23 ἀμφοτέρῃσι δὲ χερσὶν ἑλὼν κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν and Σ 27 φίλῃσι δὲ χερσὶ κόμην ᾔσχυνε δαΐζων.

139. The vestiges of the supposed υ suggest rather τ or π, but this may be due to smearing.

165 ?. We give a revised text of this line, which is found in P. Grenf. II. 4 (*c*), Fr. 1. The doubtful ρ might be τ or υ.

165 *a*, 166. These two lines combine with the last two of P. Grenf. II. 4 (*c*), Fr. 1. For the restoration μυρ[ι ονει]ατα (Blass) cf. κ 9 and ο 316 ὀνείατα μυρία. In l. 166 a short space remains unaccounted for between ιφια on the new fragment and the μη of μη[λ]α on P. Grenf. II. 4 (*c*), Fr. 1. The reading of these two words is not very certain, but we can find no other epithet which suits the vestiges, and μη[λ]α seems right. In the facsimile in P. Grenf. II, Plate II, μηλ]α κ[α]ι [looks possible, but the original shows this to be a less likely alternative.

168. This line was probably the last of the column, though it is slightly higher than l. 141. Cf. note on Χ 448.

278 *a*, *b*. These two additional lines have been restored by Blass from ε 212–3 οὐδὲ ἔοικε θνητὰς ἀθανάτῃσι δέμας καὶ εἶδος ἐρίζειν.

280. τοιογ γαρ σθενος: τοίου γὰρ κλέος most MSS., but σθενος occurs in DGLS Syr., and is recorded as a variant in AE. τοιον, which is new, may be defended, but is unconvincing.

281. This line is the last of the column. The final ς of πολλακις is very close to the ι, and was perhaps originally omitted; π was also first written in place of γρ and subsequently altered, another γρ being added for the sake of clearness above the line. These corrections may be by the first hand.

For ο most MSS. have ὅς, but ὅ is attested by Didymus, who refers to Α 73, where ὅ σφιν was read by Aristarchus. ὅ is adopted by La Roche and Leaf, ὅς by Monro and Allen.

Unidentified fragments.

Fr. (*s*). . . .

]. ασι̣ μ̣ετα π[
]ν̣οιπ[
]. . ν̣ο̣υ̣τοτ . [
]φ̣ερησ̣ . [
5] . . . . τ̣[
. . .

Fr. (*t*). . . .

] αμφιλ̣[
] . η̣κ̣τ̣ο̣υ̣ . [
] . ελω̣ . [
] . ημ̣[
. . .

Fr. (*u*). . . .

]π[
] . [
]δε[
]ην . [
5]λ . [
]τ . [
] . . [
. . .

Fr. (*v*). . . .

]σα[
[ ]
] . ν[
]αλκ[
5] . [
. . .

Fr. (*w*). . . .

] . [
] . ρ . [
]μη[
. . .

Fr. (*x*). . . .

]οντα[
. . .

Fr. (*y*). . . .

] αμφιπ[
. . .

Fr. (*z*). . . . . .

] . σεπ[.]τα . . [
. . . . . .

Fr. (*aa*). . . .

]υτη . [
. . .

Fr. (*bb*). . . .

]λ . . ω[
. . .

Fr. (*cc*). . . .

]υντ[
. . .

Fr. (*dd*). . . .

]νυοσ . [
]νδεσ[
] . ν[
. . .

Fr. (*ee*). . . .

]νεωστ[
. . .

Fr. (*ff*). . . .

]αικατ . [
. . .

Fr. (*gg*). . . . .

ν . . . [
. αιομενο[

Fr. (*hh*). . . .

] . . νιμε[
. . .
. . . .

Fr. (*ii*). . . .

]ρηε . [
. . .

Fr. (*t*). The most suitable place for this is perhaps X 117–20, but though in l. 1 αμφις is possible, l. 2 is irreconcilable with X 118, and if ελω in l. 3 were ελωμαι it should come further out to the right. In l. 2 κ is possibly ισ, with which reading the preceding η would be π, and ο may also be ε; in l. 3 εν or ον may be read for ω.

Fr. (*y*). This may well be αμφιπ[ολοι in X 461, but Fr. (*y*) does not actually join Fr. (*m*).

Fr. (*dd*). Not Ψ 584–6.

Fr. (*gg*). l. 2 seems to be the beginning of a verse, but this is not certain. καιομενο[ς might be read, but the fragment cannot be identified with Φ 360–1 or 375–6.

23. HOMER, *Odyssey XX*.

19 × 6·2 *cm*. Circa B.C. 285–250. PLATE VI.

This fragment, containing parts of ll. 41–68 of Book xx of the *Odyssey*, was found not in mummy-cartonnage but loose in the debris outside the north wall of the town, where so many sarcophagi were buried; cf. p. 3. The writing is a delicate uncial of the early or middle part of the third century B.C., Z and Ω in particular preserving a decidedly archaic appearance.

Unusual interest attaches to this papyrus, which is the first early Ptolemaic fragment of the *Odyssey* to be discovered, and exhibits much the same scale of divergence from the vulgate as that with which the fragments of the *Iliad* have made us familiar. This passage in the ordinary text contains 28 lines, but in the papyrus 30, three new lines being inserted (after 51, 55, and 58) and one line of the vulgate omitted (53); while in several other places also the papyrus presents hitherto unknown readings, the list of which would no doubt be increased if the lines had been completely preserved. As it is, all of them are represented by less than half of the total number of letters, and some by 5 or 6 letters only. Hence the restoration of the new lines is very difficult, especially as they differ from most of the additional lines in the *Iliad* fragments in being not at all obviously derived from other passages in Homer. We are indebted to Mr. T. W. Allen for some suggestions. On the chief problems raised by these early Ptolemaic papyri see pp. 68 sqq.

υ 41 [προς δ ετι και τοδε μ]ειζον ενι φρεσι μ[ερμη]ρ̣[ι]ζω̣
42 [ει περ γαρ κτειναιμι Διο]ς τε σεθεν τε εκητι
43 [πηι κεν υπεκπροφυγο]ιμι τα [σε] φραζεσθαι ανω[γα
44 [τον δ αυτε προσεειπε θ]εα γλαυκωπις Αθηνη
45 [σχετλιε και μεν] τ̣ις τ̣[ε] χερει̣ο̣νι̣ θ̣α̣ρ̣σ̣ε̣ι̣ ε̣τ̣α̣ι̣ρ̣ω̣ι̣
46 [ος περ θνητος τ εσ]τ̣ι και [ο]υ τοσα μηδεα ε̣[ιδ . .
47 [αυταρ εγω θεος ει]μι δια[μ]περες η σε [φ]υλα[σσω
48 [13 letters]πων̣ ερεω δε σοι εξα[ναφανδον
49 [ει περ πεντηκον]τα λοχοι μερ[ο]πων α[νθρωπων
50 [νωι περισταιεν κ]τειναι με[μαωτες αρηι
51 [και κεν των ελασ]αιο βοας κ̣α̣[ι . .]τ̣α̣[. . . . . . .
51 *a* [13 letters]ειας απ̣[

52 [αλλ ελετω σε και υ]πνος ε . [.]ν επικ[. . . . .

54 [ως φατο και ρα οι υ]πνον επι βλεφαρο[ισιν εχευεν

55 [αυτη δ αψ ες Ολυμ]πον απεστιχε δια [θεαων

55 *a* [14 letters]ρος με[20 letters

56 [ευτε τον υπνος ε]μαρπτε [λυων μελεδηματα θυμου

57 [λυσιμελης αλοχος δ] αρ επεγρετο κ[εδν ειδυια

58 [κλαιε δ αρ εν λεκτρο]ισι καθεζομενη [μαλακοισιν

58 *a* [15 letters]σθεν ακην εχον οι . [

59 [αυταρ επει κλαιουσ]α κορεσσατο ογ κα[τα θυμον

60 [Αρτεμιδι πρω]τιστον επευξατο [δια γυναικων

61 [Αρτεμι ποτνα θεα] θυγατερ Διος αιθ[ε μοι ηδη

62 [ιον ενι στηθεσσι β]αλουσα εκ θυμον [ελοιο

63 [αυτικα νυν η επ]ειτα με αναρπαξ[ασα θυελλα

64 [οιχοιτο προφερουσ]α κατ ηεροεντα κε[λευθα

65 [εμ προχοηις δε β]αλοι αψορρ[ο]ου Ωκεα[νοιο

66 [ως δ οτε Πανδαρε]ου κουρα[ς] ανελο[ντο θυελλαι

67 [τηισι τοκηας με]μ φθεισαν θεοι αι δε λι[ποντο

68 [ορφαναι εμ μεγ]αροισι κομιζε δε δι Αφ[ροδιτη

45. σχέτλιε καὶ μέν τίς τε χερείονι πείθεθ' ἑταίρῳ MSS. χερειονι is fairly certain, though ιο is cramped into a very narrow space, and at the end of the line the tops of the six letters after ε suit ταιρωι. The difficulty is the intervening word θαρσει, suggested by Blass. The second letter is much more like α than λ or ω, which are the only possible alternatives, and the first letter must have been a rather narrow one. All that remains of it is a speck of ink near the bottom of the line. The third letter can be either ι or ρ, and ει suits the vestiges at the end of the word much better than σι or θ; but the supposed σ is more like ο, and θαρσει is not very satisfactory, especially as this use of θαρσεῖν with a dative is not found in Homer.

46. ε[ιδ . . : οἶδεν MSS. θ could be read instead of ε, but not ο. It is difficult to account for the ε except by the hypothesis that the scribe wrote ειδως or ειδεν by mistake.

48.]πων: ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοις (or πόνοισι) ἐρέω κ.τ.λ. MSS.

51. βόας καὶ ἴφια μῆλα MSS. κα[ι after βοας is very doubtful. The second letter might be e.g. τ. ιφ]ια is inadmissible, the letter after the lacuna being either τ, π or γ. The supposed α which follows is quite uncertain, but the vestiges do not suit ε, so that ασ]πε[τα is not satisfactory. The new line 51 *a* may have expanded the description of the prospective plunder; απ[may be, as Mr. Allen suggests, απ[αγων, but to read λ]ειας would introduce a word not found in Homer. Blass proposes [αυτους τε κτειν]ειας, comparing Ξ 47 πρὶν πυρὶ νῆας ἐνιπρῆσαι κτεῖναι δὲ καὶ αὐτούς.

52. ὕπνος· ἀνίη καὶ τὸ φυλάσσειν | πάννυχον ἐγρήσσοντα κακῶν δ' ὑποδύσεαι ἤδη MSS. The papyrus, instead of this, has only half a line, but soon makes up for the omission of l. 53 by inserting a line after 55. The word following υ]πνος was perhaps εων, though the space between ε and ν is rather broad for only one letter.

55. *απεστιχε*: *ἀφίκετο* MSS. except the Monacensis (of the fourteenth century), which has *ἀπέστιχε* corrected to *ἀφίκετο*. *ἀπέστιχε δῖα θεάων* is the vulgate reading in μ 143.

55 *a*. Mr. Allen suggests [*κοιμησασ Οδυσηα πα*]*ρος με*[*μαωτα ιανειν*: cf. ω 487 *πάρος μεμαυῖαν*.

58 *a*. The subject of *εχον* is probably, as Mr. Allen remarks, the *δμῳαί* of Penelope. The phrase *ακην εχον* does not occur in Homer, *ἴσαν*, *ἔσαν*, *ἔμεναι* or *ἐγένοντο* being the only verbs found with *ἀκήν*. *ουδ*[*ε*, followed by *τι ειπον* (cf. Δ 22, *ἤ τοι Ἀθηναίη ἀκέων ἦν οὐδέ τι εἶπε*), does not suit the vestiges after *εχον*.

67. *φθεισαν*: on the spelling of this word with *ει* or *ι* MSS. and grammarians differ.

68. *κομιζε*: *κόμισσε* (v. l. *κόμισε*) MSS. The imperfect is quite in place.

24. Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*.

Mummy A. Height 16·8 *cm*. Circa B.C. 280–240. Plate VI (Frs. *k* and *m*).

These small and scattered fragments of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* are written in a medium-sized flowing and slightly sloping hand, which is the precursor of the oval style of the second and third centuries after Christ. Though showing none of the markedly archaic characteristics displayed by some of the other literary papyri in this volume, the MS. belongs to the same find as most of the oldest pieces, and is very unlikely to be later in date than the reign of Philadelphus. The only letter calling for any comment is the ω, the second loop of which is not raised to the same height as the first, but is left very shallow and has sometimes hardly any curve at all. The lines of one column are partially preserved throughout the 29 verses of which it is composed.

In spite of its fragmentary condition the text is decidedly interesting, and its nearness to the age of the poet gives it additional weight. In ll. 252 and 618 conjectures of Reiske and Bothe are confirmed; and in ll. 587 and 621 valuable readings occur, one of them unanticipated, the other nearly coinciding with an emendation of Maehly. But the papyrus is as usual not impeccable, and one or two small errors are found, while some other variants are more questionable. The division of the lines for the chorus (ll. 173–91) follows a new method. In the collation below we have made use of the editions of Prinz-Wecklein and of G. Murray, but in filling up lacunae have followed the text of the two MSS., except when obviously wrong.

Fr. (*a*).

. . . . . .

174]α̣ . [
175 τηλο]θ̣ι̣ γ̣α̣ρ̣ [
176 ε]μ̣α̣ς̣ [

177 σφαχθει]σα α τλ[αμων
179 υμν]ον τε Α[σιηταν
180, 181 αχ]αν δ[εσποινα
182 θρηνοι]ς μου[σαν
184 μο]λπαις Α[ιδας
185, 186 παιανω]ν οιμ[οι] τ[ων
187 φ]ως σκηπ[τρων
189 ευ]ολβων [
191 μοχθω]ν δε εγ μ[οχθος αισσει

Frs. (*b*) and (*c*).

. . . .

245 [ουκ αν φθανοις] αν ευτρ[επη ποιουμενη
[ποδαποι τινο]ς γης ονομ [εχουσιν οι ξενοι
[Ελληνες εν το]υθ οιδα κ[ου περαιτερω
[ουδ ονομ] ακ[ο]υσας [οισθα των ξενων φρασαι
[Πυλαδης εκ]ληζε[θ ατερος προς θατερου
250 [του ξυζυγο]υ δε [του ξενου τι τουνομ ην
[ουδεις τοδ οιδεν ου γ]αρ [εισηκουσαμεν
[πως δ ειδετ αυτου]ς καν[τυχοντες ειλετε
[ακραις επι ρηγ]μισιν Ευξε[ινου πορου
[και τις θαλασση]ς βουκολο[ις κοινωνια
255 [βους ηλθομεν νι]ψοντες εν[αλιαι δροσωι

. . . .

Fr. (*d*).

. . . .

[ειτ] ου[ν] ε[π ακταις θασσετον Διοσκορω
η Νηρεως α[γαλμαθ ος τον ευγενη
ετικτε πε[ντηκοντα Νηρηιδων χορον
275 αλλος δε [τις ματαιος ανομιαι θρασυς
εγελ[ασε]ν ευ[χαις ναυτιλους δ εφθαρμενους
θ[ασσειν φαραγγ εφασκε του νομου φοβωι
[κλυοντας ως θυοιμεν ενθαδε ξενους]
εδ[οξε δ ημων ευ λεγειν τοις πλειοσι
280 θ[ηραν τε τηι θεωι σφαγια ταπιχωρια

κα[ν τωιδε πετραν ατερος λιπων ξενοιν
εσ[τη καρα τε διετιναξ ανω κατω
[καπεστεναξεν ωλενας τρεμων ακρας]
μ[ανιαις αλαινων και βοαι κυναγος ως
285 Π[υλαδη δεδορκας τηνδε τηνδε δ ουχ οραις
Α[ιδου δρακαιναν ως με βουλεται κτανειν
. . . .

Frs. (*e*), (*f*), (*g*), and (*h*).

. . . .
[ει π]α̣σ̣[ι ταυτον πραγμ αρ̣εσκοντως εχει
[θελο]ις αν̣ [ει σωσαιμι σ αγγειλαι τι μοι
[προ]ς Α[ργος ελθων τοις εμοις εκει φιλοις
[δελ]το[ν τ ε]νε[γκε]ι̣ν̣ η̣[ν τις οικτειρας εμε
585 [εγρα]ψ[εν αι]χμαλωτ[ος ουχι την εμην
[φονεα νομι]ζω[ν] χειρα τ[ου νομου δ υπο
[θνησκειν] τ̣α τ[ο]υ θεου τ[αδε δικαι ηγουμενου
[ουδενα γαρ] ειχον οστις [αγγειλαι μολων
[ες Αργος αυ]θις τας ε[μας επιστολας
590 [πεμψε]ι̣ε̣ [σωθεις των εμων φιλων τινι
[σ]υ̣ δ̣ [ε]ι γαρ [ως εοικ]α̣ς ουτ̣[ε δυσγενης
[και] τας Μ[υκηνα]ς̣ ο̣ι̣σ̣[θα χους καγω θελω
σ̣ωθ̣η̣τ̣ι κα[ι συ μισ]θ̣[ον ουκ αισχρον λαβων
κουφ[ω]ν ε[κατι γραμματων σωτηριαν
595 [ο]υ̣τος δ̣ [επειπερ πολις αναγκαζει ταδε
. . . .

Frs. (*i*), (*k*), (*l*), and (*m*).

Col. i. Col. ii. PLATE VI (Frs. *k* and *m*).

600 ου[τος δε συμπλει των εμων μοχ]θω̣ν χαρ[ιν
ουκ[ουν δικαιον επ ολεθρωι τ]ωι τουδ εμ[ε]
. . χα[ριν τιθεσθαι καυτον] εκδυναι κακων
]ν̣ αλ[λ ως γενεσθω τωιδε μεν] δελτον διδου
]ς̣ πε[μψει γαρ Αργος ωστε σοι κ]α[λω]ς εχειν
605 η[μας δ ο χρηιζων κτεινετω τ]α τωμ φιλων

[αισχιστον οστις καταβαλων] εις συμ[φορας]
[αυτος σεσωσται τυγχανει δ ο]δ ωμ φ[ιλος]
[ον ουδεν ησσον η με φως οραν θ]ε̣λω
[ω λημ αριστον ως απ ευγε]νου[ς] τιν[ος
610 [ριζης πεφυκας τοις φιλοις τ ορθως] φι[λος
[τοιουτος ειη των εμω]ν ομοσπορων
[οσπερ λελειπται κα]ι γαρ ουδ εγω ξενοι
[αναδελφος ειμι] πλην οσα ουχ [ο]ρωσα νιν
[επει δε βουλει τα]υτα τ[ονδε πεμ]ψ̣ομεν
615 [δελτον φερον]τα συ δε θανε[ι πο]λλη δε τ[ις
[προθυμια σε] τουδ εχουσα τυγχανει
[θυσει δε τις με] και τα δεινα τλησετ[αι
[εγω θεας γαρ] τηνδε συμ[φο]ραν ε[χω
[αζηλα γ ω] νεανι κ[αι ουκ] ευδ[αιμονα
620 [αλλ εις αναγκ]ηγ κει[μεθ ην φυλακτεον
[αυτη ξιφε]ι̣ κ̣τ̣εινουσα θη[λυς αρσενας
[ουκ αλλα] χαιτην αμφι ση[ν χερνιψομαι
[ο δε σφαγευς τ]ις ει τ[αδ] ιστο[ρ]ε̣[ιν με χρη
[εσω δομων τωνδ εισι]ν [οις] μελ[ει ταδε
625 [ταφος δε ποιος δεξετ]α[ι] με οταν [θανω
[πυρ ιερον ενδον χασ]ματα ευρω[π — ∪ —
627 [φευ πως αν με α]δελφης χειρ περι[στειλειεν αν
629 [. . . . μακραν γ]α[ρ] βαρβαρου ναιε[ι χθονος

A fragment perhaps belonging to this papyrus.

. . .
]. με[
]ρατ[
. . .

174–91. This fragment is too small to indicate clearly the point of division in the lines or the principle upon which that division was based. The lines were longer than they are according to the arrangement of either the older or the more modern editions—to which we owe the highly inconvenient system of numbering four lines as if they were five. Perhaps the lyrics were written continuously like prose in lines of approximately equal length, as in **25**. That hypothesis would at any rate account fairly well for the sizes of the various lacunae.

174. The vestige after α would suit ν, ι, or κ, and so the two letters may belong equally well to ξανθάν, χαίταν, or δάκρυ'.

175. The reading is very doubtful; τηλόσε γάρ MSS.

177. σφαχθει]σα α is not a very satisfactory reading, since it does not account for a speck of ink between the σ and the top of the supposed first α, which is moreover itself quite dubious. σφαχθ]εισα, however, is not a better alternative, for the ι would be too far from the σ, and again a speck of ink in the intervening space would remain unexplained. The traces before α τλ[would perhaps best suit an σ followed by a broad π or, possibly, μ; but they are too slight to necessitate the supposition of a departure here from the MSS. tradition—which, however, is corrupt in this passage.

179. The papyrus supports the traditional reading, for which Bothe's conjecture ὕμνων τ' Ἀσιητᾶν is adopted by M(urray).

182. θρηνοι]ς: so a corrector of P; θρήνοισι LP, θρήνοισιν Markland, on metrical grounds. The vestige in the papyrus is not indeed inconsistent with]ν, but is more suggestive of]ς.

189. It is impossible to judge whether l. 188 πατρῴων οἴκων, which is bracketed by W(ecklein), following Hartung, stood in the papyrus or not. If, however, it be assumed that these lines were more or less equal in length (cf. note on ll. 174–91) it will be necessary to suppose an omission of some kind between l. 187 and l. 189.

191. The first letter is most probably ν;]ος cannot be read. The line is metrical if ἀΐσσει be written as a trisyllable, as it is in LP, which have μόχθος δ' ἐκ μόχθων.

246. ονομ[α: the papyrus upholds the MSS. tradition; σχῆμ' Monk, whose conjecture is accepted by W. and M.

247. το]υθ: l. τουτ.

252. Reiske's conjecture κἀντυχόντες (so W. and M.) for the MSS. reading καὶ τυχόντες is confirmed by the papyrus.

253. Ευξε[ινου: so Plut. *De exil.* p. 602; ἀξένου MSS. Cf. l. 125, where LP have εὐξείνου and Markland conjectures ἀξείνου (so M.), and l. 395, where W. and M. read ἄξενον (with Markland) for εὔξεινον (LP) or εὔξενον (l). ἀξένου is probably right here.

587. The MSS. here have θνήσκειν γε, τῆς θεοῦ ταῦτα δίκαι' ἡγουμένης; W. and M. print θνήσκειν σφε, τῆς θεοῦ τάδε, adopting conjectures of Markland and Pierson. The papyrus substitutes τ[ο]υ θεου for τῆς θεοῦ, and before του has a clear α preceded by a letter of which all that remains is a projecting tip on the level of the top of the α, which would suit γ, σ, or τ. Hence, since θνησκειν sufficiently fills the remaining space, the word before τ[ο]υ is most likely τα, which implies a quite different construction from that found in the MSS. We venture to suggest that the true reading is τοῦ νόμου δ' ὕπο | θνήσκειν, τὰ τῆς θεοῦ τάδε δίκαι' ἡγουμένου. This is more logical than the accepted text, for the will of the goddess would have been ineffectual unless enforced by the law; cf. l. 38 ὄντος τοῦ νόμου καὶ πρὶν πόλει, and l. 595 ἐπείπερ πόλις ἀναγκάζει τάδε. The substitution of ἡγουμένης for ἡγουμένου would be a particularly easy confusion (the papyrus shows the converse error of του for τῆς), and the alteration of τά would inevitably follow. It would also be possible, as Mr. Murray remarks, to keep ἡγουμένης and connect τὰ τῆς θεοῦ in the sense of 'the victims of the goddess' with θνήσκειν instead of with τάδε. θνησκειν probably had no iota adscript; cf. l. 249 εκ]ληζε[θ.

588–90. These lines are rejected by Dindorf and Monk.

589. τας: so the MSS.; τάς ⟨τ'⟩ M. following Elmsley.

593. Though the letters of σωθητι are broken, they are all quite consistent with the ordinary reading except the τ, which is unusually cramped; perhaps σωθηθι was written (cf. l. 247 το]υθ). In any case the papyrus lends no support to the conjecture σύθητι κεῖσε, though it may of course have had Reiske's more probable emendation σοῦ for σύ.

Fr. (*i*). Col. i. The final]ν and]ς which alone survive here, may belong either

to ll. 573–4 μονο]ν and λογοι]ς or ll. 575–6 ειδοσι]ν and γεννητορε]ς. The]ν is opposite l. 603, which is the 26th line from the bottom of the column; ll. 573 and 575 would be respectively the 27th and 25th from the bottom.

600. μοχ]θων: or -θωγ, but the former is more probable.

606. εις συμ[φορας: ἐς ξυμφοράς MSS.

614. Perhaps πεμπομεν was first written and then altered to πεμψομεν. The upper part of the vertical stroke of ψ is clear, but in place of the tip of the crossbar there is another short vertical stroke which would suit e.g. μ or π.

615. θανε[ι: θανῇ MSS.

618. τησδε MSS., τηνδε Pap., confirming Bothe's conjecture, which is accepted by W. and M. συμφοραν, which is an unknown variant, is intelligible in itself, but does not well accord with the following line. προστροπήν (MSS.) is more likely to be genuine.

619. The space indicates that the crasis of κοὐκ here was neglected; cf. the absence of elision in ll. 613, 625, &c.

621. The new reading of the papyrus κτεινουσα is preferable to the traditional θύουσα. The first two letters are much damaged, but the vertical stroke of the τ is plain. Maehly's acute conjecture θείνουσα, though not actually confirmed, is thus shown to have been on the right track.

622. The supposed ι of ξιφε]ι is above χ of χαιτην which would approximately correspond with ς of σφαγευς. There is, therefore, scarcely room in the initial lacuna for ουκουν, the unmetrical reading of the MSS., corrected in L to οὐκ.

626. χασ]ματα is probably only a clerical error for χασμα τ(ε). It is, however, noticeable that with Diodorus' variant (xx. 14) χθονός for πέτρας, the plural form χάσματ' εὐρωπά would at least scan. But there is no ground for suspecting χάσμα τ' εὐρωπὸν πέτρας, the version of the MSS.

629. LP here read μάταιον εὐχήν, ὦ τάλας, ὅστις ποτ' εἶ, ηὖξω· μακρὰν γὰρ κ.τ.λ. There seems to have been an accidental omission in the papyrus, though without knowing how the critical first foot of the line was filled up a definite decision on the point is difficult.

25. Euripides.

Mummy A. 8 × 5·7 *cm.* Circa B.C. 280–240.

On this fragment is written in a large cursive hand of the middle of the third century B.C. the favourite chorus of Euripides which closes the *Alcestis* (1159–63), *Andromache* (1284–8), *Bacchae* (1388–92), and *Helena* (1688–92), and, with a difference in the first line, the *Medea* (1415–9). Whether anything preceded the chorus here is uncertain; in any case the fragment is probably a school exercise, not part of a literary manuscript. The division of the lines is determined apparently by their length, and in no way corresponds to the metre or to the division found in the MSS. of Euripides. At least two new variants occur. The colon-shaped stop is found in l. 4.

. . . . .

[πολλαι μο]ρ̣φ[αι των

I

δαιμ[ονι]ων πολ[λα
τ α̣ε̣λ̣π̣τως κρα[ινου
σι θεοι : και τα δοκη
5 σαντ ουκ ετελεσθ[η
των δ αδοκητ[ων
πορον ευρε[[ν]] θεος
τοιονδ απεβη το
δε πραγμα

1. The restoration of this line is very doubtful: if the vestiges really belong to μο]ρφ[αι, των would project to the right beyond the following lines. [λαι μορφα]ι τ[ων can equally well be read; but πολ must in that case be transferred to a line above, which would involve the inference that the extract contained more than the final chorus.

3. τ αελπτως: δ' ἀέλπτως MSS. in all five places, but δ cannot possibly be read here, and αελπτως does not accord with the vestiges very well. The traces before τως suit σε better than λπ.

4. δοκησαντ: δοκηθέντ' MSS. The active is preferred by Blass on the ground that ἐδοκήθην, apart from this chorus of Euripides, is a late form.

7. ευρε[[ν]]: the ν is much fainter than the surrounding letters and seems to have been intentionally smeared out. εὗρε is generally found in the MSS., but εὗρεν occurs as a variant in *Hel.* 1691.

26. Anaximenes (?), Ῥητορικὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον.

Mummy A. Height 12·8 *cm.* Circa B.C. 285–250. Plate III (Cols. ix–xi).

This, the longest of the Hibeh literary papyri, consists of seventeen fragments from the so-called Ῥητορικὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, a treatise on rhetoric which already in the time of Athenaeus and perhaps even as early as the end of the third century B.C. passed as the work of Aristotle. The traditional view of its composition was decisively rejected in 1840 by Spengel, who endeavoured to substitute Anaximenes of Lampsacus, an older contemporary of Aristotle, as the author; and with so much success that for half a century his conclusions with regard to the Anaximenean authorship were hardly disputed. In 1892, however, Susemihl (*Gesch. d. Alex. Litt.* ii. pp. 451–7) re-examined the whole subject, and in opposition to the generally received view argued for a third century B.C. date for the treatise. Hammer, who re-edited the text after Spengel in 1894, leaves the question of authorship undecided. The new discovery, as we shall presently show, goes far to overthrow Susemihl's position and weaken his objections to the previously accepted conclusions of Spengel.

Parts of eighteen columns are extant, but of these only one (Col. x) is quite complete, and Cols. iii, iv, vi, viii, xii, xv, and xviii are represented by the merest fragments, while the rest are all much disfigured by lacunae. The MS. falls into three main divisions, (A) Cols. i–viii, which are continuous, then after a gap of several columns (B), comprising Cols. ix–xi, followed after a loss of one column by (C), Cols. xii–xviii. In (B), which originally formed part of a small breast-piece together with **16**, the surface of the papyrus is clean and the ink perfectly clear (see Plate III); but in the other two sections the writing had mostly been covered with plaster and is in parts much obliterated. The columns contain from 20 to 23 lines, which are decidedly irregular in length, varying from 20 to 30 letters with an average of 26. Since the columns lean over somewhat towards the right, the lines near the top tend to project at the ends, those near the bottom at the beginnings. Paragraphi mark the commencements of new sections, and where these begin in the middle of a line a blank space is left three or four letters in width.

The handwriting is an unusually small uncial with a tendency to cursive forms in certain letters, particularly N, the last stroke of which projects far above the line; Ω retains much of its epigraphic character. A later date than the reign of Philadelphus is extremely improbable. On the verso is some third century B.C. cursive writing, too much damaged for continuous decipherment. Since this MS. of the Ῥητορική itself thus belongs to the first half of the third century, the treatise can hardly have been composed later than B.C. 300, and a fourth century date for it may now be regarded as established. This does not of course prove that its author preceded Aristotle, as has been generally maintained by those who support the idea of the Anaximenean authorship; the contemporary papyrus **16** is probably the work of Theophrastus who was Aristotle's disciple. But now that the antiquity of the treatise is shown to have been somewhat underestimated by Susemihl, and the *terminus ante quem* can be fixed at B.C. 300 instead of 200, the older theory that the Ῥητορικὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον was the work of Anaximenes regains much of the ground which it has lost in the last fifteen years.

The extant MSS. of the treatise, which all belong to the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, are divided by Spengel and Hammer into two classes, the better one composed of the MSS. called CFM, to which Hammer added OP, and the worse comprising ABDEGV. The existence of considerable interpolations in the treatise is generally suspected, in particular the introductory letter from Aristotle to Alexander, which has been long regarded as a later addition, and several passages chiefly towards the end, the true character of which was detected by Ipfelkopfer. On these the papyrus (henceforth called Π), since it

only covers the latter part of chapter 1 and most of chapters 2 and 3 (about $\frac{1}{9}$ of the whole work), does not throw any direct light, but it shows clearly that interpolations do not extend in any serious degree to those chapters; for, apart from an apparent omission in Col. xv probably due to homoioteleuton, there is only one considerable collocation of words found in the MSS. which is wanting in Π (l. 296, note), whereas in several passages Π supplies words or clauses which are omitted by the MSS. As would be expected with texts removed from each other by no less than seventeen centuries, the number of divergences in Π from the extant MSS. is very large; in fact two or three consecutive lines, where Π is at all well preserved, seldom pass without a new variant. Upon the merits of these it is sometimes difficult to decide owing to the incompleteness of the context, but in many cases Π unquestionably supplies the right reading. In particular several conjectures of the earlier editors are now confirmed, e.g. l. 3 *η υπ ανθρωπων* (*η υπ ενδοξων*) for *ἢ ἀνθρώπων* (*ἐνδόξων*) (Spengel); 17 *τουτον τον τ̄ροπον* for *τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον* (Spengel); 117 *τριττως* for *περιττῶς* (Bekker); 121 the substitution of a phrase like *δεῖ μεθιστάναι* (*μεταστατεον* Π) for *πως* (Spengel); 293 *διελθωμεν* for *διέλωμεν* (Spengel); 313 *ο νομος* for *νόμος* (Spengel); 317 *τιμωσιν* for *ἴσασιν* or *εἰδῶσιν* (Spengel); cf. also notes on ll. 23 and 27. Other improvements in the text introduced by Π occur in ll. 30–1 *αυτον τε τον διαγορευοντα νομον λαμβανειν* for *αὐτόν τε τὸν ἀγορεύοντα καὶ τὸν νόμον λαμβάνειν*; 67–8 *Λακεδαιμονιοις συμμαχιαν ποιησαμενους* for *τὸ Λακεδαιμονίους συμμάχους ποιησαμένους*; 116 *τοις λογοις χρησθαι* for *χρήσασθαι* or *λόγῳ χρήσασθαι*; 140–1 *δαπαναν φιλοτιμιαν* for *ἑκουσίαν ἅπασαν φιλοτιμίαν*; 219 *αιδε* for *αὗται δεῖ* (*δέ*); 220 *καιρου παραπεπτωκοτος* for *καιρῶν παραπεπτωκότων*; 233 the insertion of *πολεμουντες*; 299 *εξηγησις* for *ἐξάγγελσις*; 302 *υποπτευθεντων* for *καθυποπτευθέντων*; 311 *ημαρτημενων* for *ἀδικημάτων*; cf. also notes on ll. 35, 142, 148–9, 164, 197, 231, 250, 271–6, and especially 316–8, where a whole clause is inserted. The numerous other variants in Π largely consist of minor alterations which hardly affect the sense; and though a text of this antiquity, written within a century of the composition of the work in question, naturally outweighs in most cases the evidence of MSS. which are so much later, confidence in Π is somewhat shaken by its inaccuracies. Not only are there several serious scribe's errors, l. 146 *γενομενων* for *πενομένων*; 160 *εις* misplaced; 162 *καιτοι πασιν* for *καὶ τοῖς παισίν*; 175 *υβριζουσιν* for *ὑβρίζειν*; 265 *εοικος* for *εἰκός*, and *ου* for *αὐτοῦ* or by a dittography; 280 *κα* for *κακά*; 281 *καμ μεν* for (apparently) *ὡς* (or *ᾧ*) *εἰρήκαμεν*; 294 *ομοτροπως* for *ὁμοιοτρόπως*; 296 *συνεστηκην* for *συνέστηκεν*; 304 *εχοντες* for *ἐχόντων* or *ἔχοντος*; but, to say nothing of the probable omission of several lines through homoioteleuton in Col. xv (cf. ll. 246–50, note), there are several places where Π's reading, if not absolutely wrong, is distinctly inferior to that of the MSS., e.g. l. 72 *ουτω* for *ὧδε*;

118–9 *αναγκαιον . . . διαφυλαττειν* for *διαφυλακτέον*; 137 the transference of *μεν*; 170 the omission of *μεν*; 269 the insertion of *μεν*.

Compared with the divergence of Π from both groups of MSS., the differences between the latter appear trivial; and since the variations between the two families do not happen to be very strongly marked in the passages where Π's readings are preserved with complete or tolerable certainty, the evidence of the new find does not greatly assist towards deciding the merits of the MSS. As commonly occurs with papyri, the text of Π is of an eclectic character. In seven cases it agrees with the so-called 'better' codices, CFMOP (or most of them) against ABDEGV (or most of them) which Spengel and Hammer call the 'worse'; l. 108 *τας αλλας* against *ἄλλας*; 115 *περι τουτων ενδεχεται* against *ἐνδέχεται περὶ τούτων*; 178 *στερομενον* against *στερούμενον*; probably 223 *αυτων* against *ἑαυτῶν*; 279 *τοις λογοις* against *τὸν λόγον*; 304 *ταυτας* against *τὰς αὐτάς*; 315 *οπως* against *ὅπως ἄν*. Where the MSS. of that group are divided Π tends to favour CF (especially F) against MOP whether these are supported by the 'deteriores' or not; cf. the notes on ll. 11, 35, 82, 86, 147, 191, 229, 244, and 266, and the numerous slips in M, O, and P, e.g. in ll. 93, 102, 114, 145, 162, 191, 218, 237, 276, and 306. On the other hand Π supports the so-called 'deteriores' against the other group in l. 127 (apparently) *διοτι* against *ὅτι*, 234–5 *ευτυχιαν* against *εὐψυχίαν*, and 254 *προτερος* against *πρότερον*; and in three instances the 'deteriores' or some of them alone preserve Π's reading in a corrupt form, l. 116 *λόγῳ χρήσασθαι* against *χρήσασθαι* (*τοις λογοις χρησθαι*, Π), 231 *ὅτι πλεῖστα τούτων* against *ὅτι τὰ πλεῖστα τούτων* (*τουτων οτι πλειστα*, Π), and 241 *τοιούτων ὁμοιοτρόπως* against *τοιούτων* (*τουτοις ομοιοτροπων*, Π). On the whole the new evidence indicates that Spengel and Hammer were right in thinking F to be the best MS., but that Hammer, who pays less attention than Spengel to the 'deteriores,' somewhat underestimates their relative importance, since the preference of Π, so far as it goes, for the reading of the CFMOP group is very slight, and some of the apparent errors of the 'deteriores' seem to be due to their partial preservation of genuine readings, which by a process of correction have disappeared from the other family. Our restorations of the lacunae are taken, when Π provides no definite indications to the contrary, from the text of Hammer, to whose edition the pages and lines mentioned at the head of each column refer.

Frs. (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*). Col. i, p. 15, 3–17.

[ω]ν [α]υτοις̣ λεγ̣[ειν και τ]ων εναντι
[ω]ν αυτοις κα[ι των ηδ]η κ[ε]κρ[ι]με
[ν]ων η υπο θ̣[εω]ν̣ [η] υ̣π ανθρ[ω]π[ων

[η] υπ ε̣[νδοξ]ω̣ν [κρι]τ̣[ων] η υπο των
5 [αντ]α̣γ̣[ωνισ]τ̣[ων ημιν το] μεν ο[υ]ν
[δικαιον οιον εστι προτερον ημιν]
[δεδηλωται το δε ομοιον τωι δι]
[καιωι τοιονδε εσ]τιν ωσπερ γα[ρ
[δικαιον νομιζομε]ν το τοις γο[ν]ευ
10 [σι πειθεσθαι τον αυ]τον τροπον
[πρ]οσηκει το[υ]ς̣ υ̣[ιεις μιμεισθαι
[τα]ς των π[α]τερ[ων π]ρ[α]ξεις κα[ι
[καθαπε]ρ̣ τ[ους ε]υ ποιησαντας αν
[τευερ]γ̣ε̣τ̣ε̣ι̣ν̣ [δ]ικαιον εστιν ουτω
15 [του]ς μ[η]δ̣εν κ̣ακον ε̣ρ̣γασαμενους
[ημ]ας δ̣[ικαιον εστι] μη βλαπτειν
[το με]ν̣ [ουν ομοιον τ]ω̣ι̣ [δι]καιω[ι τ]ου
[το]ν̣ το̣ν̣ [τροπον δει λαμβανειν
[εκ δ]ε̣ τ̣[ων εναντιων χρη κατα
20 [φανες ποιειν το αυτο παραδειγμα]
[καθαπε]ρ γαρ τους κα[κον τι ποιη
[σαντας δ]ικαιον εστι τ[ι]μω[ρ]εισθ[αι ου
[τω κ]αι τους ευεργετησαντ[α]ς . . .

Frs. (*b*), (*d*), and (*q*). Col. ii, p. 15, 20—16, 7.

4 lines lost.

Α[θ̣ηναιοι και Λακεδαιμονιοι
25 [δικαιον κρινο]υ̣[σ]ι̣ το̣[υς εχθρους τι
[μωρεισθαι το μ]ε̣ν δ̣[η δικ]α̣ιον ου̣[τω
[μετιων πολλ]α̣χ̣[ω]ς̣ λ̣η̣ψ̣η̣ι̣ τ̣[ο δε
ν̣ο̣[μιμον α]υτο μεν ο εστι[ν ωρισται
η̣μ̣ι̣ν̣ [προτε]ρον δει δ οπο̣τ̣αν [χρη
30 σ̣ιμο̣[ν ηι αυτο]ν τε τ[ο]ν διαγορ̣ε̣υ̣ο[ν
τα νο[μον λα]μβανειν ειτα το [ομοι
[ον τωι γεγρ]αμμενωι νομω̣ι̣ ε̣ι̣[η δε
[αν τοιονδε ω]σπερ γαρ ο νομοθετ̣η̣ς̣
τ[αις μεγισ]ταις ζημιαις τους

35 κλεπτο̣ν̣τ̣α̣ς κολαζει ουτω δει κ̣α̣[ι
τους εξαπατωντας μαλιστα
τ̣[ι]μ̣ωρε[ισθ]α̣[ι] κ̣[α]ι̣ γαρ ουτ[οι κλε
πτουσι την διανοιαν και κ̣[αθαπερ
ο ν[ο]μοθετ[ης] κ̣λ̣[ηρο]ν̣ο̣[μους εποι
40 ησε τ̣ο̣[υς εγγυτατω γενους ον
τα̣ς̣ τ̣ο̣ι̣ς απ[αισιν αποθν]ησκουσιν
ο̣υ̣τω των τ[ου απελε]υθερου χρη[

Frs. (*d*) and (*e*). Col. iii, p. 16, 13–22.

. . . .
[νους αυτα παντας αδικειν ο νο]μ̣[ο
[θετης εκρινεν ει γαρ τιμα]σ̣[θαι
45 [οι νομοι προσταττουσι το]υ̣[ς] κ̣α̣[λως
[και δικαιως των κοινων επιστατησ]α̣ν̣[
[τας δηλον ως και τους τα δημοσι]α̣[
[διαφθειραντας τιμωριας] αξ[ι
·ους νομιζ[ουσιν . . . . κ]α̣κ̣[
50 [των εναντιων το νομι]μ̣[ον κ]ατα
[φανες ουτω γινεται . . . . εκ δ]ε των
[κεκριμενων ωδε και ου μονον] εγω
[τον̣ νομον τουτον ενεκα τουτ]ω̣ν
[φημι τον νομοθετην θειναι αλλα] κ̣αι
55 [προτερον οι δικασται παρα]πλη

Fr. (*e*). Col. iv, p. 17, 10–11.

. . . .
κ[αι ταις πολεσιν ομονοουσαις
57 π̣[ροσκοπειν μη στασιασωσι

Fr. (*f*). Col. v, p. 17, 11–25.

τα με[ν ουν ομοια τωι συμφεροντι του
τον̣ τ̣ο̣ν̣ [τροπον μετι]ων [πολλα
60 ποιη[σ]εις ε̣[κ δε των ε]ναντι[ω]ν ωδ[ε]

[το συ]μφερο[ν] ε̣σ̣[ται] καταφανες
ει γαρ λυσιτ[ελει] τ̣ο̣υς επιεικεις τιμαν
των πολιτ[ω]ν̣ [σ]υ̣[μ]φερον αν ειη και
του[ς] πονηρ[ο]υς κολαζειν ει γαρ οιεσ
65 θε [ο]υ [συ]μφερον ειναι τ[ο] μονους ημας
προς Θηβ[αιους] πολεμειν συμφε
[ρ]ον α[ν ε]ι̣η̣ Λ̣[ακε]δαιμ[ο]νιοις συμμα
[χ]ια[ν ποιησαμενους] ουτω Θηβαιοις
πολ[εμ]ειν [εκ] μ̣εν δη των εναν
70 τιω̣[ν ουτω το συ]μφερον κατα
[φ]ανε[ς] πο[ιησε]ι̣ς το δε κεκριμε
[νο]ν υπο̣ [ενδοξων κ]ριτων ουτω
[χρη λαμβανειν Λα]κεδαιμονιοι
[τε γαρ Αθηναιους κ]αταπολε
75 [μησαντες συμφ]ερειν αυτοις
[ωιηθησαν μη την πολ]ιν αυτων
[εξανδραποδι]σ̣α̣[σ]θαι και
[παλιν Αθηναιοι μετα] Θηβαιων
[εξον ανοικισαι την Σ]παρτην

Frs. (*f*) and (*g*). Col. vi, p. 17, 25—18, 14.

80 [συμφερειν σφισιν ωιηθησαν περι]
π̣[ο]ι̣[ησαι Λακεδαιμονιους περι
μ̣[ε]ν̣ [του δικαιου και του νομιμου και
του [συμφεροντος ουτω μετιων ευπο
ρησ[εις το δε καλον και το ραιδιον και
85 τ̣[ο ηδυ και το δυνατον και το αναγκαι
ο̣[ν ομοιοτροπως τουτοις μετιθι και
π̣[ερι μεν τουτων εντευθεν ευπο
ρ[ησομεν παλιν δε διορισωμεθα και
[περι ποσων και ποιων και τινων εν τε]
90 τ̣[οις βουλευτηριοις και ταις εκκλη
σ̣[ιαις συμβουλευομεν αν γαρ του
τ[ων εκαστα σαφως επιστωμε]θ̣α̣

τ[ους μεν ι]διους λογους αυτα τα
π[ραγματα] καθ εκαστην ημιν
95 τη[ν συμβου]λιαν παραδωσει τ[ας
δε [κοινας ιδε]ας εκ πολλου προειδο
[τ]ε[ς επιφερειν] εφ εκαστας των
πρα[ξεων ραιδιως δυν]ησομεθα του
τω[ν ουν ενεκα διαιρετεον ημι]ν
100 πε[ρι ων κοινηι βουλευονται παν
τες [εν κεφαλαιωι μεν ουν ειπειν

Frs. (*g*) and (*h*). Col. vii, p. 18, 14—19, 4.

[εισιν επτα τον] αριθμον προθεσεις
[περι ων δημ]ηγορητεον αναγκαι
[ον γαρ εστι] βου[λ]ευεσθαι και λε
105 [γειν ημας εν βο]υληι η εν δημωι
[περι ιερων η νομων η] περι της πολι
[τικης κατασκευης η] πε[ρι τ]ων προ[ς]
[τας αλλας πολεις σ]υμμαχιω[ν] και
[συμβολαιων η περι πολ]εμ[ων η
110 [ειρηνης η περι πορου χρη]μα[των] αι
[μεν ουν προθεσεις αυτ]αι τυγ[χανου
[σι περι ων βου]λευσομε[θ]α [και δημη
[γορησο]μεν εκαστην δε προθεσιν
διελωμεθα και σκοπωμεν εν οις
115 τροποις περι τουτων ενδεχεται
τοις λογοις χρησθαι περι μεν [ουν
ιερων τριττως [α]ναγκα[ιον λε
γειν η γαρ ερουμεν ως αναγκ[α]ιον
τα καθεστωτα δ[ια]φυλαττειν
120 η ως επι το μεγαλοπρεπεστε
ρον μεταστατεον η ως επι το τα{τα}
πεινοτερον οταμ μεν ουν λεγω
μεν ως δει τα καθεστωτα διαφυ

Frs. (*g*) and (*h*). Col. viii, p. 19, 5–10.

λατ[τειν ευρησομεν αφορμας εκ μεν
125 του [δικαιου διοτι παρα πασι τα πα
τρια [εθη παραβαινειν αδικον εστι
και δ̣[ιοτι τα μαντεια παντα τοις
α̣ν̣θ̣[ρωποις προσταττει κατα τα
πατ[ρια ποιεισθαι τας θυσιας
130 και τ[ων πρωτων οικιζοντων
τα̣[ς πολεις και τοις θεοις ιδρυ

10 lines lost.

κ̣[
α̣[
σ̣[
135 ν̣[

Frs. (*i*) and (*k*). Col. ix, p. 22, 3–17. PLATE III.

[ειη συλληβδη]ν δ̣ε̣ δει παραφυλατ
[τειν οπως οι μεν] νομοι το πληθος
[αποτρεψουσι τοι]ς τας ουσιας εχουσιν
[επιβουλευειν το]ις δε πλουτουσιν
140 [εις τας κοινας λει]τουργιας δαπαναν
[φιλοτιμιαν εμπο]ι̣ησουσιν τουτο
[δε ουτως αν τις π]α̣ρασκευασειεν ει
[τοις μεν τας ουσι]ας εχουσιν αντι
[των εις το κοινον δ]απανωμενων τι
145 [μαι τινες απο τ]ων νομων αφωρι
[σμ]ε̣ν̣[αι τυ]γχα[νοιε]ν̣ των δε γενομε
[νω]ν το̣[υς τ]η̣ν χ̣[ωραν ερ]γαζομενους
[τε] κ̣αι τους [ναυτικο]υ̣ς μαλλον
[των] α̣γ̣[οραι]ω̣[ν προτι]μαν ουτω γαρ
150 [οι μεν πλουτουντες ε]κοντες τηι
[πολει λειτουργησουσ]ιν το δε πλη
[θος ου συκοφαντιας αλ]λ εργασιας επι
[θυμησει . . . .]ν και περι του̣

[μητε χωραν αναδαστ]ο̣ν ποιειν
155 [μητε δημευειν τας ο]υσιας των
[15 letters σ]αντων ισχ[υ
[ρους κεισθαι νομους κ]αι [με]γαλας

Fr. (*i*). Col. x, p. 22, 17—23, 4. PLATE III.

επικεισθαι τιμωριας τοις παρα
βαινουσιν ταυτα χρη και τοις εν
160 τωι πολεμωι τελευτησασι ταφην
δημοσιον χωριον εγ καλωι προ της
πολεως αφωρισθαι καιτοι πασιν αυ
των εως ηβησωσι εις τροφην διδοναι
τωμ μεν ουν εν ταις δημοκρατιαις
165 νομων τοιαυτην δει την θεσιν
ποιεισθαι περι δε τας ολιγαρχιας
τας μεν αρχας δει τους νομους
κατανεμειν εξ ισου πασι τοις της
πολιτειας μετεχουσιν τουτων
170 δ ειναι τας πλειστας κληρωτας
τας δε μεγιστας κρυφαιαι ψηφωι
μεθ ορκων και πλειστης ακριβει
ας διαψηφιστας δει δε και τας ζη
μιας εν ταις ολιγαρχια[ις] μεγι
175 στας επικεισθαι τοις υβριζουσιν
τινας των πολιτων επιχειρουσιν
[το] γαρ πληθος ουχ ουτω των αρ
χων αγανακτει στερομενον ως

Fr. (*i*). Col. xi, p. 23, 4–17. PLATE III.

εχει βαρεως υ[βριζομενον χρη δε
180 [τ]ας διαφορας τ[ων πολιτων οτι
[τ]α̣χιστα διαλυ[ειν . . . .
κ̣α̣ι̣ μη [σ]υναγ[ειν εκ της χωρας
τον οχλ[ον ει]ς τ[ην πολιν εκ γαρ των

τοιουτω[ν συ]νο[δων συστρεφεται
185 τα πληθ[η κ]αι [καταλυει τας ολι
γαρχιας κ[αθ]ολο[υ δε ειπειν δει
εμ μεν τα[ις δημοκρατιαις κωλυειν
τους πολ[λους ταις των πλουσιων
ουσιαις επ[ιβουλευειν εν δε ταις
190 ολιγαρχ[ιαις αποτρεπειν τους
της πολι[τειας μετεχοντας
υβριζειν τ[ους ασθενεστερους
και συκοφα[ντειν τους πολιτας ων
μεν ουν ορε[γεσθαι δει τους νομους
195 και τη[ν] π[ολιτικην κατασκευ
ην εκ το̣[υτων ουκ αγνοησεις
δει δε σ̣υ̣ν̣[αγορευοντα μεν νομωι
δεικνυν[αι τουτον ισον οντα τοις
πολιτ[αις ομολογουμενον τε

Fr. (*l*). Col. xii, p. 24, 14–19.

. . . .

200 [και πλησιον το]ι̣ς̣ τ̣ο̣π̣[οις] κ̣α̣τ[οι
[κουντας ει δε μη] τουτων α̣πε̣ρ [αν υ
[παρχηι συναγει]ν̣ [οτα]ν̣ δ[ε] διακωλυ
[ηις την συμμαχιαν ε]μ̣φ̣α̣ν̣ιζειν
[ενδεχεται πρωτο]μ μεν ως ου
205 [κ αναγκη ποιειϑθαι] νυν αυτην
[επειθ ως ου δικαιοι τυγχ]ανουσιν οντ̣[ες]

Frs. (*l*), (*m*), (*n*), and (*o*). Col. xiii, p. 24, 19—25, 8.

[ειθ ως] π̣[ροτερον ημας κακως ποιη
[σα]ν̣τε̣ς̣ [14 letters ει δε μη
[ως] μ̣ακρ̣[αν τοις τοποις απεχοντες
210 κα̣ι α[δυνατοι οντες κατα τους προση
[κο]ν[τας παραγενεσθαι καιρους ταις
[μ]εν ο[υν 18 letters]ε̣σ̣ιν

τα̣ι̣[ς περι των συμμαχ]ων εκ τουτων
[κ]αι τ[ων τουτοις ομοιο]τροπων ευπο
215 [ρ]ησομ[εν χρησθαι] περι πολεμου
[δ]ε και ε[ι]ρη[νης τον] αυτον τροπον
τα̣[ς μεγ]ι̣[στας] ιδεας εγλαβωμεν
[πρ]ο̣φ̣α̣σ̣ε̣ι̣[ς μεν] ουν εισιν του πολεμον
[εκφερειν προς τι]νας αιδε προτε
220 [ρο]ν αδι̣κ̣η̣[θεντας] νυν καιρου παρα
πεπτ[ωκοτος αμυνασθαι τους
[αδ]ικ[ου]ντ[ας η νυν αδικουμενους υπερ
αυτων πο[λεμειν η υπερ συγγενων η
[υ]περ ε[υεργετων η συμμαχοις
225 αδ[ικ]ουμε[νοις βοηθειν η του τηι
πο[λ]ει συμ[φεροντος ενεκεν η εις

Fr. (*o*). Col. xiv, p. 25, 10–18.

2 lines lost.

[επι] το πολεμει[ν παρακαλωμεν του
[των] τε τ[ω]ν προφασεων οτι π̣[λειστας
[συν]ακτεον και μετα ταυτ[α δεικτεον
230 [ως] εξ ων εστιν περιγενεσθ[αι τωι
πολεμωι τουτων οτι πλε[ιστα τοις
παρακαλουμενοις εστι υ̣π̣[α]ρ̣[χοντα
περιγινονται δε παντες πολ[εμουν
τες η δια την των θεων ευνοιαν [ην ευ
235 τυχιαν ημε̣ι̣[ς] κ̣[α]λ̣[ο]υ̣[με]ν [η δια σωμα
των πληθο̣ς̣ [και ρωμην η δια χρη
ματων [ευποριαν η δια στρατη
γου φ[ρονησιν η δια συμμαχων
αρετ[ην η δια τοπων . . . .
240 ευφυ[ιαν τουτων ουν και των
τουτ[οις ομοιοτροπων τα τοις πρα
γμασ[ιν οικειοτατα λαμβα

. . . .

Fr. (*p*). Col. xv, p. 29, 15—30, 8.

[φαινονται μειζους ο]ταν προ [β]ραχ[υ
[τερους παραστωσιν ε]σται δε κα[ι
245 [ωδε αυξειν ει κεκρι]τα[ι] μ[εγα
[αγαθον . . . .] . με[γα . .
[18 letters]ν . [.] . [. .] .
[23 "] . . [.]ν
[24 "] . .
250 [25 "]α
[εκ διανοιας συμβιβα]ζων [ως]
[εκ πολλου προενοησεν ως πο]λλων
[επεβαλετο ως πολυν χρονον ε]πρα
[ττεν ως ουδεις αλλος π]ροτερος
255 [τουτοις ενεχειρησεν ως] μετα
[τουτων επραξε μεθ ων ο]υδεις [α]λ
[λος ως επι τουτοις. μεθ ους ου]
[δεις ετερος ως εκων ως ε]κ προ
[νοιας ως ει παντες . . . . ποιοι]μεν
260 [ευδαιμονοιμεν αν η πραττοιμ]εν
[φαυλως . χρη δε και ει]καζ[ο]ν
[τα συμβιβαζειν και εποικοδομουντα]
[το ετερον ως επι το ετερον αυξει]ν
[τροπωι τοιωιδε οστις δε των φιλων] κη

Fr. (*p*). Col. xvi, p. 30, 8–21.

265 δεται εοικος και τους γονε[ις] τιμαν. ου
ο[σ]τις δε [τ]ου[ς] γ[ο]νεις τιμ[αι] ουτος
και την πα[τρι]δα την [εαυτ]ου β[ο]υ
λη[σ]εται ε[υ ποιειν συλληβδην δ] εαν
μεν πολλω[ν αιτιον αποφαινηις ε
270 αν τ α[γ]α[θ]ω[ν εαν τε κακων μ]εγαλα
φανειται σ[κοπειν δε . . . .]ν[.]μεν

ποτερον μειζο̣ν φαι̣[νεται το πρ]α
γμα κατα μερη διαιρουμ[ενον η κ]α
θο[λο]υ λεγομενον ο̣[π]ο̣τ̣[ερως αν ο]υν
275 μειζον ηι τουτον τον τ[ρ]οπον αυ
το δει λεγειν τα[ς] μεν [ο]υν αυξη
σεις ουτως μετιων πλειστας και
μεγιστας ποιησεις τ[α]πεινωσεις
δε τοις λογοις και ταγα̣[θα] κ̣α̣ι τα
280 κα τον εναντιον τροπον μετιων
ευρησεις καμ μεν επι τωμ μεγα
λων και μαλι[σ]τα μεν μηδενος
αιτιον επιδεικνυειν ει δε μη ως ελα
χιστων και μικροτατων [ω]ς̣ με
285 ν ουν εγκωμ[ια]ζοντες κα[ι ψ]εγοντες

Fr. (*p*). Col. xvii, p. 30, 21—31, 8.

αυξησομεν κ[αι] τ̣α̣πεινωσομεν απ[ερ
αν εκφερωμεν ε̣κ̣ τουτων ισμεν
χρη[σ]ι̣μ̣α̣ι̣ [δε] τω̣ν αυξησεων εισιν α[ι
[α]φ̣[ορμαι και εν] το[ι]ς αλλοις ειδεσιν αλ
290 λα [η πλειστη] δυναμις εν τοις εγ
κωμ[ιοις και το]ις ψογοις εστιν αυ̣τ̣[αις
π[ε]ρι μεν ουν τουτων εντευθεν
ευπορησομεν διελθωμεν δ̣[ε
παλιν τουτοις ομοτ[ρ]οπως το [τε
295 κατηγορικον και απολ[ογικο]ν ε̣ι̣δ̣[ο]ς̣
εξ ων συνεστηκην και [ω]ς̣ αυτοις
δει χρησ[θ]αι εστι δε το μεν κατηγο
ρικον συλληβδην ειπειν αδικη
ματων και αμαρτηματ[ων] εξηγησις
300 το δ απολογικον αδικηματων
και αμαρτηματων κατη[γ]ορη
θεντων η υποπτευθεντων δια
λυσις εκατερων δε τ[ω]ν ειδων

τα[ς δ]υναμεις ταυτας εχ[ο]ντες τον
305 κα[τηγορουντα] τ[ο]υτ . . [. . ανα]γ
κα[ιον λεγειν οταν] μεν [εις πονηρι]αν

Fr. (*p*). Col. xviii, p. 31, 14–20.

. . . .

τ[ο παρατηρειν τους κατηγο]
ρουντας επι ποιοις [των κατη
γορηματων οι [νομοι τας τιμω
310 ριας ταττο[υσιν και περι α
των ημαρτ[ημενων οι δικασται
τας ζημια[ς οριζουσιν οταν με
ν ουν ο νομος δ[ι]ωρ[ικως ηι τουτο
δει μονον σκοπειν [τον κατηγο
315 ρ[ο]ν οπως επιδειξ[ηι το πραγμα
γεγενημεν[ο]ν [οταν δ οι δικασται
τιμωσιν πρω[τον μεν αναγκη
[επ]ιδειξαι τα κατ[ηγορουμενα

Fr. (*r*).	Fr. (*s*).	Fr. (*t*).
. . .	. . .	. . . .
νθη[	]καπα[	]ντ . . [
. . .	. . .	. . . .

1–5. (ομοι)ω]ν κ.τ.λ.: the whole sentence in the MSS. runs εὐπορήσομεν δὲ περὶ τούτων λέγειν ἐξ αὐτῶν τε τῶν προειρημένων καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων τούτοις καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἤδη κεκριμένων ὑπὸ θεῶν ἢ ἀνθρώπων ἐνδόξων ἢ ὑπὸ κριτῶν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν ἡμῖν. The papyrus (Π) exhibits several variations. λεγειν is placed later in the sentence, after ομοιω]ν [α]υτοις, which, owing to considerations of space, is more likely to have stood in the text than ομοιω]ν [το]υτοις. Possibly κακ should be restored in place of και in l. 1, but the supplement is already rather long for the lacuna. Before υπο θεων Π inserts η, and before ανθρωπων adds υπ, while ενδοξων is transferred from ανθρωπων to κριτων, whether υπ ε[νδοξ]ων [κρι]τ[ων] is read, as we propose, or υπο [κριτ]ων [ενδοξ]ων, which is also possible if the supposed τ is regarded as ink that has come off from a different layer in the cartonnage. The transfer of the epithet is an improvement; cf. l. 72, where Π has υπο [ενδοξων κ]ριτων in place of ὑπ' ἐνδόξων of the MSS. in a passage which develops in detail the general statement in l. 4. ἀνθρώπων by itself makes a better antithesis to θεῶν than ἀνθρώπων ἐνδόξων, and Spengel (p. 111) had already remarked that ἢ ὑπὸ θεῶν ἢ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων would be expected —which is what Π actually has.

9. το: om. MSS.

11. το[υ]ς υ[ιεις μιμεισθαι: so Hammer with CFM and the deteriores; μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς υἱοὺς OP Ald.

15. κακον εργασαμενους [ημ]ας: ἡμᾶς κακὸν ἐργασαμένους MSS. except V which has κακὸν ἡμᾶς ἐργασαμένους.

17. τ]ου[το]ν τον [τροπον: τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον MSS. Spengel had already proposed to place τοῦτον first.

22. ουτω κα]ι: so Hammer following Spengel; the MSS. place οὕτω after εὐεργετήσαντας. The reading of the papyrus is not quite certain. Lines 21, 22, and 23 as far as σαντ[are on a separate fragment (*c*), and the exact position of the two parts of l. 23 cannot be determined by external evidence. Adopting the arrangement in the text, according to which only α is supposed to be lost between σαντ[and]σ . . ., it is necessary to supply ουτω between τ[ι]μω[ρ]εισθ[αι and κ]αι, as ευεργετησαντ[α]ς ουτω cannot be read. But a difficulty is caused by the last three letters of the line: the surface of the papyrus is much damaged at this point, and it is hard to distinguish what is the original ink from what has come off from a different layer. The vestiges following the σ, which is clear, do not suit the beginnings of either προσηκει or αντευεργετειν, the two last words of the sentence in the MSS., for though ρο is possible there is not space for π between that and the σ.

25. [δικαιον κρινο]υ[σ]ι: δίκαιον εἶναι κρίνουσι MSS., which is too long for the lacuna.

26. μ]εν δ[η: μὲν οὖν MSS.; but Π's reading is very uncertain. The letter before ν could equally well be υ, i.e. ο]υν, but then it is very difficult to account for the following δ (or α), unless the beginning of δικαιον was written twice by mistake. There are some very faint traces of the penultimate letter before]εν or υν, but not sufficient to help in deciding between το μ]εν or μεν ο]υν.

27. πολλ]αχ[ω]ς: so Spengel; πολλάκις MSS., Hammer. But Π's reading is very uncertain.

28. ο: οἷον MSS.

29. οποταν: ὅπου ἂν MSS., but the letter preceding αν is more like τ than υ. οπως αν might also be read.

29–30. χρη]σιμο[ν ηι αυτο]ν: ᾖ χρήσιμον αὐτόν MSS., avoiding the hiatus. It is not certain that the order was different in the papyrus, but the lacuna in l. 30 corresponds to υπροτερ in l. 29 and ομονλαμ in l. 31, so that [ναυτο] is rather short for it, while [ηιχρη] would make l. 29 rather long.

30–1. αυτο]ν τε [τ]ον διαγ[ο]ρευο[ν]τα νο[μον λα]μβανειν: αὐτόν τε τὸν ἀγορεύοντα καὶ τὸν νόμον λαμβάνειν MSS., which will hardly construe, and is probably a corruption of the true reading found in Π.

34. τ[αις: om. MSS.

35. κλεπτοντας κολαζει: κλέπτας ἐκόλασεν MSS. κλεπτοντας makes a better contrast than κλέπτας with εξαπατωντας in l. 36.

δει: so Hammer with CF and the deteriores; δή MOP Ald.

39. εποι]ησε: πεποιηκε MSS.

42. των: καὶ τῶν MSS.

τ[ου: so Hammer with CFM and the deteriores; om. OP.

43–7. The vestiges of these lines are very slight and the reconstruction very uncertain.

48–9. ους νομιζ[with a paragraphus below is on the fragment (*d*) containing most of Col. ii, but the position of those letters in relation to Fr. (*e*) containing Cols. iii and iv is rendered certain by the writing on the verso, although Col. iii proves to be shorter by 3 lines than Col. ii. After νομιζουσιν there may have been a blank space of 3 or 4 letters, so that the lacuna before]ακ may be reduced from 10 letters to 6. The MSS.

proceed ἐκ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐναντίων, and ουν would be expected at the end of the line, but the two letters that remain are almost certainly ακ. Since εκ must have occurred somewhere in l. 49, we propose κ]ακ, i.e. καὶ ἐκ, though this goes far to necessitate the alteration of μεν ουν, which would almost fill up the lacuna between νομι[ζουσιν and κ]ακ. It is just possible that εκ μεν ουν κ]αι τ[ων | εναντιων should be read, but the vestiges suit κ much better than ιτ.

50–1. The order of words in the MSS. is ἐναντίων καταφανὲς οὕτω γίνεται τὸ νόμιμον, from which the papyrus must have varied, since only 20 letters are available in l. 51 between κ]ατα and the end of the sentence. The vestiges before [. . κ]ατα suit μ and are not easily reconcilable with the termination of εναντιων or γινεται. There is room for 3 or 4 letters more than our supplement of the lacuna in l. 51, but there may well have been a blank space left between γινεται and εκ.

54. The supplement, 26 letters, is rather long for the lacuna; in the corresponding space in the other lines the letters lost do not exceed 23.

55. παρα]πλη|(σια): διεξιόντος Λυσιθίδου παραπλήσια MSS. Π either omitted διεξιόντος Λυσιθίδου or, more probably, placed the words later in the sentence.

56–7. Working back from τα με[ν in l. 58, the π in l. 57 seems to be the initial letter of π[ροσκοπειν which is found in ABDV in place of σκοπεῖν (CEFGMOP, Hammer), and κ in l. 56 must belong to κ[αι. There is not room in l. 56 for the reading of the MSS. καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ὁμονοούσαις συμφέρον ἐστί, and probably συμφέρον ἐστί was omitted or placed before καί or a shorter phrase, e.g. δεῖ, substituted.

60. ωδ[ε]: ὧδέ σοι MSS.

61. [το συ]μφερο[ν]: so Hammer with CFMP and the deteriores; om. O.

62. τιμαν των πολιτ[ω]ν: τῶν πολιτῶν τιμᾶν MSS.

64. του[ς]: so Hammer with CFMO and the deteriores; om. P.

65. [ο]υ [συ]μφερον ειναι: ἀσύμφορον MSS. Cf. l. 210, note.

67–8. Λ[ακε]δαιμ[ο]νιοις συμμα[χ]ια[ν ποιησαμενους]: τὸ Λακεδαιμονίους συμμάχους ποιησαμένους ἡμᾶς MSS. τό is not essential, and in other respects the new reading, which avoids the ambiguity of subject and object in that of the MSS., is preferable.

70. συ]μφερον: so Hammer with CFMP and the deteriores; om. O.

72. υπο [ενδοξων κ]ριτων: ὑπ' ἐνδόξων συμφέρον MSS.; cf. note on ll. 1–5.

ουτω: ὧδε MSS., which is better. ουτω has just occurred twice previously, in ll. 68 and 70.

77. [εξανδραποδι]σα[σ]θαι: ἀνδραποδίσασθαι, the reading of the MSS., is too short for the initial lacuna, which requires 11–13 letters.

78. μετα] Θηβαιων: om. MSS., which insert αὐτοῖς after ἐξόν in the next line. For the occasion referred to in ll. 78–81 cf. Dem. *De Cor.* pp. 258–9.

82. μ[ε]ν [του: so CF; μὲν οὖν τοῦ Hammer with the other MSS. The insertion of ουν would make a line of 32 letters, which is unlikely; possibly Π had και περι | μ[ε]ν [του.

86. τουτοις is omitted by MOP, but probably stood in Π. The restorations of ll. 82, 85, and 86 involve lines of 29 letters, that of l. 84 a line of 30 letters, which is 2 or 3 letters more than the average length of ll. 87–101; but it is fairly certain that l. 83 had 28 letters, and it is better to suppose that the lines at the top of this column were slightly longer than those below in spite of the fact that the beginnings of lines tend to slope away to the left, than to suppose that Π differed extensively from the MSS. in ll. 80–86.

88. If there was no space before παλιν there is just room for the reading of the MSS. πάλιν δὲ διορισώμεθα (or -σόμεθα) καί in this line. But elsewhere, when the writer inserts a paragraphus and the new sentence had begun in the line above, a space of from 2–4 letters is left. Hence it is not unlikely that Π had ορισωμεθα (as conjectured by

Spengel) or omitted και at the end of l. 88. Line 89, as restored, is already quite long enough, so that και cannot be transferred to it without omitting some other word.

93. τ[ους μεν ι]διους: so Hammer with CFMP and the deteriores; om. τούς O.

95. τη]ν: om. MSS.

παραδωσει: so Hammer with CFMO and the deteriores; παραδίδωσι P.

97. εκαστας: ἑκάσταις MSS. Π's reading may be right.

102. τον] αριθμον: so H. with CFM and the deteriores; τῶν ἀριθμῶν P; om. O.

103. δημ]ηγορητεον: δημηγορήσομεν MSS.

αναγκαι[ον: ἀνάγκη MSS.

104. βου[λ]ευεσθαι: καὶ βουλεύεσθαι MSS., but there is not room for both και and εστι in the lacuna. The reading βου[λ]ευεσθαι is very uncertain. The traces following the supposed β (which might be read ο) would suit τ better than ου.

105. η εν δημωι [περι ιερων η νομων: καὶ δήμῳ ἢ περὶ ἱερῶν ἢ περὶ νόμων MSS. Possibly [η περι should be read in l. 106, but the supplement is already quite long enough, and for περι before νομων there is certainly no room; cf. 109–10, note.

108. [τας αλλας: so Hammer with CFM (and OP?); om. τάς the deteriores. The size of the lacuna makes it practically certain that Π had τας.

109–10. CFOP and the deteriores have ἢ περὶ εἰρήνης ἢ περὶ πόρου, which is 4 or 5 letters too long for the lacuna here, while M omits ἢ περὶ εἰρήνης, with which reading Π cannot be brought into agreement. The simplest course is to suppose the omission of περι before either ειρηνης or πορου, preferably the former; cf. l. 105, note.

111. The supplement is rather long for the lacuna, and μεν or ουν may have been omitted; cf. l. 82, note.

τυγ[χανουσι: τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι MSS. It would be just possible to restore τυγ[χανουσιν | [ουσαι περι ων βου]; but this would make l. 111 unusually long, and the lacuna at the beginning of l. 112 suits 11 or 12 letters better than 14. οὖσαι is quite unnecessary.

114. διελωμεθα: so H. with CFMP and the deteriores; διαλυσόμεθα O.

115. περι τουτων ενδεχεται: so H. with CDFMOP; ἐνδέχεται περὶ τούτων the rest of the deteriores.

116. τοις λογοις χρησθαι: χρήσασθαι H. with CF (first hand) MP; λόγῳ χρήσασθαι F (second hand) O and the deteriores. Π's reading is the best; cf. l. 279.

117. τριττως: so H. from a conjecture of Bekker; περιττῶς (περιττοῖς C) MSS.

[α]ναγκα[ιον λε]γειν: so H. with CFMP and the deteriores; λέγειν ἀναγκαῖον O.

118–9. αναγκ[α]ιον τα καθεστωτα δ[ια]φυλαττειν: τὰ καθεστῶτα διαφυλακτέον MSS., except O which adds ἱερά after διαφ. The repetition of αναγκαιον which has occurred in the previous line is inelegant, and διαφυλακτέον is preferable, though this sentence has become corrupt in the MSS.; cf. the next note.

121. μεταστατεον: πως MSS. (except ὄντως V, ὄντος D), a reading which makes no sense and is justly bracketed by H. following Spengel. The insertion of μεταστατέον is a great improvement. With the MSS. reading a verb like μεταστατέον had to be supplied out of its opposite διαφυλακτέον, making a very harsh construction. Spengel (p. 121) had proposed the insertion of δεῖ μεθιστάναι.

125–6. After δικαίου the MSS. have λέγοντες· τὰ πάτρια ἔθη παρὰ πᾶσι παραβαίνειν ἄδικόν ἐστι καί, thus having 48 letters corresponding to what should occupy (allowing 28 letters for a line) not more than 46 letters in Π, and clearly placing τα πατρια εθη earlier in the sentence than Π. παρὰ πᾶσι, which is constructed with ἄδικον, is awkwardly situated in the MSS. reading between ἔθη and παραβαίνειν, and the simplest restoration of ll. 125–6 is to keep all the words found in the MSS. and transpose τὰ πάτρια ἔθη and παρὰ πᾶσι. This results, however, in giving 30 letters to l. 125, which is unlikely; and since out of the three illustrations the MSS. introduce the second and third by ὅτι . . . ὅτι (v. l. διότι . . . ὅτι),

omitting ὅτι before the first, while Π has διοτι (apparently) in the second case but omits it before the third, we suggest that Π had διοτι in place of λέγοντες to introduce the first. The editio Basil. of 1539, based on an unknown MS., inserted ὅτι after λέγοντες. If παρα πασι is not placed before τα πατρια εθη then (δι)οτι (λεγοντες is much too long) παραβαινειν τα πα]τρια [εθη παρα πασιν αδικον εστι is preferable to διοτι αδικον εστι τα πα]τρια [εθη παρα πασι παραβαινειν. Blass prefers to restore l. 125 του [δικαιου λεγοντες διοτι τα πα, omitting παρὰ πᾶσι on the ground that παρὰ πᾶσιν ἄδικόν ἐστι is not satisfactory in the sense of παρὰ πᾶσιν ἄδικον νομίζεται.

127. δ[ιοτι: the traces of the letter after κ suit δ and are irreconcilable with ο or τ. διότι C and the deteriores; ὅτι H. with FMOP.

130. και τ[ων: καὶ ὅτι τ[ῶν MSS. Cf. note on ll. 125–6.

137. οι μεν] νομοι το πληθος: οἱ νόμοι τὸ μὲν πλῆθος MSS., which is the better reading.

138. [αποτρεψουσι: ἀποτρέψωσι (ἀποστρέψωσι OV) MSS., but cf. l. 141 εμπο]ιησουσιν where they have ἐμποιήσωσι.

140–1. δαπαναν [φιλοτιμιαν εμπο]ιησουσιν: ἑκουσίαν ἅπασαν φιλοτιμίαν ἐμποιήσωσι MSS. Π probably represents the true reading, ἅπασαν being a corruption of δαπαναν and ἑκουσίαν a gloss.

142. τις π]αρασκευασειεν: κατασκευάσειεν MSS.; κατασκευάσαιεν (sc. οἱ νόμοι) H., adopting a conjecture of Spengel. In the reading of the MSS. κατασκευάσειεν had no subject to refer to; but their error is now shown to have consisted not in the use of the singular but in the omission of the subject, which is probably τις, since there is room for 3 or 4 letters between αν and π]αρασκευασειεν.

145. απο τ]ων νομων: so H. with CFOP and the deteriores; om. M.

146. γενομε[νων: πενομένων MSS. The reading of Π is probably a mere error; cf. note on ll. 148–9.

147. ερ]γαζομενους: so H. with CFO and the deteriores; ἐργαζομένων MP.

148–9. [τε] και τους [ναυτικο]υς μαλλον [των] αγ[οραι]ω[ν προτι]μαν: καὶ ναυκληροῦντας τῶν ἀγοραίων μᾶλλον προτιμῷεν MSS. The letter before ς in l. 148 was certainly not α and the vestiges suit υ. It is clear that Π varied considerably from the MSS. in this sentence, and the difficulty of restoring ll. 147–9 is increased by the fact that there is an error in l. 146 and probably another in l. 149. The reading of the MSS. is thus translated by Bekker *sicque et agricolas pauperibus et navium gubernatores vectoribus anteponant*, which is correct but yields no satisfactory sense; for how would the poor be prevented from plotting against the rich by the laws favouring cultivators at the expense of the poor and shipowners at the expense of merchants? A meaning more relevant to the context is that suggested by St. Hilaire, 'dans les rangs des pauvres ceux qui cultivent la terre ou qui montent les navires soient entourés de plus d'estime que les marchands de la place publique.' This construction of τῶν πενομένων as dependent on τοὺς ἐργαζομένους is in any case preferable to Bekker's view that it depends on μᾶλλον, but 'qui montent les navires' is an impossible translation of ναυκληροῦντας—which apparently no one has proposed to emend to ναῦς πληροῦντας. Π did not have ναυκληρουντας, and though [ναυκληρο]υς would fit the lacuna, [ναυτικο]υς, suggested by Blass, is much more likely. The earlier parts of ll. 146–9 are on a separate fragment, the position of which is fairly certain since there is no other place among the extant columns to which it can be assigned. There remains the difficulty of the infinitive προτι]μαν in l. 149. There is no room to insert in ll. 148–9 a verb in the optative which would govern it, and the choice seems to lie between supplying a verb or, better, altering προτιμαν to προτιμῳεν (sc. οἱ νόμοι) or προτιμῳ (sc. τις or whatever was the subject of π]αρασκευασειεν in l. 142). The frequency of infinitives after δεῖ and χρή throughout this chapter may account for the error.

149–51. ουτω γαρ . . . . λειτουργησουσ]ιν: ὅπως . . . λειτουργήσωσι MSS.

152–3. επι[θυμησει: ἐπιθυμήσῃ MSS.; cf. the previous note.

153. . . . .]ν: δεῖ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις MSS. Perhaps δει τοινυ]ν should be restored, but the construction of ll. 153–9 is not clear. ισχ[υρους κεισθαι νομους in l. 156 may depend on χρη in l. 159 (cf. note *ad loc.*).

154. αναδαστ]ον ποιειν: ποιεῖν ἀνάδαστον MSS.

155–6. των [15 letters σ]αντων: τῶν τελευτώντων MSS., which will not do. Usener had suggested τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, Wilamowitz τῶν πλουτούντων; and Π now shows that some word has dropped out in the MSS., and an aorist, not a present, participle is the correct reading. [ιδιωτων τελευτησ]αντων is possible, but τελευτώντων may come from the next clause (cf. l. 160, note). Blass proposes των [την πολιν μη αδικησ]αντων.

159. χρη και: χρὴ δέ MSS. Π thus makes επικεισθαι in l. 158 and perhaps κεισθαι in l. 157 (cf. l. 153, note) depend on χρη, as well as the two verbs that follow, αφωρισθαι and διδοναι, whereas in the MSS. the words preceding χρή depend on δεῖ at the beginning of the sentence, and χρή is connected only with what follows. The position given to χρη in Π is not very satisfactory, but without knowing what stood in the lacuna in l. 153 it is impossible to say whether the omission of δε is intentional or a slip.

160. τωι: om. MSS. τωι may be right; cf. e.g. **14**. 34 and the passage of Aeschines quoted *ad loc.*

τελευτησασι: τελευτῶσιν MSS.; cf. note on l. 156.

ταφην: εἰς ταφήν MSS. The scribe has placed before τροφην in l. 163 the εις which ought to have come before ταφην here.

161. δημοσιον χωριον: τι χωρίον δημόσιον MSS.

162. αφωρισθαι: so H. with Ald.; ἀφωρισμένον MSS. (Hammer's apparatus assigns ἀφωρίσθαι to a, his sign for the family CFMOP, but cf. Spengel's notes *ad loc.* 'ἀφωρισμένον] *adde* εἶναι, *editi ex Veneta* ἀφωρίσθαι,' and 'ἀφωρισμένον] *sic libri omnes*').

καιτοι πασιν: a corruption of καὶ τοῖς παισίν (MSS.).

αυτων: so H. with CFM and the deteriores; om. OP.

163. εως ηβησωσι εις τροφην διδοναι: ἕως ἥβης δημοσίαν τροφὴν δίδοσθαι MSS. Π is corrupt, the scribe having inserted before τροφην the εις which ought to have come before ταφην in l. 160 (cf. note *ad loc.*). But εως ηβησωσι may be right, for ἕως with the genitive is a late use, while ἕως with the subjunctive without ἄν is parallel to the similar construction occasionally found with πρίν and μέχρι in Attic prose; and though -ωσι may have its origin in the omitted δημοσίαν, the insertion of that word is not necessary, especially as δημοσιον χωριον occurs in l. 161.

164. ταις δημοκρατιαις: τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ MSS.; cf. l. 174, note. Π's reading is the better; cf. ἐν μὲν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις in p. 23. 10 (= l. 187).

165. τοιαυτην δει την θεσιν ποιεισθαι: τὴν θέσιν τοιαύτην δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι MSS. The order in Π is preferable.

168. καταvεμειν: ἀπονέμειν MSS. EG omit πᾶσι.

της: so H. with CFMO and most of the deteriores; om. P; τήν followed by πολιτείαν DV.

170. τας πλειστας: τὰς μὲν πλείστας MSS., which is preferable.

171. κρυφαιαι: κρυπτῇ MSS.

172. μεθ: so H. with CFMP and the deteriores; καὶ μεθ' O.

173. και: om. MSS.

174. ταις ολιγαρχια[ις]: τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ MSS.; cf. note on l. 164.

175. υβριζουσιν: ὑβρίζειν MSS. Π's reading is a blunder.

178. στερομενον: so H. with CFGMOP; στερούμενον the rest of the deteriores.

179. χρη δε]: χρὴ δὲ καί MSS., but a supplement of 18 letters is rather long for the lacuna, not more than 15 being lost in the corresponding space in this column, so that και, which Π inserts in l. 173 where the MSS. omit it, was probably omitted here.

181–2. διαλυ[ειν . . . .] και μη [σ]υναγ[ειν: διαλύειν καὶ μὴ χρονίζεσθαι μηδὲ συνάγειν MSS. Π probably substituted a phrase meaning 'without delay' for the second infinitive.

183. τον οχλ[ον ει]ς τ[ην πολιν: ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τὸν ὄχλον MSS.

186. κ[αθ]ολο[υ δε ειπειν δει: καθόλου δὲ εἰπεῖν δεῖ τοὺς νόμους MSS. There is not room for both ειπειν and τους νομους in l. 186, but Π may equally well have omitted ειπειν and kept τους νομους.

191. της πολι[τειας: so H. with CFO and the deteriores; πολίτας MP.

194. ουν: so H. with CFMP and the deteriores; om. O.

197. συν[αγορευοντα μεν νομωι: τὸν συναγορεύειν ἐθέλοντα νόμωι MSS. For our restoration cf. the antithesis ἀντιλέγοντα δὲ σκοπεῖν (p. 23. 22), where δέ has been corrupted in most MSS. to δεῖ. [αγορευοντα νομωι by itself is too short for the lacuna, and the insertion of μεν is an improvement. The omission of τόν in Π may be an error, but τόν is not necessary.

198. δεικνυν[αι: δεικνύειν MSS.

201. απερ [αν υ]παρχηι: ἅπερ ἂν ὑπάρχῃ ταῦτα H. with CF and the deteriores; ἅπερ ὑπάρχει ταῦτα MOP; but απερ [υ]παρχει is also possible, though for ταυτα in any case there is no room. If Π had read υπαρ|χει we should have to suppose a lacuna of 10 letters instead of 13 before the first ν of l. 202, and hence diminish by 3 the size of the initial lacuna throughout. This would cause no trouble in ll. 200–1, where κατοικουν|τας would suit equally well, but would lead to difficulties in l. 205, where the lacuna could not be restored without cutting down the text of the MSS. (cf. note *ad loc.*). Line 206 is hard to reconcile with the ordinary reading, even with the longer lacuna; with the shorter some alteration would be imperative. The only serious objection to the view of the size of the initial lacunae in this column upon which we have based our restorations occurs in l. 204, where 18 letters would be expected instead of 14 before the μ of πρωτο]μ. The supplement [ενδεχεται πρωτο], however, contains several broad letters, and it is not, we think, necessary to insert anything.

204–5. ου[κ αναγκη: so FMOP and the deteriores; οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον H. with C, and there would be room for αναγκαιον in the lacuna, but cf. l. 204. If the lacuna were supposed to be smaller (cf. note on l. 201), χρη or δεον would have to be substituted for κ αναγκη.

206. The MSS. reading (20 letters) is rather long for the lacuna, for which 17 letters are sufficient, and the line as restored contains 32 letters, which is a quite exceptional length, though in any case l. 206 projects considerably into the right-hand margin. Perhaps ειθ should be read in place of επειθ. With a smaller lacuna at the beginning [επειθ ως ου τυγχ]ανουσιν οντ[ες δικαιοι would be necessary; cf. note on l. 201.

207–8. ποιησα]ντες: πεποιηκότες MSS., which proceed εἰ δὲ μὴ κ.τ.λ. There is no clue to what the lacuna of 14 letters in Π contained.

210. α[δυνατοι οντες: οὐχ ὑπάρχοντες δυνατοί MSS. Cf. l. 65, note.

212.]εσιν: after μὲν οὖν the MSS. have ταῖς ἀντιλογίαις καὶ ταῖς συνηγορίαις, for which Π substituted something much shorter (22 letters instead of 33), the second substantive (if there were two) being a word ending in -σις.

213. ται[ς: so MSS. The reading is very doubtful; περ[ι would suit the traces better, but would leave only 10 letters for the lacuna, which requires 14–16.

215–6. περι πολεμου [δ]ε και ε[ι]ρη[νης: περὶ εἰρήνης δὲ πάλιν καὶ πολέμου MSS. The order in Π is supported by that in ll. 109–10.

217. εγλαβωμεν has been corrected from εγβαλωμεν by writing λ above the β, which is crossed out, and β through the λ.

218. πολεμον: so H. with CFMP and the deteriores; πολέμου by a slip O.

219. αιδε; αὗται δεῖ δέ CFMOP; αὗται δεῖ H. with the deteriores. αἵδε is better than

αὗται, and δεῖ is quite unnecessary; Π probably preserves the original reading, of which those of the MSS. are corruptions.

220–1. καιρου παραπεπτ[ωκοτος: καιρῶν παραπεπτωκότων MSS. The singular is better.

222. The MSS. vary between ἀδικουμένους (the deteriores) and ἀδικηθέντας (CFMOP), but whichever tense be adopted the supplement is rather long, being 21 or 22 letters instead of 18 or 19 as would be expected; perhaps νυν was omitted.

223. αυτων: αὐτῶν FMOP; αὑτῶν C; ἑαυτῶν H. with the deteriores. It is highly improbable that Π had ε]|αυτων, which would make an unlikely division at the end of a line of more than average length (cf. the preceding note).

229. [συν]ακτεον: the ε is corrected from ο (?). GV read συντακτέον, which is out of the question here.

μετα: so H. with CF and the deteriores; κατά MOP.

230. [ως]: om. MSS. Cf. note on l. 231.

[τωι] πολεμωι: so H. with ABCEF (first hand) MOP; τοῦ πολέμου F (second hand) and DV.

231. τουτων οτι πλε[ιστα: ὅτι πλεῖστα τούτων AB; ὅτι τὰ πλεῖστα τούτων H. with the other MSS., thus making ὅτι dependent on δεικτέον, while Π clearly connects it with πλεῖστα, οτι πλειστα being parallel to οτι πλειστας in l. 228. A conjunction is then required, and accordingly we have inserted ως in l. 230. Of the two rival readings either might easily be corrupted into the other, but that of Π makes the sense clearer, and seems preferable.

232. εστι υπ[α]ρ[χοντα: ὑπάρχοντά ἐστι MSS. The reading of Π is no improvement, especially as εστι has no ν ἐφελκυστικόν, but the vestiges, though slight, do not suggest any alternative to υπ[α]ρ[χοντα.

233. πολ[εμουν]τες: om. MSS., probably through an error.

234–5. ευ]τυχιαν ημει[ς] κ[α]λ[ο]υ[με]ν: εὐτυχίαν προσαγορεύομεν H. with most of the deteriores; εὐψυχίαν προσαγορεύοιμεν CDFMOP.

237. στρατη]γου: so H. with CFMO and the deteriores; στρατοῦ P.

239. τοπων . . . .] ευφυ[ιαν: τόπων εὐφυΐαν H. with CFOP and the deteriores; τόπων εὐποιίαν M. The lacuna may have contained an adjective for τόπων or a substantive coupled by ἤ or καί to εὐφυΐαν.

241. τουτ[οις ομοιοτροπων: τοιούτων MSS. DV add ὁμοιοτρόπως, apparently intending τούτοις ὁμοιοτρόπων, which was probably Π's reading; cf. l. 214.

243. The scanty remains of Col. xv are so much obliterated that only a few letters can be deciphered with certainty, and the restorations are very doubtful in many cases. It is clear that between ll. 245 and 252 Π varied extensively from the MSS. in being considerably shorter. Very likely there were some omissions due to homoioteleuton, for the passage is a particularly confusing one for a scribe. In l. 243 ο is the only certain letter, but the vestiges of the two preceding letters suit πρ. βρα]χυτερο[υ]ς is inadmissible; and προς seems to be the word meant, though if the next word was intended to be βραχυτερους either προσραχ or προβραχ must have been written, for the space between ο and the supposed ρ is barely sufficient for even one narrow letter. προ βραχυτερων is not satisfactory, and since the reading ραχ is extremely doubtful Π may have had something quite new here.

244. κα[ι: so H. with A (second hand) BFG; om. other MSS.

245. The MSS. have ὧδε πάντως (πάντας DV) αὔξειν εἰ κέκριται, with which the reading of Π cannot be reconciled. The vestiges of this line will not suit any part of εικεκρ, and there is not room for 22 letters in the lacuna, which, taking the tolerably certain supplements of ll. 254–6 as the standard and allowing for the slope of the column to the left, should contain 16 or 17 letters. The omission of πάντως, which is not necessary, leaves 16 letters.

246–50. The MSS. have ἀγαθὸν τοῦτο τούτῳ τι ἐναντίον ἐὰν λέγῃς μέγα κακὸν φανεῖται.

ὡσαύτως δὲ εἰ νομίζεται μέγα κακὸν ἐὰν τούτῳ ἐναντίον λέγῃς μέγα ἀγαθὸν φανεῖται. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὧδε μεγάλα ποιεῖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἢ τὰ κακὰ ἐὰν ἀποφαίνῃς αὐτὸν ἐκ διανοίας κ.τ.λ., 178 letters where Π, allowing even 28 letters for a line, has but 140. Probably there were some omissions owing to homoioteleuton, as in P, which omits μέγα κακὸν φανεῖται . . . ἐναντίον λέγῃς. με[γα, which is fairly certain in l. 246, comes too soon. The vestiges preceding it are reconcilable with λεγηι]ς, but do not suggest ς. The ν in l. 247 perhaps belongs to νομιζεται, and that in l. 248 to εναντιον, but the traces of other letters lend no assistance.

250.]α: working back from ζων in l. 251, the MSS. reading ἐὰν ἀποφαίνῃς αὐτὸν ἐκ διανοίας συμβιβάζων does not produce an α at the right place. Perhaps ἐὰν ἀποφαίνῃς αὐτόν was omitted and the α belongs to αγαθα or κακα, or we might change the order and restore εκ δι]α[νοιας αυτον. But the MSS. reading is very unsatisfactory (Usener proposes αἴτιον for αὐτόν), and]α may represent a participle such as πραξαντ]α, the insertion of which would be a great improvement.

252. The supplement (22 letters) is a little long, when judged by the standard of ll. 254 and 256, which have 19 in the corresponding space; but cf. l. 253 and l. 255, which apparently has 21.

πο]λλων: πολλὰ πράττειν MSS.

253. The supplement (23 letters) is again rather long, and not more than 19 would be expected; cf. l. 252, note.

254. π]ροτερος: so ABEG; πρότερον H. with CDFMOPV.

257–8. The supplements of these lines are rather short. Possibly Π inserted επραξεν again after επι τουτοις.

259. . . . . ποιοι]μεν: τούτῳ ἴσως ποιοῖμεν MSS., which is too long if]μεν is correctly read. Those letters, however, are very uncertain, and ποι is possible, in which case τουτωι ισως could be retained in l. 259. But difficulties would then arise in the restoration of l. 260, which seems to end in εν, the vestiges being inconsistent with πρ]αт, φ]αυ, or φαυλ]ως. On the whole, therefore, it seems preferable to suppose that Π had some variant (om. τούτῳ?) for τούτῳ ἴσως.

260–1. πραττοιμ]εν [φαυλως: φαύλως πράττοιμεν MSS., which cannot be reconciled with Π; cf. the preceding note. If our restoration of l. 261 is correct, there must have been a blank space before χρη.

264. The supplement is rather long; perhaps δε was omitted. But the supposed ν in l. 263 is very doubtful, and if there was an omission in Π it may have occurred in ll. 262 or 263, where ως is really superfluous.

265. εοικος: τοῦτον εἰκός MSS. εοικος must be wrong.

γονε[ις] τιμαν ου: αὐτοῦ γονεῖς τιμᾶν MSS. (except P, which has αὐτούς by mistake). ου, which makes no sense, may be a survival of αὐτοῦ, but is more likely to have been caused by the occurrence of τιμαι ουτος immediately afterwards.

266. ο[σ]τις: so H. with F (and OP?); ὅς CM (so Spengel; from H. it would be inferred that they read ὅστις) and the deteriores.

γ[ο]νεις: γονέας MSS., though reading γονεῖς in l. 265.

267. β[ο]υλη[σ]εται ε[υ ποιειν: εὖ ποιεῖν βουλήσεται MSS.

269. μεν: om. MSS., rightly. Whether Π had ε at the end of the line is very doubtful.

271–6. Π here differs considerably from the MSS., which have σκοπεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὁποῖον φανεῖται κατὰ μέρη διαιρούμενον καὶ (ἢ the deteriores) καθόλου λεγόμενον καὶ ὁποτέρως (ὁπότερον FO) ἂν μεῖζον ᾖ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον αὐτὸ λέγειν. Π's version is superior in several respects; πότερον . . . ἢ . . brings out the contrast between κατὰ μέρη and καθόλου better than ὁποῖον . . . καὶ . . . , and τοῦτον is much preferable to τόνδε.]μεν in l. 271 is probably the termination of a verb in the future or subjunctive governing σκοπειν, and the insertion of this and of δει in l. 276 is an advantage, the infinitives σκοπεῖν and λέγειν in the MSS. reading

being dependent on *χρή* supplied from *χρὴ δὲ καὶ εἰκάζοντα*, although a different sentence *συλλήβδην . . . φανεῖται* has intervened.

276. *αυξησεις*: so H. with MSS., except M which has *αὐξήσαις*.

277. *πλειστας και μεγιστας ποιησεις*: *πλείστας ποιήσεις καὶ μεγίστας* MSS.

279. *τοις λογοις*: so H. with BCFMOPV; *τὸν λόγον* ADEG. Cf. l. 116, note.

280. *κα* is a mistake for *κακα*. G and E (first hand) invert *ἀγαθά* and *κακά*. D omits *μετιών*.

281. *ευρησεις καμ μεν*: *ὡς εἰρήκαμεν* MSS., which insert *ἂν* after *μεν* in l. 282, and in place of *επιδεικνυειν* in l. 283 have *ἐπιδεικνύναι* (C), *ἐπιδεικνύεις* (EO) or *ἐπιδεικνύῃς* (the rest; so H.). *ευρησεις*, which makes *ταπεινωσεις* a substantive instead of a verb, as it is on the MSS. reading, may in itself be right; but *καμ μεν . . . επιδεικνυειν* must be wrong, and *ευρησεις* looks somewhat like a corruption of *ως ειρη*, due to a misunderstanding of *ταπεινωσεις*. Whether *ευρησεις* be retained or not, *καμ μεν* must be altered to *ως* (or *ωι*) *ειρηκαμεν* and *επιδεικνυειν* corrected, either by reading *αν . . . επιδεικνυηις* with the majority of the MSS., or by the simpler substitution of the participle *επιδεικνυων*.

284. *μικροτατων*: *σμικροτάτων* MSS.

287. *εκφερωμεν*: *ἐθέλωμεν* MSS.; *εκφερωμεν*, 'bring forward,' is more pointed.

288. *χρη[σ]ιμαι*: *χρήσιμοι* MSS.

[*δε*] *των αυξησεων εισιν α*[*ι α*]*φ*[*ορμαι*: *δὲ αἱ τῶν αὐξήσεων ἀφορμαί εἰσι* MSS., and it is possible to read [*δ αι*] *των αυξησεων εισιν α*[[*φο*]*ρ*[*μαι*, though the other restoration seems more probable.

290–1. *δυναμις εν τοις εγκωμ*[*ιοις και το*]*ις ψογοις εστιν αυτ*[*αις*: *δύναμις αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ψόγοις* MSS.

292. *ουν*: so H. with most MSS.; om. C (B, not C Spengel).

293. *διελθωμεν*: so H. adopting a conjecture of Spengel. *διέλωμεν* MSS.

294. *τουτοις ομο*(*ιο*)*τ*[*ρ*]*οπως*: *ὁμοιοτρόπως τούτοις* MSS.

295. *κατηγορικον*: so H. with most MSS.; *κατηγορητικόν* GM. Cf. l. 297.

απολ[*ογικο*]*ν*: *τὸ ἀπολογητικόν* H. with MSS., except O which omits *τό*. Cf. l. 300.

296. After *εἶδος* the MSS. have *ὃ περὶ τὴν δικανικήν ἐστι πραγματείαν αὐτά τε*, which is omitted by Π. The words are probably an interpolation; cf. p. 116.

συνεστηκην: l. *συνεστηκεν*. G has *συνέστησε*, and E has *κε* in an erasure.

αυτοις δει: *δεῖ αὐτοῖς* MSS.

297. *κατηγορικον*: so H. with most MSS.; *κατηγορητικόν* M. Cf. l. 295.

299. *εξηγησις*: *ἐξάγγελσις* MSS. *ἐξήγησις* is the more natural word.

300. *απολογικον*: *ἀπολογητικόν* MSS. Cf. l. 295.

αδικηματων και αμαρτηματων: *ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ ἀδικημάτων* MSS.

302. *υποπτευθεντων*: *καθυποπτευθέντων* MSS., probably by an erroneous repetition of the initial syllable of *κατηγορηθέντων*.

303. *εκατερων*: *ἑκατέρου* MSS.

304–5. *ταυτας*: so CFMOP. *τὰς αὐτάς* H. with the deteriores.

εχ[*ο*]*ντες*: *ἐχόντων* the deteriores and Ald.; *ἔχοντος* H. with CFMOP. *εχοντων* is required in Π if *εκατερων* is anything more than a mistake for *εκατερου*, and above the second *ε* of *εχ*[*ο*]*ντες* (which must in any case be wrong) is some ink which may represent *ω*. But of the 2 or 3 letters after *εχοντες* that project into the margin beyond any other line in this column of which the end is preserved, the first is certainly not *ν*, and they are probably to be connected with the following words.

τον κα[*τηγορουντα*] *τ*[*ο*]*υτ . .* [*. .* : *κατηγοροῦντα μέν* MSS., except C which has *κατηγορῶ μέν*. The restoration of Π is very uncertain. The insertion of *τον* is rather an improvement, but the reading is quite doubtful, and though *κατηγορουντα* seems necessary, the vestiges at the beginning of l. 305 do not suit *κα* very well. The lacuna after *κα*[is large

enough for 11 or even 12 letters, but hardly for [τηγορουντα μεν]. τουτ[ο] μ[εν might be read, but is not satisfactory; for τουτ[ο] λε[γειν there is not room. In place of the second doubtful τ, π or γ can equally well be read.

306. μεν: so H. with CFMO and the deteriores; δέ P.

307. The vestiges of the first letter would suit π equally well (i. e. παρατηρειν), but a line of 20 letters would be unusually short.

308. The π of ποιοις seems to have been corrected.

κατη]γορηματων: ἀδικημάτων MSS.

309. οι [νομοι: so H. with most MSS.; om. M.

311. ημαρτ[ημενων: ἀδικημάτων MSS., probably an erroneous repetition. Cf. the contrast of αδικηματων and αμαρτηματων in ll. 298–301.

313. ο νομος δ[ι]ωρ[ικως ηι: ᾖ νόμος διωρικῶς MSS. Π's reading is better; Spengel had already suggested the insertion of the article before νόμος.

314. κατηγο]ρ[ο]ν: ο does not fill the space between ρ and ν, which would accommodate two letters, but it is difficult to see what these could have been, unless indeed the scribe wrote κατηγορουν⟨θ⟩.

315. οπως: so H. with CF (first hand) MP; ὅπως ἄν F (second hand) O and the deteriores.

316–8. Π here preserves a much better text than the MSS., which have ὅταν (ὅτε H. with C) δὲ οἱ δικασταὶ τὸ κατηγορούμενον ἴσασιν (εἰδῶσιν A (second hand) EG) αὐξητέον ἐστὶ τὰ ἀδικήματα καὶ μάλιστα μὲν δεικτέον ὡς ἑκὼν κ.τ.λ. For the unsatisfactory ἴσασιν or εἰδῶσιν Spengel had acutely conjectured τιμῶσιν, the verb found in Π, and divined that τὸ κατηγορούμενον was wrong. Π inserts, no doubt rightly, a clause contrasting the preliminary proof of the facts with the subsequent magnifying of the crime. After κατ[ηγορουμενα it probably continued επειτα αυξητεον κ.τ.λ. For αναγκη in l. 317 cf. l. 103, note; δει makes the line hardly long enough.

III. CALENDAR

27. Calendar for the Saite Nome.

Mummies 68 and 69. Height 16·8 *cm.* B.C. 301–240. Plate VIII (Cols. iii and iv).

On the recto of this long papyrus, which is in 16 fragments, is a calendar for a year, preceded by an introductory treatise in which the writer explained for a pupil's instruction the source of his information, and gave a general sketch of his astronomical system. Of the calendar the larger portion is preserved, but the remains of the introduction probably represent only a small portion of it. Two hands, both a large clear semi-uncial, are found in the main text, the first being responsible for Cols. i–iii, the second for the rest. A few corrections in Col. iv sqq. are due to a third hand or, perhaps, to the writer of Cols. i–iii. On the verso of Fr. (*a*) is some demotic writing, on that of Fr. (*d*) a brief account, and

on that of Fr. (*m*) part of a list of names, while on the verso of Fr. (*c*) is another short list of names headed (ἔτους) η Μεσο[ρή. The king in question is presumably Euergetes, to the early part of whose reign we assign **34** and **73**, from the same mummies as **27**; and we regard B.C. 240 as the latest possible date for the writing on the recto. This, however, is probably a few decades older, and may even be as ancient as B.C. 301–298, the period to which the calendar apparently refers (*v. inf.*). At the conclusion of that period the dates of the recorded phenomena would cease to apply, and it is not easy to account for a copy of the calendar being made after the information contained in it had become antiquated and useless. The handwriting, though presenting no special signs of exceptional antiquity, is not inconsistent with the view that the calendar was written at the very beginning of the third century B.C., and the Hibeh collection has provided one document written in the 5th year of Ptolemy Soter I (84 *a*). Cols. i–iii each have 18 lines and very narrow margins between the columns, while Cols. iv–xiv range from 13 to 15 lines in each and the margins are sometimes narrow, sometimes (as between Cols. vi and vii) as much as 7·5 cm. in breadth.

Fr. (*a*), containing Cols. i–iii, appears to come from a point near the actual commencement of the text, and it is possible that]ειν in l. 1 is the termination of χαίρ]ειν, and belongs to the opening sentence of the introduction, which is in any case couched in an epistolary form. Nothing further is to be gleaned from the scanty remains of Col. i; in Cols. ii and iii the compiler, who was in the Saite nome (l. 21; cf. note), explains that he had been receiving instruction on astronomy from a certain wise man (ll. 19–33), and announces his intention of summarizing the teaching for his pupil's benefit (ll. 34–41). Accordingly in l. 41 he begins with a description of the different years in use in Egypt; this, so far as it goes (l. 54), corresponds closely to a passage in the account of the Εὐδόξου τέχνη which was written by one of that astronomer's followers, and is preserved in P. Par. 1; cf. p. 143, and ll. 41–54, note. To the interval, extending probably to at least 6 or 7 columns, between Frs. (*a*) and (*b*) may be assigned the small Frs. (*n*)–(*q*), which do not belong to the calendar portion of the papyrus, and are not likely to have followed Col. xiv, since that column may well be the last of the whole text. The subject of Frs. (*n*) and (*o*), which seem to be connected, though the relative position assigned to them in our text is not certain, is the seasons; that of Fr. (*q*) the length of the year.

Turning to the calendar, the year under discussion is an ordinary Egyptian *annus vagus* of 365 days beginning with Thoth 1. The account of the first three months is missing; but Frs. (*b*)–(*m*), containing Cols. iv–xiv, which are continuous, preserve with some lacunae the entries from Choiak 1 to the end

of the year, Col. xiv probably giving, as we have said, the conclusion of the papyrus. The details recorded under the various days are (1) the changes of the seasons indicated by the equinoxes and solstices; (2) the passing of the sun at its rising from one of the 12 great constellations to another; (3) the risings and settings of certain stars or constellations; (4) prognostications concerning the weather, such as are commonly found in ancient calendars; (5) stages in the rising of the Nile (ll. 126, 168, and 174); (6) certain festivals, which in two instances (ll. 76 and 165) took place at Sais; (7) the length of the night and day.

For the following remarks on the place of observation and date of the calendar, and its connexion with Eudoxus, to which we have already alluded, we are indebted to Prof. J. G. Smyly, who has greatly assisted us in the elucidation of this text.

'*Place of observation.* The length of the longest day is given by the papyrus (l. 115) as 14 hours, and that of the shortest night as 10 hours; if then we take the inclination of the ecliptic to have been 24° and l denote the latitude, we can determine l from the equation $\cos 75^\circ = \tan 24^\circ \tan l$, from which we obtain $l = 30^\circ\ 10'$: cf. Ptolemy, *Syn. Math.* ii. (ed. Heiberg, p. 108) ἔνατός ἐστι παράλληλος καθ' ὃν ἂν γένοιτο ἡ μεγίστη ἡμέρα ὡρῶν ἰσημερινῶν ιδ̄. ἀπέχει δ' οὗτος τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ μοίρας λ̄ κβ̄ και γράφεται διὰ τῆς κάτω χώρας τῆς Αἰγύπτου. This agrees very well with the statement of the papyrus (l. 21; cf. ll. 76 and 165) that the calendar was drawn up in the Saite nome, probably at Sais itself.

'*Date.* Since the calendar is constructed according to the vague year of the Egyptians, it would have been possible to determine its date within four years from the dates assigned to the equinoxes and solstices, had these been correctly given. In the following table the Julian dates for the early part of the third century B.C. are taken from Unger (I. Müller's *Handb.* I², p. 823):—

Spring equinox	20 Tubi (l. 62)	25 March.
Summer solstice	24 Pharmouthi (l. 120)	27 June.
Autumn equinox	23 Epeiph (l. 170)	27 September.

'The date of the calendar deduced from the equations Tubi 20 = March 25 and Pharmouthi 24 = June 27 would be B.C. 301–298; that given by the equation Epeiph 23 = September 27 is B.C. 313–310. These results do not agree (see below), and we cannot be certain of the accuracy of the observations; but we may safely deduce B.C. 300 as an approximate date.

'*Connexion with Eudoxus.* 1. The interval between the spring equinox and summer solstice is correctly given by the papyrus as 94 days, that between the summer solstice and autumn equinox as 89 days; the whole interval between the spring and autumn equinoxes is thus 183 days, which is about 3 days too

few. The writer of the papyrus evidently belonged to a school of astronomers who supposed that the equinoxes divided the year into approximately equal parts; cf. G. V. Schiaparelli, *Memorie del Real. Inst. Lomb.* xiii. p. 129, Nov., 1874. If we may trust P. Par. 1. 525 sqq., the interval between the autumn equinox and the spring equinox according to Eudoxus was 92 + 91 = 183 days, while according to Democritus it was 91 + 91 = 182 days, thus leaving for the period of 183 days given by the papyrus 182 days according to Eudoxus, and 183 according to Democritus. So far this would point to Democritus rather than Eudoxus; but there are other striking resemblances to the theories of Eudoxus.

' 2. According to the papyrus the spring equinox took place on Tubi 20 and the sun entered Taurus on Mecheir 6, so that the equinox took place when the sun was in the middle or at the 15th degree of Aries. Now according to Hipparchus the placing of the equinoxes and solstices at the middle of the signs was peculiar to Eudoxus; e.g. Hipp. i. 6. 4 ταύτης (τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἄρκτου) γὰρ ὁ ἔσχατος καὶ λαμπρότατος ἀστὴρ κεῖται κατὰ τὴν ιή μοῖραν τῶν Ἰχθύων, ὡς δὲ Εὔδοξος διαιρεῖ τὸν ζῳδιακὸν κύκλον, κατὰ τὴν γ' μοῖραν τοῦ Κριοῦ. Thus the 1st degree of Aries according to Eudoxus' division of the Zodiac coincided with the 15th degree of Pisces according to Hipparchus, and the equinox, which according to Hipparchus was at the 1st point of Aries, would according to Eudoxus occur at the 15th degree of Aries. Again Hipp. ii. 1. 15 says προδιειλήφθω δὲ πρῶτον ὅτι τὴν διαίρεσιν τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ κύκλου ὁ μὲν Ἄρατος πεποίηται ἀπὸ τῶν τροπικῶν τε καὶ ἰσημερινῶν σημείων ἀρχόμενος ὥστε ταῦτα τὰ σημεῖα ἀρχὰς εἶναι ζῳδίων, ὁ δὲ Εὔδοξος οὕτω διῄρηται, ὥστε τὰ εἰρημένα σημεῖα μέσα εἶναι, τὰ μὲν τοῦ Καρκίνου καὶ τοῦ Αἰγόκερω τὰ δὲ τοῦ Κριοῦ καὶ τῶν Χηλῶν; cf. ii. 1. 19 καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων δὲ μαθηματικῶν πάντων σχεδὸν ἢ τῶν πλείστων τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον (i. e. as by Aratus) ὁ ζῳδιακὸς κύκλος διῄρητο. ὅτι δὲ Εὔδοξος τὰ τροπικὰ σημεῖα κατὰ μέσα τὰ ζῴδια τίθησι δῆλον ποιεῖ διὰ τούτων κ.τ.λ. As is clear from these quotations, Hipparchus considered that Eudoxus stood almost alone among ancient astronomers in putting the equinoctial and solstitial points at the middle of the signs. It was for a long time supposed that Eudoxus had used an ancient globe, many centuries older than his own times, constructed at a period when the spring equinox was really in the middle of the dodecatemory called Aries by Hipparchus, and that Eudoxus himself never even looked at the sky. This absurd theory was controverted by Ideler in *Abhandl. der k. Ak. der Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1830, p. 58, who gives the true explanation that the dodecatemory called Aries by Eudoxus extended from the 15th degree of Pisces to the 15th degree of Aries according to Hipparchus. It may be remarked in this connexion that the correspondence of the signs κατὰ συζυγίαν described, but wholly misunderstood, by Geminus, *El. Astr.* ii. 27 sqq., depends upon placing the equinoctial points in the middle of the signs.

'If we measure 15° back from the position of the equinox at the time of Eudoxus we find that the first point of Aries according to him very nearly coincided with the star ζ Piscium. This coincidence is very remarkable, and should prove of considerable importance in the difficult question as to the origin of the signs of the Zodiac. E. Burgess and Prof. Whitney, *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, *Journal of American Oriental Society*, vi. p. 158, write:—"The initial point of the fixed Hindu sphere, from which longitudes are reckoned, and at which the planetary motions are held by all schools of Hindu astronomy to have commenced at the Creation, is the end of the asterism Revatî, or the beginning of Açvini. Its position is most clearly marked by that of the principal star of Revatî, which, according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta, is 10′ to the west of it, but according to other authorities exactly coincides with it. That star is by all authorities identified with ζ Piscium, of which the longitude at present, as reckoned by us, from the vernal equinox, is 17° 54′. Making due allowance for the precession, we find that it coincided in position with the vernal equinox not far from the middle of the sixth century or about 570 A.D. As such coincidence was the occasion of the point being fixed upon as the beginning of the sphere, the time of its occurrence marks approximately the era of the fixation of the sphere, and of the commencement of the history of modern Hindu astronomy." Now the exact correspondence of the initial points of the spheres of Eudoxus and of the Hindu astronomers cannot be an accidental coincidence, and seems to invalidate the theory that the Hindu sphere was fixed by the position of the spring equinox. In these circumstances we are at liberty, or rather are compelled, to reject the deduction that "the point from which longitudes are reckoned, and at which the planetary motions are held by all schools of Hindu astronomy to have commenced at Creation" was first fixed at about 570 A.D. This is not the place to discuss the question as to the relation of Eudoxus to Indian astronomy, but my own belief is that the Indian sphere was fixed at a very early period and adopted from Indian astronomers by Eudoxus.

'The length of time occupied by the sun in passing through the constellations presents considerable difficulty; the details are as follows:—

l. 62.	Aries,	Tubi 5—Mecheir 6,	31 days.
l. 66.	Taurus,	Mecheir 6—Phamenoth 4,	28 days.
l. 88.	Gemini,	Phamenoth 4—Pharmouthi 3,	29 days.
l. 107.	Cancer,	Pharmouthi 3—Pachon 6,	33 days.
l. 129.	Leo,	Pachon 6—Pauni 4,	28 days.
l. 137.	Virgo,	Pauni 4—Epeiph x,	58 days.
	Libra,	Epeiph x—Mesore 2,	
l. 181.	Scorpio,	Mesore 2— ?	

'The spring equinox is given as 15 days in Aries, the summer solstice as 21 days in Cancer, and the autumn equinox 10 days only before the sun enters Scorpio. If the signs of the papyrus are true dodecatemories, the dates of entering the different signs must be wrong; for the spring equinox being in the middle of the sign so also should the autumn equinox be.

'3. The stars or constellations whose risings and settings according to Eudoxus are given in the calendar assigned to Geminus (Lydus, *De Ostentis*, &c., ed. Wachsmuth, pp. 181 sqq.) are Aquila (Ἀετός), Capella (Αἴξ), Arcturus, Delphinus, Lyra, Pleiades, Scorpio, Sirius (Κύων), Corona Borealis (Στέφανος), Hyades and Orion; all of these, except Αἴξ (which can be restored with certainty in ll. 88 and 177), are mentioned in the papyrus, and the only star in it not contained in the list of Eudoxus is Προτρυγητήρ (=ε Virginis), the statement about which (l. 130) is obviously erroneous.'

The agreement on this point between the papyrus and Geminus' references to Eudoxus is very striking. The intervals between the several entries (which in Geminus are measured by degrees, not, as in the papyrus, by days) are naturally different owing to the difference of latitude between Sais and the place in Asia Minor from which Eudoxus took his observations. But the order is the same in both, and there is only one clear instance in which the papyrus omits a reference to the rising or setting of a star that Geminus had inserted in his list from the calendar of Eudoxus (l. 107, note). Hence Geminus' list provides certain restorations for those lacunae in the papyrus which mentioned risings or settings, while conversely two corruptions in the text of Geminus can be restored from the papyrus; cf. notes on ll. 187 and 194.

The papyrus is therefore to be regarded as a composition for teaching purposes, written at Sais about B.C. 300 by a follower of Eudoxus' theory of astronomy, and is somewhat older than the analogous treatise based on Eudoxus in P. Par. 1. In the passage common to both texts (ll. 41–54) may be recognized a more or less direct quotation from Eudoxus himself, but the presentation and application of his system are much disfigured in both papyri by frequent blunders, especially in regard to figures. The inconsistent dates in connexion with the equinoxes and the passing of the sun through the constellations, and the erroneous mention of Προτρυγητήρ have already been mentioned. Cols. ii and iii of the introduction are very carelessly written, though some of the slips have been corrected by the writer himself. Mistakes in figures occur in ll. 62, 73, 91, and several times in the fractions of hours. Words are left out in ll. 88 and 199; cf. ll. 78 and 87, where an omission by the first hand is supplied by the corrector. The account of the summer solstice (ll. 120–2) is very inaccurately expressed, and other errors can be detected in ll. 79 and 83. All these mistakes are due

to the compiler or the scribe; and the compiler was, more probably than Eudoxus, responsible for the system of reckoning the changes in the length of day and night, which is only a rough approximation to the truth. The difference between the longest and shortest day being $14-10=4$ hours, and five days being deducted from the year on account of the solstices, the change in the length of the day and night is treated as uniformly $\frac{4}{180}$ or $\frac{1}{45}$ hour, which is a convenient fraction for purposes of calculation, but ignores the obvious fact that the changes are much greater at the equinoxes than at the solstices. The uniformity of the changes, however, simplifies the restoration of many lacunae, since, where the figures relating to the day or night are preserved, they are sufficient to indicate the day of the month, when lost, and vice versa.

Amongst the most valuable features of the papyrus are its references to Graeco-Egyptian festivals observed at Sais, of which we append a list:—

(1) l. 60. Choiak 26, Festival of Osiris.
(2) l. 62. Tubi 20, Festival of Phitorois.
(3) l. 76. Mecheir 16 (19), Assembly at Sais in honour of Athena (Neith).
(4) l. 85. Mecheir 27, Festival of Prometheus-Iphthimis.
(5) l. 92. Phamenoth 9, Festival of Edu (?).
(6) l. 112. Pharmouthi 11, Feast of Hera (Mut?).
(7) l. 145. Pauni 16, Festival of Bubastis (Bast).
(8) l. 165. Epeiph [13?], Assembly at Sais in honour of Athena (Neith).
(9) l. 170. Epeiph 23, Festival of Anubis.
(10) l. 186. Mesore 2, Festival of Apollo (Horus).
(11) l. 205. 4th intercalary day, Birthday of Isis.

Festivals in honour of deities whose names are lost also occurred on a day between Pauni 24 and Pauni 26 (l. 150) and on Pauni 27 (l. 154). The dates of most of these festivals, and even the names of the deities connected with nos. (2), (4), and (5), were previously unknown; and except in the case of no. (11), which was universally observed, there are but few points of correspondence between the papyrus and other lists of festivals preserved in the Papyrus Sallier IV of Ramesside times (Chabas, *Le Calendrier des jours fastes et néfastes*), and the Ptolemaic calendars of Edfu, Esneh, and Dendereh (Brugsch, *Drei Festkalender*), while the list of festivals observed in Roman times at the temple of Socnopaeus in the Fayûm (Wessely, *Karanis und Soknopaiu Nesos*, p. 76) is altogether different. On comparing the list in the papyrus with the statements concerning festivals in the Canopus Inscr., the two are consistent concerning the date of no. (1), the voyage of Osiris, but disagree in a curious manner with reference to no. (7), the festival of Bast. It is clear that there was much local variation

with regard to the dates of the same festivals; and though in the above list only nos. (3) and (8) are actually stated to be specially Saite feasts, and nos. (1) and (11) are known to have been observed on the same days elsewhere, it is uncertain how far those remaining were observed outside the Saite nome on the days specified. The mention of a general illumination in connexion with no. (8) is particularly interesting, since this was the festival described by Herodotus ii. 62; cf. l. 76, note.

Fr. (*a*), Col. i. 1]ειν, 2]ους, 3]οις, 4] . ι, 5]ρ̣α̣ς̣, 6–12 lost, 13]α̣, 14–15 lost, 16]α, 17]ωι, 18]ωι.

Fr. (*a*). Col. ii.

τ[. .] .]ε̣]ν Σ̣άι πάνυ ἀνὴρ
20 σοφὸς καὶ ἡμῶν χρείαν
ἔχων, ἔχομεγ γὰρ τὸν Σα-
ίτην νομὸν ἔτη πέντε.
πᾶσαν οὖν τὴν ἀλήθει-
[αν] ἡμῖν ἐξετίθι καὶ ἐπ̣[ὶ]
25 [το]ῦ̣ ἔργου ἐδίκνυον ἐ-
[κ το]ῦ ὅλμου τοῦ λιθίνου
[ὃς ἐκ]αλεῖτο Ἑλληνιστὶ
[γν]ώμων. ἔλεγεν δὲ
[δύο] τ̣ὰς πορείας εἶναι τοῦ
30 ἡλίου μία⟨μ⟩ μὲν τὴν διορί-
ζουσαν νύκτα καὶ ἡμέ-
ραν μία⟨ν⟩ δὲ τὴν διορίζου-
σαν χιμῶνα καὶ θέρος.
ὡς οὖν ἠδυνάμην ἀκρι-
35 βέστατα ἐν ἐλαχίστοις
συναγαγεῖν

Fr. (*a*). Col. iii. PLATE VIII.

ἵνα μὴ δόξω μακ[ρὸν
καὶ ξένον σοι κατα[νοῖν?
ἢ τῶν μορίων ποικ̣[ιλία?
40 τὰς ἀναγκαίας ἡμ̣[έρας
μεριοῦμεγ. χρῶντ[αι
ταῖς κατὰ σελήνη[ν
ἡμέραις οἱ ἀστρολό[γοι
καὶ οἱ ἱερογραμματε[ῖς
45 πρὸς τὰς δόσεις καὶ ἀ̣[να-
τολὰς τῶν ἄστρω[ν.
τὰς μὲν οὖν ἑορτὰ[ς
ἄγουσιν κατ' ἐνιαυτ[ὸν
τῆι αὐτῆι ἡμέραι τ[ὰς
50 πλείστας οὐθὲν πα[ραλ-
λάσσοντες ἐπ' ἄστρω[ι
ἢ δύνοντι ἢ ἀνατ[έλ-
λοντι, {γ}ἐνίας δὲ ἑο[ρ-
τὰς ἄγουσιν

20. ημ$\overset{\omega}{\eta}$ν Pap. This is a very early instance of the placing of a dot both above and below a letter in order to indicate that it was to be omitted; cf. **15**. 44, where dots are only placed above the cancelled letters. 25. l. ἐδείκνυεν. 28. γν]ωμων: Pap. 34. ακρι: Pap., the letters having been inserted later and the dots serving to separate them from the next column. 35. Final ς of ελαχιστοις inserted later. 37. l. δόξῃ? 44. οι above the line. 45. l. δύσεις. 48. υ of ενιαυτον corr. from τ. 51. ρ of αστρωι above the line.

Fr. (*b*), 2nd hand. Col. iv. PLATE VIII.

55 [ἡ] νὺξ ὡρῶν ιγί β′μ′ε′, ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ιβ′ε′λ′ϙ′.
[ι]ϛ Ἀρκτοῦρος ἀκρώνυχος ἐπιτέλλει,
[ἡ] νὺξ ὡρῶν ιββ′ι′ε′μ′ε′, ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ιαθ′ί λ′.
[κ]ϛ Στέφανος ἀκρώνυχος ἐπιτέλλει
[κ]αὶ βορέαι πνείουσιν ὀρνιθίαι, ἡ νὺξ
60 [ὡρ]ῶν ιβ∠λ′, ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ιαγ′ί λ′. Ὀσῖρις
[π]εριπλεῖ καὶ χρυσοῦν πλοῖον ἐξά-
[γε]ται. Τῦβι ⟨ε⟩ ἐν τῶι Κριῶι. κ ἰσημερία
[ἐα]ρινή, [ἡ] νὺξ ὡρῶν ιβ καὶ ἡμέρα ιβ,
[κ]αὶ ἑορ[τ]ὴ Φιτωρώιος. κζ Πλειάδες
65 [ἀκ]ρώνυχ[οι] δύνου[σ]ιν, ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶν ιαβ′ϛ′ϙ′,
[ἡ] δ' ἡμέρα [ι]βί λ′μ′ε′. Μεχεὶρ ϛ ἐν τῶι
[Τ]αύρωι. Ὑάδες ἀκρώνυχοι δύνουσιν,
[ἡ] νὺξ ὡρῶν ια∠ί λ′ε′,

55. l. ί ε′ for ί β′. 57. ί ε′ corr. from ε′. 65. ϛ′ corr. 68. l. λ′ϙ′ for λ′ε′.

Fr. (*c*). Col. v.

ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ιβγ′μ′ε′, καὶ Ἥρα
70 κάει . καὶ ἐπ[ι]σημαίνει καὶ
νότος π[νεῖ,] ἐὰν δὲ πολὺς
γένηται τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς
κατακάει. ιθ Λύρα ἀκρώ-
νυχος ἐπ[ι]τέλλει, ἡ νὺξ
75 ὡρῶν ιαγ′ί ε′ μ′ε′, ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ιβ∠ί ε′ό′,
καὶ πανήγυρις ἐν Σάι τῆ[ς
Ἀθηνᾶς, καὶ νότο[ς πνεῖ,
ἐὰν δὲ πολὺς γέν[ηται] τὰ [ἐκ τῆς
γῆς κατακάει. κ[. . . . . . ἀκρώ-
80 νυχος ἐπιτέλλει, [ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶν ια . .,
ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ιββ′[. . . . .
ἄγουσιν κα[. . . . .

73. l. ιϛ for ιθ. 75. l. ϙ′ for ό. 78. γεν[ηται above the line.

Fr. (*d*). Col. vi.

κζ Λύρα ἀκρώνυχος δύνει,
ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶν ιαϛʹϙʹ, ἡ δʹ ἡμέρα ιββʹ⟨ιʹλʹ⟩μʹεʹ,
85 Προμηθέως ἑορτὴ ὃν καλοῦσιν
Ἰφθῖμιν, καὶ νότος πνεῖ, ἐὰν δὲ
πολὺς γένηται τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς κατακάει.
Φαμενὼτ ⟦.⟧ δ ἐν τοῖς Διδύμοις. ⟨Αἲξ ἑώια⟩
ἀνατέλλει, ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶν ιαέμʹ,
90 ἡ δʹ ἡμέρα ιββʹδʹκʹϙ. ε Σκορπίος ἑῷιος
[ἄρχ]εται δύνειν, ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶν ιγ
[ἡ δʹ ἡμέ]ρα ιγ. θ παρὰ τοῖς Αἰ-
[γυπτίοις] εδυ ἑορτή. ιβ Σκορπίος
[ἑῷιος ὅλος] δύνει, ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶν ιβʹϛʹϙʹ,
95 [ἡ δʹ ἡμέρα ι]γιʹλʹ{λʹ}μʹεʹ. ιγ Πλειάδες
[ἑῷιαι ἐπιτέλ]λουσιν.

87. γενηται above the line. 89. l. μʹεʹ for εʹμʹ. 90. δʹ corr. 91. l. ια for ιγ.
95. The scribe apparently began to correct the superfluous λʹ into μ.

Frs. (*e*) and (*f*). Col. vii.

4 lines lost.

101 [23 letters]ου
[„] . λʹϙʹ
[„]να
[„] . .
105 [„]
σ̣ται α̣[. . . .] . [. . . . . . .]υς ἔχοντα.
Φαρμοῦ[θι ἐ]ν̣ τῶι Κ̣[α]ρ̣κ̣ί̣νωι γ. Ἀετὸς
ἀκρώνυχος ἐπιτέλλει, ἡ νὺξ
ὡρῶν ιγʹλʹϙ, ἡ δʹ ἡμέρα ιγ∠ϙ̣μʹεʹ.

109. l. ιʹμʹεʹ for ϙʹμʹεʹ.

Frs. (*e*), (*g*), (*h*). Col. viii.

110 ια Δελφὶς ἀκ[ρών]υχος ἐπιτέλλει,
ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶν [ιε', ἡ δ'] ἡμέρα ιγβ'ί'{α'}λ',
[κ]αὶ τῆς Ἥρας [. . . .]ιχεια.
[ι]ζ Ὠρίων ἑῶ[ιος ἐπιτέ]λλει, ἡ νὺξ
ὡρῶν ιι'ε', ἡ δ' [ἡμέρ]α ιγβ'δ'ξ'.
115 κ ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶν ι, ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ιδ,
καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει
ὁ ἥλιος ἡμέρας γ. ⟨κα⟩ ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶν ι,
ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ιδ. κβ ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶν ι,
ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ιδ. κγ ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶν ι,
120 ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ιδ. κδ ἡλίου τροπαὶ
εἰς θέρος καὶ ἡ νὺξ μείζω⟨γ⟩ γίνεται
τῆς ἡμέρας ὥρας δωδεκατημόρου μ'ε',

Fr. (*i*). Col. ix.

καὶ γίνεται ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶν ιε'μ',
ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ιγβ'δ'κ'ϙ'. κε
125 ἐτησίαι ἄρχονται πνεῖν
καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ἄρχετ[α]ι
ἀναβαίνειν, ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶν ιλ'ϙ',
ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ιγβ'δ'χ'ρ'π'.
Παχὼνς ϛ ἐν τῶι Λέοντι.
130 Προτρυγητὴς ἀνατέλλει,
ἡ νὺξ ὡρ[ῶ]ν ιδ'χ'ρ'π',
ἡ δ' ἡμέρα [ιγβ'λ']ϙ'. θ Ὠρίων ⟨ἑῶιος⟩
ὅλος ἀνατ[έλλει,] ἡ νὺξ
ὡρῶν ιγ'μ'[ε', ἡ δ'] ἡμέρα ιγ∠ί'χ'ϙ'.
135 ιη Κύων ⟨ἑῶιος⟩ ἀν[ατέ]λλει, ἡ νὺξ
ὡρῶν [ι∠χ'μ'ε',

123. l. μ'ε' for ε'μ'.

Frs. (*i*), (*k*), (*l*). Col. x.

[ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ιγγ′]δ′. Παῦνι [δ
[ἐν τῆι Παρθέ]νω[ι. Ἀ]ετὸς ἡῶιο[ς
[δύνει, ἡ νὺξ] ὡρῶ[ν] ιβ′ϵ′λ′ϙ′,
140 [ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ι]γί ϵ′ μ′[ϵ′][[. .]]
[ις Στέφανος] ἑῶιο[ς]
[δύνει, ἡ ν]ὺξ
[ὡρ]ῶν ιαϛ′ϙ′,

[ἡ δ'] ἡμέρα ιββ′ι′[λ′μ′ϵ′,
145 Β[ου]βάστιος ἑο[ρτή.
κ[.] Δελφὶς ἑῶιος
δύνει, ἡ νὺξ
ὡρῶν ιαγ′[. . . ,
ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ιβ∠[. . .,

137. l. θ′ for δ′.

Fr. (*m*). Col. xi.

150 [. . . . . . . ἑ]ορτή.
[κζ Λύρα ἑώια] δύνει,
[ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶν] ιαγ′ί μ′ϵ′ϵ′,
[ἡ δ' ἡμέρα] ιβ∠ί′ϵ′ϙ′,
[. . . . .]ς ἑορτή.
155 [λ . . . . . .]α μεγάλα
[. . . ἐπιση]μαίνει,
[ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶ]ν ιαγ′ί λ′μ′ϵ′,
[ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ιβ]∠ϙ′.
[Ἐπεὶφ . ἐν τ]αῖς
160 [χηλαῖς τοῦ Σ]κορπίου.
[. . Ἀρκτοῦρος ἑῶ]ιος
[ἐπιτέλλει,]

152. l. ί′ϵ′μ′ϵ′ for ί′μ′ϵ′ϵ′.

Fr. (*m*). Col. xii.

ἡ [δὲ] νὺξ ὡρῶν ι[αβ′ . . ,
ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ιβ[. . . ,
165 καὶ ἐν Σάι πανήγ[υρις
Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ λύχνους
κάουσι κατὰ τὴν χώραν,
καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπισημαίνει
πρὸς τὴν ἀνάβασιν.
170 κγ ἰσημερία φθινοπωρινή,
ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶν ιβ,
ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ιβ,
τοῦ Ἀνούβιος ἑορτή,
καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπι-
175 σημαίνει πρὸς τὴν
ἀνάβασιν.

158. ϙ corr.

Fr. (*m*). Col. xiii.

[κζ Αἲξ ἀκρώνυχος]
[ἐπιτέλλει,]
[ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶν ιβί′ϵ′μ′ϵ′,]
180 ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ιαβ′ϵ′λ′ϙ′.
Μεσορεὶ β ἐν τῶι
Σκορπίωι. Πλειάδες

Fr. (*m*). Col. xiv.

[ἄρχεται δύνειν,]
[ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶν ιβγ′μ′ϵ′,]
[ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ια∠ί′λ′ϙ′.]
ιδ Σκορπίος ὅλος δύνει,
195 ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶν ιβγ′ί′λ′,
ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ια∠λ′.

ἀκρώνυχοι ἐπιτέλλουσιν,
ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶν ιβϵ΄,
185 ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ιαβ΄ί λ΄,
Ἀπόλλωνος ἑορτή.
δ Στέφανος ἑῷος ἐπι-
τέλλει, ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶν ιβϵ΄λ΄ϙ΄,
ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ιαβ΄ί΄ϵ΄μ΄ϵ΄.
190 θ̣ Σκορπίος ἀκρώνυχος

ιζ Ὑάδες ἀκρώνυχ[ο]ι
ἐπιτέλλουσιν,
ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶν ιβ∠λ΄.
200 ἐν ταῖς ϵ ἡμέραις
ταῖς ⟨ἐπ⟩αγομέναις,
δ Ἀρκτ̣οῦρος ἀκρώνυχος
δύνει, ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶν ιββ̣΄ϵ̣΄λ΄ϙ΄,
ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ιαι΄ϵ΄μ̣΄ϵ΄,
205 καὶ τῆς Ἴσιος γ̣ε̣ν̣έ̣θλια
ἔ̣χ̣ε̣ι̣.

Frs. (*n*) and (*o*). Col. i.

. . . . .
]α̣
] . καθὰ ω̣ . [. .]δ̣ιου
Τῦ]β̣ι̣ κ ἰσημε[ρία ἐ]α̣ρινὴ
210 τρο]π̣ῶν θεριν[ῶν . . .]νων
] κγ του̣[. . . .] . σ̣ι̣ν̣
] . [ ]
] [ ]

Col. ii.

. . . .
τ[
215 λ̣επ . [
διὰ τὸ προσ . . . . [

Fr. (*q*).

. . . . .
τ̣[
ἡμερῶν . [. . . . .] . . [. . .
πέντε τ[ῶν ἐπ]αγομέν[ω̣ν
220 ἐν τῶι ἐνιαυτῶι ἐν αἷς . [
τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλειν
ἐν τῆι πορείαι τῆι διορι-
ζούσηι

Fr. (*p*).

] . .
225]ν ὅταν
]σ̣ελη̣ν
] .
]το
]ανε
230]ν̣ον
]ιτου
]υσμει
]υ ϵ̄
]τα̣[.
235] ο[.

19–54. '. . . at Sais a wise man and a friend of mine, for I have been in the Saite nome for five years. He expounded to me the whole truth, and illustrated it in practice from the stone dial which is called in Greek a "gnomon." He said that the courses of the sun were two, one dividing night and day and one dividing winter and summer. Accordingly, to summarize his information as accurately as I could in the shortest space, in order that the intricacy of the fractions may not appear to you a long and unfamiliar thing to understand (?), I will divide the necessary days. The astronomers and sacred scribes use the lunar days for the settings and risings of the stars. They therefore keep most of the festivals annually on the same day, without alterations owing to the setting or rising of a star; but some festivals they keep . . .'

19. ἀνήρ: a disciple of Eudoxus is probably meant; cf. introd.

28–33. Cf. P. Par. 1. 488–491 πορεῖαι [δὲ τοῦ] ἡλίου δύο· μία μὲν ἡ διορί[ζουσα] τὸ θέρος καὶ τὸν χει[μῶν]α, μία δὲ ἡ νύκτα καὶ ἡ[μέρ]αν.

34–41. The construction of this passage, which seems to be all one sentence and to require some correction, is obscure. The μόρια apparently refer to the fractions of the hours of the nights and days, and the general purport of the sentence seems to be that the writer, in order to avoid prolixity and a multitude of complicated fractions, would mention in his calendar only the more important days. This is in actual agreement with the calendar, which rarely notices days on which there was nothing more remarkable to record than the length of the night and day. The supplements proposed for ll. 38–40 will make lines 37–9 longer by two or three letters than ll. 41 sqq. Perhaps some letters at the end of those three lines were first omitted and then supplied in the margin, as has happened in ll. 34–5. The future tense μεριοῦμεν in the apodosis after the imperfect ἠδυνάμην is awkward, but the alteration of συναγαγεῖν to συνήγαγον would make the connexion of μεριοῦμεν with the preceding lines still more difficult.

41–54. Cf. P. Par. 1. 71–80 οἱ δὲ ἀσ[τρο]λ[ό]γοι καὶ οἱ ἱερογραμμ[ατεῖς] χ[ρῶν]ται ταῖς κατὰ σελή[ν]η[ν] ἡμ[έ]ραις καὶ ἄγουσι πανδημ[ι]κὰς ἑ[ορ]τὰς τινὰς μὲν ὡς ἐνομί[σθ]η τὰ δὲ καταχυτήρια καὶ κυνὸς ἀνατολὴν καὶ σεληναῖα κατὰ θεῖον (l. θεὸν, Blass) ἀναλεγόμενοι τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, a passage which agrees closely with our papyrus and clearly indicates their common source. Combining the information from both, the meaning is that the days on which the risings or settings of stars took place were designated by the ordinary months, and were therefore continually changing. Most of the annual festivals in Egypt were kept according to the *annus vagus* of 365 days without reference to the stars, the movements of which took place a day later on the calendar every four years. Certain festivals, however, were observed according to the sidereal year of 365¼ days. The Paris papyrus specifies three of these, the fêtes at the Nile rising, the rising of Sirius, and some festival connected with the moon; and **27** may have done the same in the next column, which may also well have contained a passage corresponding to P. Par. 1. 80–85, concerning the day to be intercalated once in every four years. The use of the adjective πλείστας for the festivals observed on the *annus vagus* confirms the view that the employment of the year of 365¼ days in Egypt, however ancient, remained quite exceptional, in spite of the efforts of Euergetes, down to the reform of the calendar by Augustus; cf. Dittenberger's note *Orientis Gr. Inscr.* I. p. 102. The phrase ταῖς κατὰ σελήνην ἡμέραις is rather difficult. The extract from the Paris papyrus quoted above, in which it also occurs, immediately follows a passage describing the difference between the lunar year of 354 days and the solar year of 365. But if 'the days according to the moon' are connected with the lunar year, the statement concerning the astronomers and sacred scribes is not only obviously incorrect but has no relation to what follows. It is therefore preferable to suppose that the phrase αἱ κατὰ σελήνην

ἡμέραι is in both passages used loosely for 'the days of the month' without any real reference to the moon.

53. {γ}ενίας: for another example in this volume of γ inserted between vowels cf. **62**. 8 ἀρχιγερεῖ. The practice is common in the Tebtunis papyri of the second century B. C.

55–205. '(Choiak 1st:) . . . The night is $13\frac{4}{45}$ hours, the day $10\frac{41}{45}$. 16th, Arcturus rises in the evening. The night is $12\frac{34}{45}$ hours, the day $11\frac{11}{45}$. 26th, Corona rises in the evening, and the north winds blow which bring the birds. The night is $12\frac{8}{15}$ hours and the day $11\frac{7}{15}$. Osiris circumnavigates, and the golden boat is brought out.

'Tubi 5th, the sun enters Aries. 20th, spring equinox. The night is 12 hours and the day 12 hours. Feast of Phitorois. 27th, Pleiades set in the evening. The night is $11\frac{38}{45}$ hours, the day $12\frac{7}{45}$.

'Mecheir 6th, the sun enters Taurus. Hyades set in the evening. The night is $11\frac{29}{45}$ hours, the day $12\frac{16}{45}$; and Hera burns (?), and there are indications, and the south wind blows. If it becomes violent it burns up the fruits of the earth. 19th (16th ?), Lyra rises in the evening. The night is $11\frac{19}{45}$ hours, the day $12\frac{26}{45}$; and there is an assembly at Sais in honour of Athena, and the south wind blows. If it becomes violent it burns up the fruits of the earth. 2[.]th, Orion (?) rises (sets ?) in the evening. The night is 11[ ] hours, the day 12[ ] hours, . . . 27th, Lyra (Canis ?) sets in the evening. The night is $11\frac{8}{45}$ hours, the day $12\frac{37}{45}$. Feast of Prometheus whom they call Iphthimis, and the south wind blows. If it becomes violent it burns up the fruits of the earth.

'Phamenoth 4th, the sun enters Gemini. Capella rises in the morning. The night is $11\frac{1}{45}$ hours, the day $12\frac{44}{45}$. 5th, Scorpio begins to set in the morning. The night is 11 hours, the day 13. 9th, feast of Edu (?) among the Egyptians. 12th, Scorpio sets completely in the morning. The night is $10\frac{38}{45}$ hours, the day $13\frac{7}{45}$. 13th, Pleiades rise in the morning. (The night is $10\frac{37}{45}$ hours, the day $13\frac{8}{45}$) . . .

'Pharmouthi 3rd, the sun enters Cancer. Aquila rises in the evening. The night is $10\frac{17}{45}$ hours, the day $13\frac{28}{45}$. 11th, Delphinus rises in the evening. The night is $10\frac{1}{5}$ hours, the day $13\frac{4}{5}$, and there is the . . . of Hera. 17th, Orion rises in the morning. The night is $10\frac{1}{15}$ hours, the day $13\frac{14}{15}$. 20th, the night is 10 hours, the day 14, and the sun rises in the same place for 3 days. 21st, the night is 10 hours, the day 14. 22nd, the night is 10 hours, the day 14. 23rd, the night is 10 hours, the day 14. 24th, summer solstice, and the night gains upon the day by $\frac{1}{45}$ of an hour which is $\frac{1}{12}$ of an (equinoctial) day; and the night is $10\frac{1}{45}$ hours, the day $13\frac{44}{45}$. 25th, the etesian winds begin to blow, and the river begins to rise. The night is $10\frac{2}{45}$ hours, the day $13\frac{43}{45}$.

'Pachon 6th, the sun enters Leo. Vindemitor rises (?). The night is $10\frac{13}{45}$ hours, the day $13\frac{32}{45}$. 9th, Orion rises completely in the morning. The night is $10\frac{16}{45}$ hours, the day $13\frac{29}{45}$. 18th, Canis rises in the morning. The night is $10\frac{5}{9}$ hours, the day $13\frac{4}{9}$.

'Pauni 4th, the sun enters Virgo. Aquila sets in the morning. The night is $10\frac{41}{45}$ hours, the day $13\frac{4}{45}$. 16th, Corona sets in the morning. The night is $11\frac{8}{45}$ hours, the day $12\frac{37}{45}$. Feast of Bubastis. 2[.]th, Delphinus sets in the morning. The night is 11[ ] hours, the day 12[ ]. Feast of . . . 27th, Lyra sets in the morning. The night is $11\frac{19}{45}$ hours, the day $12\frac{26}{45}$. Feast of . . . 30th, great . . ., there are indications. The night is $11\frac{22}{45}$ hours, the day $12\frac{23}{45}$.

'Epeiph [.], the sun enters the claws of Scorpio. [13th ?], Arcturus rises in the morning. The night is 11[ ] hours, the day 12[ ]; and there is an assembly at Sais in honour of Athena, and they burn lamps throughout the country, and the river gives indications of rising. 23rd, autumnal equinox. The night is 12 hours, the day 12 hours. Feast of Anubis, and the river gives indications of rising. 27th, Capella rises in the evening. The night is $12\frac{4}{45}$, the day $11\frac{41}{45}$.

'Mesore 2nd, the sun enters Scorpio. Pleiades rise in the evening. The night is $12\frac{1}{5}$ hours, the day $11\frac{4}{5}$. Feast of Apollo. 4th, Corona rises in the morning. The night is $12\frac{11}{45}$ hours, the day $11\frac{34}{45}$. 9th, Scorpio begins to set in the evening. The night is $12\frac{16}{45}$ hours, the day $11\frac{29}{45}$. 14th, Scorpio sets completely. The night is $12\frac{21}{45}$ hours, the day $11\frac{24}{45}$. 17th, Hyades rise in the evening. The night is $12\frac{24}{45}$ hours, (the day $11\frac{21}{45}$).

'In the 5 intercalary days: 4th, Arcturus sets in the evening. The night is $12\frac{41}{45}$ hours, the day $11\frac{4}{45}$; and the birthday festival of Isis takes place.'

55. The length of the night and day shows that the day in question must be Choiak 1, since the compiler of the calendar treats the difference in length between two successive nights or days as uniformly $\frac{1}{45}$ hour; cf. l. 122 and p. 144.

56. Cf. Geminus (Ἰχθύες δ.) Εὐδόξῳ δὲ Ἀρκτοῦρος ἀκρόνυχος ἐπιτέλλει καὶ ὑετὸς γίνεται καὶ χελιδὼν φαίνεται καὶ τὰς ἑπομένας ἡμέρας λ' βορέαι πνέουσι καὶ μάλιστα αἱ προορνιθίαι καλούμεναι.

ἀκρώνυχος ἐπιτέλλει: whatever the technical meaning of ἀκρόνυχος (as it is generally spelled) in later Greek astronomers may have been, there is no doubt that Eudoxus, as both the papyrus and Geminus bear witness, used it as equivalent to ἑσπέριος, and that the risings and settings recorded in the papyrus mean the apparent or heliacal ones, not the true. No technical distinction is intended by the compiler of the calendar between ἐπιτέλλειν and ἀνατέλλειν, which occurs in ll. 89, 116, 130, &c.

58. Cf. Gem. (Ἰχθύες) ἐν δὲ τῇ κα Εὐδόξῳ Στέφανος ἀκρόνυχος ἐπιτέλλει. ἄρχονται ὀρνιθίαι πνέοντες.

60. On the περίπλους of Osiris see Plut. *De Iside et Osiride*, 13. The ἐξαγωγή of the sacred boat took place according to the papyrus on Choiak 26, while according to the Canopus Inscr. l. 51 the ἀναγωγὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πλοίου τοῦ Ὀσείριος occurred on Choiak 29. The two statements are perfectly consistent on the view that the festival lasted 4 days; the papyrus refers to the beginning of the voyage, the Canopus Inscr. to the return of the sacred boat at the end of the festival. Plutarch, *op. cit.* 39, states that the mourning for Osiris occupied four days, but refers the production of the sacred boat to the third day. His date for the festival, Athur 17–20, nominally differs widely from the Ptolemaic evidence owing to his employment of the Julian calendar (a fact which Wiedemann seems to leave out of account in his discussion of the date of the Osiris festival, *Herodots zweites Buch*, pp. 261–2); but the divergence is really slight, for Athur 17 on the Julian calendar coincided with Choiak 26 of the vague year in A. D. 128, which is not long after Plutarch. At Esneh the feast of Sokar, the Memphite god of the dead, identified with Osiris in later times, also took place on Choiak 26.

62. Τῦβι ⟨ε⟩: it is clear from the parallel passages (ll. 66, 88, 129, 181) that a number has dropped out after Τῦβι, and ε, which would easily have been omitted owing to the εν following, can be restored with practical certainty because, firstly, the sun entered Taurus on Mecheir 6 (l. 66), and it must therefore have entered Aries about 30 days (possibly 29 or 31) previously, and, secondly, the equinox, which took place on Tubi 20 (l. 62), was placed by Eudoxus in the middle of Aries ($15°$; cf. introd.), so that the sun must have entered Aries about 15 days before the 20th. In l. 107 we read Φαρμοῦ[θι ἐ]ν τῶι Κ[α]ρκίνωι γ. Ἀετὸς κ.τ.λ., and suppose that γ is misplaced and ought to have preceded ἐν τῶι Καρκίνωι. The size of the lacuna after Φαρμου suits 3 letters much better than 4, and if Φαρμοῦ[θι . ἐ]ν or Φαρμοῦ[θι ⟨.⟩ ἐ]ν (the figure would have to be α or β) be read, the already considerable disparity between the times during which the sun was in Gemini and Cancer respectively would be still further increased; cf. p. 142.

64. Φιτωρώιος: the name of this deity is new. There is very likely a connexion between this festival and the 'festival of the child at the town of Sais' which took place on

Tubi 20 according to the Esneh calendar. Was Phitorois the son of Neith, the principal deity of Sais?

κζ Πλειάδες κ.τ.λ.: cf. Gem. (Κριός) ιγ. Πλειάδες ἀκρόνυχοι δύνουσι καὶ Ὠρίων ἄρχεται δύνειν.

67. Cf. Gem. (Κριός) κα. Ὑάδες ἀκρόνυχοι δύνουσιν.

69. Ἥρα κάει. καὶ ἐπισημαίνει: after κάει is a smudge, and the letter between it and καί may have been intended to be erased; but the ink has run in several places in this column. l. 112 τῆς Ἥρας seems to refer to the goddess, but Ἥρα is here more probably the planet Venus or a constellation; cf. Arist. *de Mundo* p. 392 A 27 ὁ τοῦ Φωσφόρου ὃν Ἀφροδίτης οἱ δὲ Ἥρας προσαγορεύουσιν, P. Oxy. 731. 6 τοῖς ἄστροις Ἥρας. For the archaic form of κάει cf. κατακάει in ll. 73 and 79, and κάουσι l. 167. ἐπισημαίνειν, which occurs in ll. 168 and 174 ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπισημαίνει πρὸς τὴν ἀνάβασιν, not in connexion with an astronomical phenomenon, means here probably, as often in the calendars of Ptolemy and Geminus, an indication with regard to the weather (sc. wind, thunder, rain, &c.). The word in this sense seems always to be used absolutely, without a subject.

73. ιθ: this conflicts with the numbers in l. 75, which indicate the 16th; probably therefore ις should be read here.

Λύρα: cf. Gem. (Κριός) κζ. Λύρα ἀκρόνυχος ἐπιτέλλει.

76. Athena at Sais was the goddess Neith (cf. Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 259), also identified in Roman times with Isis; cf. Plut. *De Iside et Osiride*, 9. The papyrus mentions another assembly in her honour in Epeiph (ll. 165–6), when there was a general λαμπαδηφορία; and no doubt that was the festival to which Herodotus was referring in his description of the λαμπαδηφορία at Sais in ii. 62, which is to be connected closely with his general statement in ii. 59 ἐς Σάιν πόλιν τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ πανηγυρίζουσι rather than, as has been done by Wiedemann and others, with the illuminations at the festival of Osiris in Choiak. The day of general illumination, as now appears clearly from the papyrus, was in honour of Neith, not of Osiris.

The festival of Neith on Mecheir 16 was not known previously, but the Esneh calendar mentions one on Mecheir 8. That found in l. 165 is to be connected with another feast of Neith on Epeiph 13, also mentioned in the Esneh calendar; ιγ may even be the number lost in l. 161.

79. κ[refers to the date, which may be any day between the 20th and 26th; cf. l. 83. Geminus does not quote from Eudoxus at this point any star rising in the evening soon after Lyra, but Ὠρίων ἀκρόνυχος δύνει, Κύων ἀκρόνυχος δύνει and Αἶξ ἑῴα ἐπιτέλλει occur between the evening rising of Lyra (cf. l. 73) and the morning setting of Scorpio (cf. l. 90). The setting of Canis and rising of Capella are probably referred to in ll. 83 and 89, where in both cases the papyrus is corrupt; and here too, probably, there is an error and Ὠρίων ἀκρώνυχος δύνει, not ἐπιτέλλει, was meant.

82. Perhaps κα[τὰ τὴν χώραν; cf. l. 167. A festival is probably referred to, possibly that of 'the strong one'; cf. note on l. 85.

83. Λύρα ἀκρώνυχος δύνει: this statement cannot be correct in view of the fact that the evening rising of Lyra had taken place only 8 days previously (l. 73). Probably Κύων should be substituted for Λύρα, and the papyrus brought into conformity with Geminus' statements about the sequence of the risings and settings on Eudoxus' calendar at this point; cf. ll. 79 and 89, notes.

85. The identification of Prometheus with an Egyptian deity and the name of the latter, Iphthimis, are both new. Mr. F. Ll. Griffith would explain Ἰφθῖμις as a Graecized form of Nefertem, son of Ptah, whose name occurs as -ευτημις at the end of compound names; he supposes that Nefer- was cut down to Ef- and the name pronounced Efteme, giving rise to two slightly different transliterations into Greek, as e.g. in the parallel forms Ιναρως and -αναραυς. The calendars of Esneh, Edfu, and Dendereh mention

no festival on Mecheir 27; but the Papyrus Sallier IV mentions a festival of Sokar on that day, and the Edfu calendar a festival of Ptah on Mecheir 28 and 29, while all three Ptolemaic calendars refer to a festival of 'the strong one' (the translation is doubtful according to Griffith; the word might mean 'victory' or 'battle') on Mecheir 21, the Edfu calendar adding that it was observed throughout Egypt. It is possible that there is some connexion between the festival of 'the strong one' and the ceremony referred to in l. 82, but the feast of Iphthimis is in any case probably different.

89. The name of the star rising has been omitted before ἀνατέλλει. We restore Αἲξ ἑῴα from Geminus; cf. l. 79, note. ἀνατέλλειν and ἐπιτέλλειν are sometimes distinguished by later astronomers, and referred respectively to the true and apparent risings, but it is clear that the papyrus uses the two terms indiscriminately, meaning the apparent rising in both cases; cf. l. 2, note.

90. Cf. Gem. (Ταῦρος) ια. Σκορπίος ἑῷος δύνειν ἄρχεται. In the case of constellations with several very large stars, it was necessary to distinguish the beginning from the end of the rising or setting; cf. l. 93.

92–3. Ἐδυ or .]εδυ seems to be the name of a unknown Egyptian deity. [γυπτιοις] is quite sufficient for the lacuna, but it is possible that one more letter is lost.

93–4. Cf. Gem. (Ταῦρος) κα. Σκορπίος ἑῷος ὅλος δύνει, and note on l. 90.

95–6. Cf. Gem. (Ταῦρος) κβ. Πλειάδες ἐπιτέλλουσι καὶ ἐπισημαίνει. The length of the night and day can be restored: ἡ νὺξ ὡρῶν ιβ´ι´λ´μ´ε´, ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ιγϛ´ϙ.

107. Cf. note on l. 62 and Gem. (Δίδυμοι) ζ. Ἀετὸς ἀκρόνυχος ἐπιτέλλει. Between this and the entry corresponding to that in l. 110 Geminus inserts from Eudoxus (Δίδυμοι) ιγ. Ἀρκτοῦρος ἑῷος δύνει, the only certain reference to the stars on Eudoxus' calendar which is omitted in the papyrus.

110. Cf. Gem. (Δίδυμοι) ιη. Δελφὶς ἀκρόνυχος ἐπιτέλλει.

112. In place of ι before -χεια, ν or ω or possibly η can be read. The word seems to refer to a festival in honour of Hera, who at Thebes was identified with Mût. The birth of that goddess was apparently celebrated in Pharmouthi (cf. Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 523), and may be referred to here, though γενέθλια is the word used for the birthday of Isis in l. 205.

113. Cf. Gem. (Δίδυμοι) κδ. Ὠρίων ἄρχεται ἐπιτέλλειν.

116–22. Cf. introd. and the account of the ἡλίου πορεία in P. Par. 1. 8–51. Lines 121–2 are very inaccurately expressed. What the writer meant was that from the 24th of Pharmouthi the nights begin to lengthen and the days to diminish by $\frac{1}{45}$ hour per diem, but his actual statement ἡ νὺξ (which on the 23rd is 10 hours long) μείζων γίνεται τῆς ἡμέρας (which on the 23rd is 14 hours long) is highly ambiguous. Nor does he seem to be justified in his use of δωδεκατημόρου ὥρας. An hour might be $\frac{1}{12}$ of the period of light irrespective of its length or $\frac{1}{12}$ of the average, i.e. equinoctial, day, and it is of course $\frac{1}{45}$ hour in the latter sense which throughout the calendar the writer actually adds to or subtracts from the length of days, though this system is inaccurate; cf. p. 144. But then ἰσημερινοῦ would be the right word to use here, not δωδεκατημόρου, especially as the 'day' in l. 122 contains 14, not 12, hours.

124–7. On the view that the papyrus dates refer to the years 301–298 B.C., Pharmouthi 25, on which day the river is stated to have begun to rise, is June 28. The attainment of its greatest height nearly two months later is apparently referred to in ll. 168–76. The Canopus Inscr. ll. 37–8 makes the rise begin on Pauni 1, i.e. July 19.

130. Προτρυγητὴς ἀνατέλλει: Geminus has no entry concerning the stars on Eudoxus' calendar between the beginning and completion of the rising of Orion (cf. ll. 113 and 132), and nowhere mentions the star Προτρυγητήρ (the more usual form) in connexion with Eudoxus. From Smyly's calculations (cf. p. 143) it appears that this statement of the

papyrus must be erroneous, whether ἑῷος or ἀκρώνυχος be supplied. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xviii § 310 (Wachsmuth, Lydus, &c., p. 328), says correctly that in Egypt Vindemitor rose on Sept. 5, or two months later than the date found in the papyrus.

132–3. Cf. Gem. (Καρκίνος) ια. Ὠρίων ἑῷος ὅλος ἐπιτέλλει.

135. Cf. Gem. (Καρκίνος) κζ. Κύων ἑῷος ἐπιτέλλει.

138. Cf. Gem. (Λέων) ε. Ἀετὸς ἑῷος δύνει.

141. Cf. Gem. (Λέων) ι. Στέφανος δύνει.

145. Pauni 16 was also the day of a festival of Bast at Esneh ; the statement that the Esneh calendar mentions a second festival in her honour on Pauni 30 (Dittenberger, *Orient. Gr. Inscr.* I, p. 103) is erroneous. The Canopus Inscr., which in l. 37 mentions a μικρά and μεγάλα Βουβάστια, gives a different date, Pauni 1, for both, which is remarkable seeing that Pauni 16 is attested both before and after the date of the inscription.

146. κ[.]: the earliest day in Pauni on which $\frac{1}{3}$ appears as a fraction of the night is the 23rd, the earliest on which $\frac{2}{3}$ disappears as a fraction of the day is the 24th. The date in question therefore must be the 24th, 25th, or 26th.

Δελφίς : cf. Gem. (Λέων) ιη. Δελφὶς ἑῷος δύνει.

150. Cf. note on l. 154.

151. Cf. Gem. (Λέων) κβ. Λύρα ἑῷος δύνει καὶ ἐπισημαίνει.

154. This festival is to be assigned to Pauni 27 rather than to Pauni 30, the day to which the figures in ll. 157–8 refer, for throughout the papyrus the mentions of festivals follow the details about the length of night and day. The Dendereh calendar mentions a great feast of Hathor and Horus on the last four days of Pauni, and Ἀφροδίτη]ς or Ἀπόλλωνο]ς may have occurred here or in l. 150. The Esneh calendar mentions a festival of Sochet on Pauni 30, there having been already a festival of that goddess on Pauni 16.

156. For ἐπισημ]αίνει ; cf. Gem. (Λέων) κθ. ἐπισημαίνει, and note on l. 69.

159. The number lost is β, γ, or δ ; cf. ll. 137 and 181, and p. 142. The 'claws of Scorpio' take the place of Libra ; cf. Gem. (Ζυγός) ιζ. Καλίππῳ χηλαὶ ἄρχονται ἀνατέλλουσαι.

161. Perhaps (Ἐπεὶφ) ιγ should be restored at the beginning of the line, there being a festival of Neith at Esneh on that day ; cf. l. 76, note.

161–2. Cf. Gem. (Λέων) ιθ. Ἀρκτοῦρος ἑῷος ἐπιτέλλει.

166. λύχνους κάουσι : cf. Hdt. ii. 62, and note on l. 76.

168–9. This entry 'the river gives indication of rising,' which is repeated in ll. 174–6, refers apparently to the flood reaching its full height, which it usually does early in October. Epeiph 23, the date to which ll. 174–6 belong, being the day of the autumn equinox, was probably Sept. 27.

173. This date of the Anubis festival, Epeiph 23, was previously unknown.

177–8. Cf. Gem. (Ζυγός) δ. Αἲξ ἀκρόνυχος ἐπιτέλλει.

182–3. Cf. Gem. (Ζυγός) η. Πλειάδες ἐπιτελλουσι.

186. Ἀπόλλωνος ἑορτή : this date, Mesore 2, for the Horus festival is new.

187. Cf. Gem. (Ζυγός) ἐν δὲ τῇ ι Εὐδόξῳ ἑῷος ἐπιτέλλει. The entry clearly corresponds to that in the papyrus, and the omitted name of the constellation is to be restored Στέφανος, as Pontedera had already proposed.

190–1. Cf. l. 90, note, and Gem. (Ζυγός) ιβ. Σκορπίος ἀκρόνυχος ἄρχεται δύνειν.

194. Cf. Gem. (Ζυγός) ιζ. Σκορπίος ἀκρόνυχος Αἲξ ὅλος δύνει, which requires correction. The papyrus confirms Wachsmuth's view that Αἲξ is to be omitted.

197. Cf. Gem. (Ζυγός) κβ. Ὑάδες ἀκρόνυχοι ἐπιτέλλουσιν.

199. The length of the day has been omitted ; insert ⟨ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ιαγ'ι'λ'⟩.

202. Cf. Gem. (Σκορπίος) η. Ἀρκτοῦρος ἀκρόνυχος δύνει.

205. The birthday of Isis on the 4th intercalary day is mentioned in the Papyrus Sallier IV, the Esneh, Edfu, and Dendereh calendars, and by Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 12.

209. Τῦ]βι κ: cf. l. 62.

211. Ἐπείφ is a probable restoration before κγ or after τοῦ, since the autumn equinox took place on Epeiph 23; cf. l. 170.

212. The traces of a letter would suit γ with a stroke over it, i.e. the figure 3.

217–23. This fragment at first sight seems to be concerned with the five intercalary days at the end of Mesore, but it is difficult to connect these with the πορεία of the sun, which divides either summer and winter or day and night (cf. ll. 29–33). Hence we are more disposed to regard the five days as the three days at the summer solstice (cf. ll. 116–20) and the two at the winter solstice, upon which the sun rises ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ (l. 116); these have to be added to the 360 days upon which the day or night increased by $\frac{1}{45}$ hour (cf. ll. 121–2 and introd.) in order to make up the full year of 365 days. But if a figure followed ἡμερῶν in l. 218 the meaning would be something quite different. It is not certain that any letter was written after αἷς in l. 220, though φ[ησι is possible.

IV. ROYAL ORDINANCES

28. Constitutional Regulations.

Mummy 97. Breadth 6·7 *cm.* About B.C. 265.

Notwithstanding its unfortunate condition this papyrus, which refers to the tribal organization of some civic polity, is of no small interest. The style is that of an ordinance (ll. 7–8); and the natural inference is that these fragments belong to a royal edict regulating the constitution of one of the Greek cities of Egypt. The alternative is to suppose that they come from some literary work in which a municipal law was quoted at length. Palaeographical considerations do not materially assist a decision between these two possibilities. The sloping handwriting, which is of a good size and, like other papyri from Mummy 97, of an early period (cf. **64** and **92**), is clear and careful; but not more regular than that of many other non-literary papyri, and certainly not of a marked literary character. The feature which is least suggestive of an edict is the narrowness of the column, which is not usual in non-literary documents of any length. But that is a quite inconclusive argument; while in favour of the more obvious hypothesis it is worth noting that a fragment of another series of ordinances (**29**) was obtained from the same mummy as this. Assuming then that we have here part of an ordinance promulgated in Egypt, the question remains to what city did it refer. The choice lies between Alexandria and the still more recent foundation

Ptolemais, and, so far as existing evidence goes, turns largely upon the interpretation of a fragment of Satyrus, Περὶ δήμων Ἀλεξανδρέων, quoted by Theophilus, *Ad Autolyc.* II. p. 94 (Müller, *Hist. Gr. Frag.* III. p. 164). In the constitution described by the papyrus the tribes were five in number, each tribe containing twelve demes, and each deme twelve phratries (ll. 10 sqq.). The number of tribes at Alexandria and Ptolemais is unknown (cf. Kenyon, *Archiv*, II. pp. 70 sqq.)[1]; but Satyrus in the passage cited enumerates eight demes of the Alexandrian tribe *Διονυσία*, and if his meaning be that it contained only eight then our papyrus cannot refer to Alexandria. But this is not a necessary inference from Satyrus' words. His point is that Ptolemy Philopator, claiming descent from Dionysus, gave precedence to the Dionysian tribe, and that the eight deme-names mentioned were all connected with the god. But it is not stated that all the demes of the tribe were so connected, and had others existed in which the connexion could not be traced, there would have been no occasion to refer to them. The excerpt from Satyrus therefore hardly does more than create a slight presumption in favour of Ptolemais as the subject of these ordinances, though the presumption is somewhat strengthened by the consideration of *a priori* probability; for Soter's creation was still so young that regulations like the present concerning it might be expected to occur. The apparent allusion in ll. 1–3 to previous ordinances forbids us to regard **28** as forming part of Soter's original legislation. On the other hand in favour of Alexandria can be adduced the fact that the city is known from Ps. Callisthenes i. 32 to have been divided into five regions numbered Α, Β, Γ, Δ, Ε, with which the five tribes mentioned in the papyrus may have been connected.

Frs. (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*).

ἀγνοῶσιν τά τε γεν̣[όμε-
να αὐτοῖς τε κα[ὶ . . . . . .
γραφέντα [. . . . .
. ε̣ . [. . . .] . [. . . . .
. . . . .
5 ται εἰς τὰ̣ς̣ φ̣ρ̣ά̣τ̣ρ̣[α]ς̣ κ̣[αὶ
γνωρίζηται ὑπὸ τῶν
φρατόρων θυέτωσαν κα[ὶ
συνέστωσαν το̣[.]π̣ε̣[. . .
[. . . . ἀ]πὸ φυλῆς ἑκάστ[ης

[1] To the three there mentioned, Διονύσιος, Προπαπποσεβάστειος, and Πτολεμαιεύς, with perhaps a fourth Φυλαξιθαλάσσειος, may now be added Μουσοπατέρειος, which occurs in P. Tebt. II. 316.

10 [ἡμέρ]ας φρᾶτρ̣αι δύο. ἐπ[ει-
δὴ γὰρ [ὑ]πάρχουσιν φυ[λαὶ
μὲν πέντε τούτων [δὲ
ἐν ἑκά[σ]τ̣η̣ι̣ φυλῆι δῆ[μοι
μὲν [δώ]δεκα φρᾶτρα[ι δὲ
15 [δώ]δ̣ε̣κ̣α τῶ[ι] δήμω[ι ⟦εκα-
⟦σ̣τ̣ω̣ι̣⟧ ὥστε γίνεσθαι μ[ὲν
δήμους ἑξήκοντα φ[ρά-
τρας δὲ ἑπτακοσίας εἴ[κοσι,
ὑπαρχουσῶν [δὲ εἰ]ς̣ [τὸν
20 ἐν[ι]αυτὸν [ἡ]μ̣ερῶ̣[ν τρια-
κοσίων ἑξήκοντα, συ̣[μβή-
σεται τῶν ἑπτακο[σίων
εἴκο[σι] φρατριῶν ε̣[. . . . . .
σεσθαι τὴν ἡμέρα[ν . . . .
25 δύο τοῖς̣ [. . . . .
νοις κ̣[15 letters
σ̣κε . [" "
χετ[" "
. . . . . .

Fr. (*d*).

μ[
. .

Fr. (*e*).

30]ισμα
. .

Fr. (*f*).

. . .
] . υ̣σ̣α[
. . .

Fr (*g*). Col. i.

. .
] .
]ο
. .

Col. ii.

. .
π[
35 ε[
. .
εκ̣[
εφ[
σιν̣[
τ[
. .

Fr. (*h*).

. . . .
40]ματο[
]ω̣σ̣αν οι . [
]. ρυτα[
] . σιν [
. . . .

Fr. (*i*).

. . .

] . ηṿ[

45]ον[

. . .

Fr. (*k*).

. .

]αι̣δ̣[

]η̣[

. .

'. . . (in order that) they may not be ignorant of what has been done and written affecting them . . . to the phratries and be recognized by the members of the phratries, let them sacrifice, and let 2 phratries from a tribe associate each day. For since there are 5 tribes, and in each tribe 12 demes, and in the deme 12 phratries, it follows that there will be 60 demes and 720 phratries; and as the year consists of 360 days it will result that 2 of the 720 phratries will . . . each day . . .'

1. *ἵνα μή*] may be supplied before *ἀγνοῶσιν*.

4. There is a break below this line, and the extent of the gap, if any, is not ascertainable. It is not even certain that ll. 1–4 belong to the same column as ll. 5 sqq.

5. *τὰς φράτρ[α]ς* (cf. ll. 14 and 17) is very insecure. *ατρ* may be *αττ* or *ατι*, and the letters preceding and following are rather cramped. The phratry as a subdivision of the Graeco-Egyptian tribe is a novelty, and it must have been relatively unimportant. There is no mention of phratries in the description in P. Tebt. II. 316 of the formalities attending the incorporation of ephebi in the demes. The occurrence of the form *φράτρα* (cf. Homer and Herodotus *φρήτρη*), which is also found in Dion. Hal. *A.R.* 2. 7, 4. 12, is interesting; in l. 23 the Attic *φρατρία* is used.

8–9. Another break occurs between these two lines, but the edges of the papyrus join satisfactorily, and the connexion of *συνέστωσαν* with *φρᾶτραι δύο* suits the sense. The doubtful *π* may be *μ*, and *το[ῦ] μὲ[ν ἐνι]αυτοῦ* is a possible reading; but *αυτου* is somewhat long for the lacuna in l. 9, and *μέν* is not wanted.

16. The letters at the beginning of the line are blotted and seem to have been intentionally deleted.

20–1. The statement that the year consisted of 360 days is curious. The Macedonian year, like other Greek years, probably contained 354 days apart from intercalations, and there is some evidence that half the months contained only 29 days; cf. p. 334. Perhaps, however, an average of 30 days was reckoned here for the sake of symmetry. The length of the Egyptian *annus vagus* was 365 days, and if that be the year meant, the 5 intercalary days were left out of account. Possibly on each of them there was a general festival of a whole tribe. As Smyly remarks, the organization revealed by the papyrus seems to rest on an astronomical basis.

Frs. (*d*) and (*e*). These two small fragments are each from the top of a column.

40–3. There is a space after *σιν* in l. 43, which suggests that this fragment contains the ends of lines. The letter before *σιν* has been corrected and deleted, and there is an ink spot above it which may belong to an over-written letter. Line 40 was possibly the first of a column.

29. FINANCE LAWS.

Mummy 97. 12·6 × 23 *cm.* About B.C. 265.

Both sides of this papyrus are inscribed with royal ordinances, but they are too fragmentary to be of very much value. The subject of the recto, which is fairly preserved so far as it goes, is the farming of a tax upon slaves; these were to be registered by their owners at the offices of the agoranomi, and penalties are provided for any attempt at evasion or concealment. Of a general slave-tax at this period nothing is at present known; P. Petrie II. 39 (*b*) and (*c*), to which Wilcken refers (*Ost.* I. p. 304), are shown by the republication of them in III. 107 (*a*) and (*b*) to have no bearing upon the question. It is noticeable that the word here used for slave is not δοῦλος or σῶμα but ἀνδράποδον, which strictly signifies a captive or enslaved prisoner. Perhaps this ordinance was called forth by some considerable increase in that class as a result of one of the wars of Philadelphus,—to whose reign rather than that of Euergetes the papyrus is to be assigned. The prisoners (αἰχμάλωτοι) brought from Asia by the latter monarch are expressly alluded to in P. Petrie III. 104. 2; cf. II. 29 (*e*). 2. The papyrus apparently indicates that the captives were disposed of by the government to private persons, who, besides no doubt having to pay for such appropriation, were subject to a special tax.

The verso is in a much worse case. It is unfortunately divided between two columns, and the amount lost at the beginnings and ends of the lines cannot be precisely fixed. In the text given below the numbers of letters assigned to the lacunae are based upon ll. 22–3 and 36–7. But these numbers are chiefly designed to show the relation of the lines to each other, and the loss may easily be greater than we have supposed. In parts of Col. i restoration seems very difficult with a gap at the beginning of only about a dozen letters. The hand is smaller and more cursive than that of the recto, but the writer may well have been the same person; he was not over-accurate, and several corrections occur. The subject is again tax-farming, but to the nature of the tax there is no clear clue. There is a question of registration (l. 17), but that by itself is of course insufficient to establish a definite connexion with the recto. The most significant word is κτῆμα (l. 20), which is often used technically of a vineyard (cf. e. g. **113**. 20), and suggests a possible reference to the ἀπόμοιρα (cf. **109** introd.); but there is nothing in the context to confirm this.

The papyrus probably dates from about the middle of the reign of Philadelphus; cf. **64** and **92**, which came from the same mummy.

Fr. (*a*), Recto.

. . . .

περ καὶ τ . . . .λη . ὅταν δὲ κ . [. . . . .] τὸ ἀνδ[ρ]άποδον καὶ [δι]πλοῦ[ν ἀπο-
τινέτω. ἐὰν δέ τις ἀλλα . [. . . . .] . υ[. . . .] . ν ἢ μὴ ἀπογράψηται[ι διὰ τῶν
ἀγορανομίων [ἢ τ]ὰ τέλη [διαφυγών τιν]ι καταφανῆι ἐπὶ βλάβη[ι] τοῦ τελ[ώνου στε-
ρέσθω τοῦ ἀ[νδ]ραπόδ[ου, ἐὰν δὲ ἀν]τιλέγηι κριθήτωσα[ν ἐ]π[ὶ] τοῦ ἀ[ποδε-
5 δειγμένου κ[ρι]τηρίου, τῶι [δὲ μη]νύσαντι ἔστω τὸ τρίτον μ[έρος] πραθέ[ντος
τοῦ ἀνδραπόδου· ἐὰν δὲ ὁ ὑπ[οτε]θεὶς μηνύσηι ἐλεύθερος ἔστω καταβαλ[ὼν τὰ γι-
νόμενα τέλη. γραφέσθωσαν [δ]ὲ καὶ ταύτας τὰς ὑποθέσεις ὅ τε γραμμ[ατεὺς
τῶν ἀνδρα[πόδ]ων καὶ ὁ ἀντιγραφεὺς καὶ ὁ τελώ[ν]ης, ὁ δὲ τελώνης το[[ῦτο]] τὸ
γραμματ[εῖον] γράψας εἰς λεύκωμα μ[ε]γάλοις γράμμασιν ἐκτιθέτ[ω πρὸ
10 τοῦ ἀγοραν[ομί]ου ἑκάστης ἡ[μ]έρας, ἧι δ' ἂν ἡμ[έρ]αι ἡ ἔκθ[εσις μὴ γίνηται
[ἀποτινέτω (δραχμὰς) . ἐ]πίτιμ[ο]ν, προσαποτινέ[τω] δὲ κα[ὶ . . . .

Fr. (*b*).

. . .
12]λομε[
]εως [
. . .

Fr. (*c*).

. . .
]η . ω[
15]αιτ[
. . .

Fr. (*a*), Verso. Col. i.

]κατ[. . . . .] . τ .
[. . . . .]εω[16 letters]ς ἐλάσσονος ἀπογραψασ-
[θ . . . .]απα[. .]α[.] . . . [. . .]ιου[. . . .]ωνται ἐν ἡμέραις ιθ
[. . . . .] δικιμ[α]σται παρευρέσ[ει ἡι]τινιοῦν [[παρευρεσει ητινιουν]]
20 [. . . . .] . ετελ . . . τῆς ἀρχῆς ο[. .]ν στερέσθω τοῦ κτήματος
[. . . . .]κοσ[.] . . [. . .] . . τιμητας. κήρυκας δὲ καὶ ὑπη[ρ]έτα[ς καθίστω ὁ τε[λώ]νης
κηρύσσηι
[. . . . .] . . δων ὑπηρ[ετ]ῆι ἢ ὑπηρετῆι μὴ κατὰ τὰ [προ[σ-
[τεταγμένα ἀπο]τείσει (δραχμὰς) ρ προσκαταβάλλειν δὲ παντας[. . . .]

[. . . . . δοκι]μαστικῶν ἑνὸς τούτου τ[ο]ῦ τέλους τῶι [. . . .]
25 [. . . . . ὁ τε]λώνης τῶι βασιλεῖ πρασσέ[τ]ω ἐξ οὗ ἂν τ . [. . .]α
[. . . . .]τον μέρος μηθένα ὑπόλ[ο]γον ποούμεν[ο]ς, [ἐὰν δὲ
[. . . . .] ὁ ἀντιγραφεὺς τῶι τελώνηι μὴ ἐξ[έστω
[. . . . . καὶ] ἄκυρος αὐτῶι ἔσ[τ]ω ἡ σύνταξις, ἐὰ[ν δὲ . .
[. . . . . π]ράσσων πράξηι . . . . [. . . . .
. . . .

19. l. δοκιμασταί. 21. κηρυκας . . . υπη[ρ]ετα[ς added above the line.

Col. ii.

30 ηρεται τ[.]ν τ . . τε[
ωστακτ.[. . .]ωσαναπ[
ὁ δὲ ἀντ[ιγραφ]εὺς κ[αὶ ὁ] τ[ελώνης 17 letters γρα-
φ[[ε]]τωσαν (ον above) καὶ τῆι ὑσ[τ]εραίαι πρ[ὸ] τ[οῦ ἀγορανομίου ἐκτιθέτωσαν ?
καθ' ἡμέραν [σ]ύμβολον διπλοῦν σφρα[γισάμενοι . . . .
35 τη[.] (δραχμ . . ?) ι, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ συνσφραγίζωντα[ι . . . . κατὰ
τὰ γεγραμμένα εἰσπρ[α]χθήτω ἑκά[τερος αὐτῶν (δραχμὰς) . καὶ ἐξ-
[ο]υσία ἔστω τῶι τελώνηι ἀντειπεῖν [17 letters ἀ-
ναφερέτω δὲ καὶ τὰ λελογευμένα [18 "
κ . . ωι ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικ[ὴν τ]ράπεζαν . [18 letters
40 ε[. .]. . . [. β]ασιλικῆς [τραπέζη]ς λόγου τ[" "
[. . . . .]ω εἰς τὸ λογιστήριον γράφων [πόσα τε ἤδη πέπτωκεν
ἐπὶ τὴν [τρά]πεζαν καὶ τί ὀφείλεται αν . [18 letters
. . . .

Fr. (*b*). . . .
τῶι τ]έλει [
]μενου[
45]σαι το[
. . . .

Fr. (*c*). . .
]
46]ασ

Fr. (*d*). . . .
]ται κ[
]νε[
. . .

32. l. γρα]φόντων? 36. χ of εισπρ[α]χθητω added above the line.

1–11. '. . . and when . . . the slave, he shall forfeit double. If any one (alienate?) or fail to register (a slave) through the agoranomus-offices or be discovered evading the taxes to the detriment of the tax-farmer, he shall be deprived of the slave. If he dispute the decision they shall be tried before the appointed tribunal, and the third part of the value of

the slave when sold shall go to the informer. If the slave (assigned?) give information, he shall be free on payment of the usual taxes. The scribe of the slaves and the antigrapheus and the tax-farmer shall write out these assignments (?), and the tax-farmer shall write this document upon a notice board in large letters and expose it in front of the agoranomus-office every day, and for every day that this exposure does not take place he shall pay a fine of . . drachmae, and shall further pay . . .'

1. Probably καθά|περ, and perhaps τὴν . . λην after καί. The λ may be μ, but there is not room for τιμήν. τέλη cannot be read.

2. If αλλα . [is a verb, it can only be some part of ἀλλάσσειν, and ἀλλάξηται gives an appropriate sense; but the ξ is not very satisfactory. A more definite expression than ἄλλα (ποιήσηι) is, however, expected; ἀλλαχ[ῆ is not impossible. The problem of the supplement is complicated by the doubt whether Fr. (*c*) should not be assigned to ll. 1–2. If so,]αιτ[must be inserted about midway between αλλα.[and].υ[. This position is suggested by the verso, which contains the last two letters of a line and might be placed at the end of l. 28, and, adopting that arrangement, we might read ἀλλάξ[ητ]αι τ[. . .] . ὑ[πο-τεθ]ὲν (τ[οῦτο τ]ὸ ὑ[π. is rather long); cf. the next note.

6. υπ[. . .] . εις must be an aorist participle passive, and the faint trace before εις would suit θ or perhaps φ. ὑπ[οτε]θείς is suggested by ὑποθέσεις in the next line; but the technical meaning of those words here is uncertain. For ὑποτιθέναι in the sense of 'make subject to' cf. Plato, *Polit.* p. 308 A ἆρ' οὐχ ὑποχειρίους τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπέθεσαν τὰς αὑτῶν πατρίδας;

7. The τέλη are the taxes on emancipation rather than those which the owner was attempting to escape, and for which he would naturally remain responsible. For the taxes on emancipation in the Roman period cf. P. Oxy. 722. 19, note.

16–21. The first letters of these lines,]εω[,]απα[,]δικιμ[, . ετελ[and]κος[, are on a detached fragment, the position of which is not certain. The recto is blank, as it should be if placed here; but the necessity of supposing a misspelling in δικιμ[α]σταί is not quite satisfactory, though]δικιμ[is difficult to interpret in any case. A suitable reading of l. 20 is also not easy to obtain; the third letter is more like τ than ξ, but] δὲ τέλει is as little convincing as δ]ὲ ἐξέλθηι. For the δοκιμαστής and δοκιμαστικόν (l. 24) cf. **106**, introd. and **110**. 31, note.

22. κηρύσσηι seems intended to replace ὑπηρ[ετ]ῆι, but that word was apparently not deleted in any way; cf. ll. 32–4, note. If ὑπηρ[ετ]ῶν were read, as is just possible, κηρύσσηι would then have to be inserted before it; but this is an awkward collocation, and the final letter of ὑπηρ[ετ] . . is hardly high enough for a ν.

23. The infinitive προσκαταβάλλειν is unexpected and is perhaps an error for προσκαταβαλεῖ.

24. ἑνὸς τούτου can hardly be right; οισ might be read for the first το.

26. ὑπόλ[ο]γον in this phrase is a masculine substantive; cf. **85**. 24, note.

28. Perhaps ἐὰ[ν δὲ τ]άς; cf. notes on ll. 2 and 46.

30. Perhaps ὑπ|ηρέται, though this division is unusual.

31. The top of a letter after κ suits τ better than α; possibly κτή[ματ]α (cf. l. 20).

32–4. Cf. ll. 8–10. The scribe apparently intended to alter (?)γρα]φέτωσαν to γραφόντων, but he neglected to delete σα; cf. note on l. 22.

37 sqq. The general sense clearly is that the tax-farmer was to produce the amount he had collected, while the banker was to make a statement of accounts. ὁ τραπεζίτης is probably to be supplied at the end of l. 39, but ἐκ τοῦ τῆς is too long for the lacuna at the beginning of l. 40.

46. These two letters should perhaps be placed at the end of l. 28; cf. note on l. 2.

47–8. The recto of this fragment is blank.

V. LEGAL DOCUMENTS

30. Judicial Summons.

Mummy 6. Fr. (*d*) 9·4 × 10·6 *cm.* B.C. 300–271.

This papyrus affords a specimen of a formal summons (ἔγκλημα) served by a plaintiff in a civil process upon his adversary. A longer but less well preserved example has lately been published in P. Petrie III. 21 (*g*). 12–35, where the same characteristic formulae appear; and the two documents well illustrate the procedure of the time in the preliminary stages of an action at law.

The papyrus is in four fragments which refer to more than one suit. The summons contained on Fr. (*d*) is complete in itself, and lacks only a few letters at the beginnings of the lines. The three smaller pieces are however certainly in the same hand, and probably came from the upper part of the same sheet. The document is therefore a copy of the original summonses actually presented, though the claimant, whose name is lost, may have been the same person in both cases. Both were actions for recovery of a debt, and in both the plaintiff and defendant belonged to the same military troop. In Fr. (*a*) the debt was 330 drachmae, in (*d*), the more complete specimen, principal and interest amounted to 1050 drachmae. A declaration is first given of the fact of the debt, and that applications for payment had been fruitless; then comes a formal announcement of the institution of judicial proceedings (διὸ δικάζομαί σοι, cf. P. Petrie, *ibid.*, l. 27), and a statement of the sums involved, followed by the names of the witnesses to the summons (κλήτορες), who are two in number according to the usual Attic practice. At the end is the date and a notification concerning the court at which proceedings were to be instituted. Precisely the same scheme, except that the witnesses are placed last, is followed in the Petrie papyrus, where the point at issue was not a debt, but, apparently, an assault. The constitution of the court was in that instance a board of nine dicasts under a president, and may have been the same here. The papyrus is written in a small neat hand of a decidedly early type. The fact that the gods Adelphi were not yet associated with Alexander shows that the year is prior to the 15th of Philadelphus (cf. **99**, introd., and p. 368); and the reign may even have been that of Soter.

Fr. (*a*).] . .

] Μ̣ακ̣[εδὼ]ν τῶν Ἀλεξ[άνδρου

Ν]ικάνορι Μακ[εδόνι
τῶν Ἀλ]εξάνδρου χιλιάρχω[ι
5 *ὅτι ὀφεί]λων (δραχμὰς) τλ κα[τὰ συγγραφὴν*
. . . .

Fr. (*b*). . . . .
] . . [. .]σ[. .
]το επι[. .
]ιδετι[.]ν
]ισον ομο
] . ν . . ρους
10] . ον
. . . .

Fr. (*c*). . . .
] . . . . .
] . τρων
. . .

Fr. (*d*). . . . . . .
[. . . . . τῶν Ἀλε]ξάνδρο[υ] δεκα-
[νικὸς Πε]ρδίκκαι Μακεδό[ν]ι τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρ[ο]υ.
15 [δηλῶ σο]ι ὅτι ὀφείλων μοι κατὰ συγγραφὴν
[(δραχμὰς) . . ὧ]ν ἔγγυός ἐστιν Ἀντίγονος Λιμναίου
[ταύτας] ἀπαιτούμενος ὑπό μου πολλάκις οὐκ ἀ-
[ποδίδ]ωις οὔτε τῶι πράκτορι ἠβούλου ἐξομο-
[λογήσ]ασθαι, διὸ δικάζομαί σοι τοῦ ἀρχαίου
20 [καὶ τόκο]υ (δραχμῶν) Ἀν. τίμημα τῆς δίκης (δραχμαὶ) Ἀν.
[κλήτορες .]καφυσιος Κῶιος τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἰδιώ-
[της . . . . .]λαος Μένωνος Θρᾶιξ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς.
[ ]
[ἔτους . . ἐφ' ἱε]ρέως Φιλίσκου τοῦ Σπουδαίου μηνὸς
[. . . . . . .]ου ιδ. ἡ δίκη σοι ἀναγραφήσετ[α]ι ἐν
25 [τῶι ἐν Ἡρ]ακλέους πόλει δικαστηρίωι [ἐ]νώπιον
[. . . . . ἐ]κπλωι. (2nd hand) δι' Ἐπιμένους.

13 sqq. '. . . decurion of the troop of Alexander to Perdiccas, Macedonian of the troop of Alexander. I give you notice that you owe me by a contract . . drachmae, for which Antigonus son of Limnaeus is surety, and that notwithstanding frequent demands from me you do not repay this sum nor were willing to acknowledge the debt to the collector; I therefore am taking legal proceedings against you for principal and interest amounting to 1050 drachmae; the assessment of damages is 1050 drachmae. Witnesses

of the summons: [.]caphusius, Coan, private of the troop of Alexander, and ... laus son of Menon, Thracian of the Epigone.

'The . . th year, in the priesthood of Philiscus son of Spoudaeus, the 14th of the month ... The case will be drawn up against you in the court at Heracleopolis in the presence of ... (Signed) Through Epimenes.'

1. There are traces of ink near the edge of the papyrus; but the document really begins with l. 2.

5. κα[τὰ συγγραφήν: cf. l. 15. Smyly is, we think, wrong in interpreting κατὰ συγγραφὴν ὁμολογίας in P. Petrie III. 21 (*a*)–(*f*) as an agreement of the parties ratified by the court (p. 43). κατὰ συγγραφήν there, as here, probably refers to the contract out of which the case arose. There is nothing to show that 21 (*b*) concerns an action for assault; ασωτιας (?) in l. 11, if μετ[ὰ κυρ]ίου is right, must be a feminine proper name.

13. δεκα[νικός: cf. **96**. 21, &c. This military title has not previously been found written out in full, though it can now be recognized in P. Petrie III. 54 *a*. (4) 5 and 114. 1, where l. δε(κανικός). δεκανοί φυλακιτῶν occur in the second century in P. Tebt. 27. 31, and a δεκανός in P. Tebt. 251. Other military titles mentioned in this volume in connexion with the Greek settlers are λοχαγός (**81**. 7, 15), ἰλάρχης (**105**. 3), ἡγεμών (**44**. 2), all of which are familiar from the Petrie papyri, ἰδιώτης (**30**. 21, **89**. 7, &c.), which is not used elsewhere in papyri to denote a military rank, and a new (?) title of which the plural ends in]ουτοι (**96**. 13). τῶν (in **110**. 72 τῶν πρώτων), followed by the name of the captain of the particular troop, is added in many instances, sometimes preceding the word denoting rank, sometimes following it, as is more usually the case in the Petrie papyri. The absence of the title κληροῦχος in the Heracleopolite and Oxyrhynchite papyri from Hibeh (the κληροῦχοι in **82**. 16 were in the Fayum), and the comparative rarity of the titles ἑκατοντάρουρος, ὀγδοηκοντάρουρος, &c., afford another point of contrast with the Petrie papyri. ἰδιώτης serves to distinguish the lowest rank of military settlers from that of 'decurion' (δεκανικός) and of higher officers such as the λοχαγός, ἰλάρχης, and χιλίαρχος. This use of the term anticipates our technical military sense of 'private'; cf. Xen. *Anab*. i. 3. 11, where ἰδιώτης is contrasted with στρατηγός. λειτουργός in **96**. 14 and 31 probably has no military signification; cf. note *ad loc*.

15. The title of Perdiccas, e.g. [ἰδιώτη]ι, may have stood in the lacuna, but the syntax is improved by supplying some verb like δηλῶ.

19–20. ἀρχαίου [καὶ τόκο]υ: cf. **92**. 15–16. The τίμημα demanded seems to be additional to the sum due on account of the actual loan, and represents the penalty which was no doubt provided by the contract in case of non-payment. To suppose that this penalty was equal to the amount of the debt accords with other evidence for this early period; cf. **84** (*a*). 9 and note on **88**. 13.

21. [κλήτορες]: cf. P. Petrie III. 21 (*g*). 34.

22. The space below this line is slightly wider than elsewhere, but there was probably nothing between ἐπιγονῆς and the date.

24–5. The publication of the details of the charge at the court before which it came was part of the normal procedure at Athens. For [ἐ]νώπιον cf. P. Petrie III. 21 (*g*). 34, where ἐνώπια (or ἐνώπιον ?) is to be read.

26. ἔ]κπλωι: cf. P. Petrie III. 21 (*e*). 5, where, however, the reference is equally obscure.

31. Abstract of a Case for Trial.

Mummy 5. Breadth 17·7 *cm.* About B.C. 270.

The contents of this papyrus are a short summary of the details of a judicial suit, but owing to lacunae and the involved construction the situation is not easy to grasp. The text, according to a common custom at this period (cf. **36**, &c.), is given in duplicate, and nothing is lost above l. 1 or below l. 23; but there is a gap in the middle, and unfortunately the commencement is defective in both copies. Thrason and Pasis, the parties in the case, seem each to have accused the other of having lost 7 jars of wine from a store-place which had been leased by the owner Pasis. Affidavits were entered on both sides, and evidence was given that the store had been opened. The nature of the judgement, if indeed a judgement is recorded by the papyrus at all, depends upon the view taken of a mutilated passage, but there is reason to think that Pasis was condemned to pay compensation to Thrason to the extent of 56 drachmae; cf. note on ll. 6–7.

The papyrus is written in a rather large clear cursive, and is unlikely to be later than the first half of the reign of Philadelphus. The mummy from which it came produced also **84** (*a*) and **97**, the earliest dated documents in this volume.

Fr. (*a*).

[23 letters] Θρ̣ά̣[σ]ωνι προ̣[. .
[22 "] . ο̣ν αὐτῶν [. .
διακου[σ . . . .] . . . . [σ]μένου Θράσων[ος
τὸν ὅρκο[ν] καὶ Π[άσι]τος δόντος ἀνομβόσημ̣[ον
5 Θρά[σ]ω̣[ν]⟨α⟩ ἀπολωλεκένας ἐκ τοῦ ταμιε[ίου
οἴνου κεράμια ζ ἀ̣[ποδοῦναι . . . .
σινω τῶν ἑπτὰ κεραμ[ίων τιμὴν ὡς ἐξ] η (δραχμῶν),
/ (δραχμαὶ) νς, ἃ ἐνεκάλεσεν ἀ[πολω]λεκέν[αι
ἐκ τοῦ ταμιείου οὗ ἐξεμί[σθ]ωσεν Πᾶσις [προσ-
10 μ[α]ρτυρήσαντος Διονυσίου Ἀσκληπιάδ[ου
[Νι]κ[άρχ]ου ἄλλου Ἀσκληπιάδου γεγε[νῆσθαι
[τὴν ἐπάνοιξιν] τ̣[οῦ τα]μ̣[ι]εί[ο]υ̣.

. . . .

Fr. (*b*).

ṭ . . ạ . [
μένου Θράσωνος [τὸν ὅρκον καὶ Πάσιτος
15 δόντος ἀνομό[σημον Θράσωνα ἀπολωλεκέ-
ναι ἐκ τοῦ τα[μιείου οἴνου] κ[εράμια ζ
ἀ[πο]δοῦ[ναι . . .]σιṿ[. . . . . .]ị τῶν ἑπτὰ
κεραμίων τιμὴ[ν ὡς ἐξ] η (δραχμῶν), / (δραχμαὶ) νϛ,
ἃ ἐνεκάλεσεν ἀπολωλεκέναι ἐκ τοῦ τα-
20 μιείου οὗ ἐξεμίσθωσεν Πᾶσις προσμαρ-
τυρήσαντος Ἀσκληπιάδου Νικάρχου
ἄλλου Ἀσκληπιάδου γεγενῆσθαι τὴν
ἐπάνοιξιν τοῦ ταμιείου.

Fr. (*c*). . . .
ἀ]π̣εκρίνα̣[το
25]α̣ι̣π̣[
. . .

5. l. ἀπολωλεκέναι. 9. α of πασις corr. from ι. 12. ει of ταμιειου added above the line.

ll. 2–12. '. . . having heard (?) . . ., after Thrason had made an oath, and after Pasis had given a contradictory declaration that Thrason had lost from the store-place 7 jars of wine, gave judgement that Pasis should pay to Thrason (?) the price of the 7 jars at the rate of 8 drachmae per jar, making 56 drachmae, which jars he accused Pasis of having lost from the store-place leased by Pasis, further testimony that the store had been opened having been given by Dionysius, Asclepiades, Nicarchus, and another Asclepiades.'

1–2. ? πρὸ[ς | Πᾶσιν.

4. δόντος ἀνομόσημ[ον: sc. ὅρκον. ἀνομόσημος is a new compound.

6–7. For ἀ[ποδοῦναι cf. l. 17, where ἀ[πο]δοῦ[ναι seems almost inevitable. If ἀποδοῦναι be granted, it must depend on a finite verb which we think is to be found in ἀ]πεκρίνα[το in Fr. (*c*). The first question is where this fragment is to be placed. It does not suit the end of l. 6, for it would quite fill up the line, and σινω in l. 7 would be left suspended; moreover a discrepancy would result in l. 17 where the σ before ιν[is quite certain. Fr. (*c*) therefore belongs to the beginning of the document, and may be placed either in ll. 1–3 or in the corresponding place of the second copy. It remains to find a suitable restoration of the words between ἀποδοῦναι and τῶν, upon which the interpretation of the document largely depends. σινω at the beginning of l. 7, if right, can hardly be anything but a place-name; in l. 17, however, the letter before των is not ω but almost certainly ι. This might no doubt be explained as an iota adscript which in l. 7 was omitted; but in view of the other inaccuracies on the part of this scribe we are disposed to expect a more

serious error, and suggest that σινω is a slip of the pen for σωνι, i.e. Θράσωνι.]σιν[in l. 17 will then of course be Πᾶ σιν and Πᾶσιν Θράσωνι just fits the length of the lacunae in both copies. If this rather bold solution is correct, ἀ]πεκρίνα[το (or -ναντο?) ἀποδοῦναι will be the verdict and not a statement by one of the parties, a view which is supported by διακού[σας (?) in l. 3.

8. If the interpretation proposed in the previous note be on the right lines, the subject of ἐνεκάλεσεν should be Thrason; for it would be hardly reasonable to make Pasis pay Thrason if Pasis had himself incurred the loss. The rate here fixed, 8 drachmae for a κεράμιον, is just equivalent to the highest price found for a κεράμιον in the Tebtunis papyri (4000 dr., P. Tebt. 253) if the ratio of the values of silver and copper drachmae be taken as 1 : 500. But prices of κεράμια are deceptive; cf. P. Tebt. 113. 36, note.

10. Διονυσίου is omitted in the second copy, l. 21.

32. Sequestration of Property.

Mummy A 14. 34·5 × 12 *cm*. B.C. 246 (245).

The purport of this document, which concerns the sequestration of sheep belonging to a military settler, is somewhat obscure owing to the mutilation of the chief verb in l. 4. If our interpretation is correct, the papyrus records the sequestration by Heraclitus, an Alexandrian citizen, of 38 sheep, the property of Neoptolemus, a Macedonian settler, who had been condemned by default to pay a fine for an act of ὕβρις committed against Heraclitus. The relation of the last four lines, which are dated a week later, to the main text is uncertain. The writing is a large, handsome cursive; the second year no doubt refers to Euergetes.

(Ἔτους) β Δίου κε, διὰ Τηλε-
μάχου. Ἡράκλειτος Ἡρ[ακλεί-
του Καστόρειος τῶν οὔπω
[ἐ]πηγμένων παρεδ[έξατο ?
5 ὑ̣πάρχοντα Νεοπτολέμου
Μακεδόνος ἰ̣δ̣ι̣[ώ]του τ[ῶν
Ἀντιόχου πρὸς καταδί-
κην ἔρημον ὕβρεως
πρὸς (δραχμὰς) σ καὶ τοῦ ἐπιδε-
10 κάτου (δραχμὰς) κ πρόβατα λη,
/ ἔρσ[εν]ες η, ἄρνες ιγ,
ὑποδίφθερα ἡμίκουρ[α ιζ

ὧν λευκόφαιον ψιλὸν ἕν,
[Αἰ]γύπτια ἡμίκουρα γ,
15 ψιλὰ νόθα ι, ἡμίκουρον
ἕν, Αἰγύπτια ψιλὰ β / [λη.
Ἀπελλαίου β, ἐξωμό[σα-
το Μένιππος Μενεμάχου
Μυσὸς τῆς ἐπιγονῆς [. . .
20 φάμενος αὐτ . . . . . .] . [

On the verso

ἐνεχυρασία.

'The 2nd year, Dius 25, through Telemachus. Heraclitus son of Heraclitus, of the Castorian deme but not yet enrolled, has taken over (?) property of Neoptolemus, Macedonian, a private in Antiochus' troop, who had been condemned by default for violence to a fine of 200 drachmae and the extra tenth, 20 drachmae, namely 38 sheep, of which 8 are rams, 13 lambs, 17 covered with skins and half-shorn, of which (17) 1 is whitish grey and shorn, 3 are of Egyptian breed and half-shorn, 10 are shorn and half-bred, 1 is half-shorn, 2 are of Egyptian breed and shorn, total 38. Apellaeus 2. Menippus son of Menemachus, Mysian of the Epigone, excused himself on oath (?), saying that he . . .' (Title) Pledge.'

1. Δίου κε: this day probably corresponded to some date in Choiak at this period; cf. App. i.

3. Καστόρειος κ.τ.λ.: the formula in the Petrie papyri is fuller, e.g. III. 11. 27 Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τῆς ἐπιγονῆς τῶν οὔπω ἐπηγμένων εἰς δῆμον Καστόρειον.

4. If παρεδ[έξατο is right, there is hardly room for τά after it.

9. ἐπιδεκάτου: this is a clear instance of the use of that term, which occurs also in **92**. 19, for an 'extra tenth,' not '$1\frac{1}{10}$.' Probably there is a connexion between these ἐπιδέκατα and the ἐπιδέκατον which, according to an ordinance of (probably) Philadelphus preserved in P. Amh. 33. 28–37, was to be levied twice over from advocates who had pleaded in προσοδικαὶ κρίσεις to the detriment of the State revenues. The fine there levied upon the advocates would seem to be twice the ἐπιδέκατον levied upon their clients. But the interpretation of the ἐπιδέκατον in P. Amh. 33 is still very obscure.

12. ὑποδίφθερα: cf. P. Petrie III. 109 (*b*). 12 and the editor's note.

14. [Αἰ]γύπτια: cf. **36**. 6 Ἀράβιον. νόθα in l. 15 probably means a mixture of the two breeds.

17. ἐξωμό[σα]]το: or, possibly, ἐξωμο[λογήσα]]το: cf. **30**. 18.

19. Probably nothing is lost after ἐπιγονῆς.

VI. DECLARATIONS AND PETITIONS

Cairo 4074

33. Property-Return of Sheep. (WChr I 243)

Mummy A. 11·6 × 8·2 *cm.* B.C. 245 (244).

An ἀπογραφή of sheep, drawn up by a military settler; cf. P. Petrie III. 72 (*b*). Like the property-return in P. Petrie II. p. 33, **33** omits any mention of the official addressed, and the formula begins with ἀπογραφή instead of ἀπογράφομαι. P. Petrie III. 72 (*b*) is addressed in duplicate to the oeconomus and topogrammateus, and **33** is also apparently in duplicate; but it is unlikely that the two copies were intended for different officials, since the practice of writing documents twice over on the same papyrus is common at this period, e. g. **36–7**.

The papyrus was written in a cursive hand; the second year might refer to Philadelphus' reign, though more probably that of Euergetes is meant.

[Ἔτους β Παμενώτ.] ἀπο-
[γραφὴ λείας . .] . ṭ . ι̣
[. . . εἰς τὸ τρίτον] ἔ-
τος̣ π̣[α]ρ̣' [Ἀ]ρ̣[ο]ι̣[μη]ώ̣του παρὰ Ῥ[ο]ι̣[μη]ώ̣του Wilcken, P. Frankf. p. 31
5 Θραικὸς ἰδιώτου τῶν Ἀε-
τοῦ. ὑπάρχει μοι πρόβ[α-
τα ἴδια ἐν κώμηι Ψε-
πθονέμβη τοῦ Κωείτ[ο]υ
ὀγδόηκοντα.

10 (ἔτους) β Παμενώτ. ἀπογρα-
φὴ λείας εἰς τὸ τρίτ[ον ἔ-
τος παρ' Ἀροιμηώ̣του Θρα̣ι̣- παρὰ Ῥοιμηώτου
κὸς ἰδιώτου τῶν Ἀετοῦ.
ὑπάρχει μοι [πρόβατα ἴδια
15 [ἐ]ν̣ [κώμη]ι̣ [Ψεπθονέμβη
[τοῦ Κωείτου ὀγδοήκον]τ̣α̣.

6. υ of -του corr. from ν.

'The 2nd year, Phamenoth. Return of a flock (?) for the third year from Aroimeotes, Thracian, a private of Aetus' troop. I own eighty sheep as my private property at the village of Psepthonembe in the Koite district.'

2. The sense of λεία here is obscure. For the word at this period in reference to sheep cf. P. Petrie III. 111. 8 φυλακιτικὸν λείας προβάτων, and 112 (*a*). 11, &c., where the φυλ. λείας is contrasted with the φυλ. ἱερείων, i.e. animals destined for sacrifice. In those instances, as here, the λεία of sheep occurs in connexion with military settlers, and it would be possible to suppose that they had received from the state a grant of sheep either taken as plunder or in lieu of plunder. But λεία occurs in Frs. (1), (3), and (6) of Rev. Laws in connexion with the ἐννόμιον, or tax for the use of the royal pastures (cf. **52**, introd.); and it seems probable that in reference to sheep the word had lost the connotation of plunder, though it is noticeable that λεία has its ordinary sense in **62**. 4, and P. Petrie III. 28 (*e*). verso 3, and (apparently, though the context is not quite clear) 64 (*c*). 11–2.

The vestiges at the end of the line do not suit any part of προβάτων, and the word, whatever it was, did not recur in l. 11. Perhaps there was a dittography or some other mistake.

34. Petition to the King.

Mummies 69 and 70. Breadth 32 *cm.* B.C. 243–2.

A petition to Ptolemy (Euergetes) from Antigonus, probably a phylacites, complaining that Patron, the archiphylacites of the lower toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome, had prevented him from carrying out his duties, and asking for redress. **73** is a letter from Antigonus on the same subject to Dorion, the epistates. Both documents are mutilated; but they supplement each other, and the sequence of events is clear. Callidromus, a Cyrenean settler, had obtained unlawful possession of a donkey belonging to a certain Dorion, and Antigonus has been directed by Dorion the epistates to compel Callidromus either to restore the animal to its owner or to pay its value. Antigonus accordingly arrested Callidromus and lodged him in a prison at the village of Sinaru. Patron then intervened, and not only released Callidromus from prison but himself took possession of the donkey (**73**. 13–4).

The most interesting feature of these two documents is their illustration of the practice of personal execution, and their references to the edict (διάγραμμα) authorizing it. According to Diod. Sic. i. 79, execution on the person of a debtor was abolished in Egypt by Bocchoris in the eighth century; but it was re-introduced under the Ptolemies and, as we now know, quite early in their regime; cf. P. Petrie II. 21 (*d*). 15. Wenger's inference from P. Amh. 43. 12 sqq. (B.C. 173), ἡ πρᾶξις ἔστω . . . πράσσοντι κατὰ τὸ διάγραμμα καὶ τοὺς νόμους, that the date of the διάγραμμα was probably not far removed from that of the Amherst

papyrus (*Archiv*, II. 53), thus proves to be mistaken. Personal execution being a common institution in the Greek world (Mitteis, *Reichsrecht u. Volksrecht*, p. 446), its reappearance in Egypt is likely enough to have followed close upon the establishment of the Ptolemaic dynasty.

The papyrus is a good deal broken, and the ink in the lower lines of the first fragment is very faint and blurred. The frequent corrections show that this document, like 73, is only a rough draft. The writing (which is across the fibres) gradually becomes more cursive as it proceeds.

Frs. (*a*) and (*b*).

1 [Βασιλεῖ Πτολε]μαίωι χαίρειν. Ἀντίγονος ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπὸ Πάτρωνος τοῦ
[φυλα]κιτε[ύ]οντος τὴν κάτω τοπαρχίαν. ἐμοῦ γὰρ ἀπαγα-

τ[ο]ῦ δ (ἔτους) μηνὸς
2 [γόντος Καλλίδρο]μον Καλλικράτους Κυρηναῖον τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ε[ἰς τὸ] ἐν
Μεχὶρ κε
Σινά[ρ]υ δεσμωτήριον κατὰ πρόσταγμα Δωρίωνος τοῦ ἐπισ-

3 [τάτου . . . .] ἐν ὧι ἐγέγραπτο ἐπαναγκάσαι τὸγ Καλλίδρομον ἢ τὸ
ὑ[π]οζύγι[ο]ν ἀποδοῦναι τῶι κυρίωι ἢ τιμὴν τοῦ ὄνου (δραχμὰς) κ

] δὲ
4 [. . . . . . . Πάτρων] οὐθένα λόγον ποιησάμενος τ[ό]ν τε Καλλ[ί]δρομον
[[. . . [.] . . .]]
ἐ[ξήγαγεν ἐκ τοῦ ἐ]ν Σινάρ[υ] δεσμωτ[η]ρίου ὥστε . . δ[. .] . .

ἀλλὰ ἄδικον βίαν ε . . . . ν . προτ . . . ν . . . [. . . . .] . . . . .
5 [. . . . . Καλ]λ[ι]δρόμου . [. . . .]ρα . λε[.] . . . τ . . [. .] . [20 letters]
. . ἐπαναγκάσαι τὸ ὑποζύγιον . . . . ι
. νωι υπενδιον τουτ . . τ . . τ . ν[. . . . .

. . . .

6]νου καὶ τὸ διασ . . . . α . [.]ποσο . . . . [. .]η προσ . . . .
[.]ον[.]εσδ[.] . . [.] . [.] . [

γ
7 προστάξαι γρ]άψαι Ξενοκράτηι τῶι πράκτορι τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν ἐπειδὴ Πάτρων
παρὰ τὰ διαγρά[μματα

συντελεσ-
8 ἐξήγαγε τὸ]ν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου ἵνα μὴ ἡ πρᾶξις [[γενηθηι
θῆι
εκ του σωματος]] πρᾶξαι α[ὐτὸν

] νῦν ἀποδοῦναι ἵνα μὴ
9] . . [. . . . . . .] τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον τ[ρ]ι[π]λοῦν κατὰ τὸ
ατ
διάγραμμα [[αλλα δια . . [

10]ε ἔξω [[ανευ]] ἄνευ ἡμῶν τὸν Πάτρωνα
ἐξαγηγοχότα τὸν [ἄνθρωπον

11 · τὸ ἀρ]γύριον κατὰ τὸ διάγραμμα ἵνα [[δια σε βασιλευ]] διὰ σὲ βασιλεῦ τοῦ δ[ικαίου τύχω.

12] γράψαντος ἄλλην ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ δ (ἔτους) Φαρμοῦθι ιβ επ̣[

traces of 1 line.

. . . .

Fr. (*c*). . . . .

14] . αι ἐπαναγκασ[

]τον καὶ τ[

] . μὴ κομισα̣[

. . .

Fr. (*d*). . . . .

17]α̣ι αυ[

]α ῥαφάνια ἐὰν . [

] τρόπον ἠδυνάμην̣ τὰ του[

Fr. (*e*). . . .

20] . γ̣[

δε]σμω[τηρι

. . .

10. First α of εξαγηγοχοτα corr. from η.

ll. 1–4. 'To King Ptolemy, greeting. I, Antigonus, am unjustly treated by Patron the phylacites of the lower toparchy. For when I had removed Callidromus son of Callicrates, a Cyrenean of the Epigone, in Mecheir 25 of the 4th year to the prison at Sinaru in accordance with an order of Dorion the epistates, wherein it was written that I should either compel Callidromus to restore the donkey to its owner or else its value, 20 drachmae, Patron paying no heed to this released Callidromus from the prison at Sinaru . . .'

1. χαίρειν. Ἀντίγονος κ.τ.λ.: we prefer this method of punctuation, which has been adopted by the editors of the Magdola papyri, to that still supported by Wilcken (*Archiv*, III. p. 308) according to which the full stop is placed after the name of the petitioner. The formula gains nothing in respectfulness by the mere transposition of χαίρειν and the name, but it does distinctly so gain if the name is kept out of the salutation altogether. Cf. **35**. 1–2, where the punctuation after χαίρειν is indicated by the division of the lines, and the new Magdola papyrus in *Mélanges Nicole*, pp. 281 sqq., with the editors' note.

[φυλα]κιτε[ύ]οντος: in **73**. 10 Patron is called the ἀρχιφυλακίτης of the lower toparchy. At this period therefore the ἀρχιφυλακίτης might be much more than a mere village official, which he sometimes certainly was in the second century B.C.; cf. P. Tebt. 43. 9. He was, however, subordinate to the ἐπιστάτης (φυλακιτῶν), as **73**. 19 shows. If ἀρχι[φυλακίτης is to be restored in P. Petrie III. 130 ἐπιστάτης φυλακιτῶν καὶ ἀρχι[, the two offices were sometimes combined in one person. The note on P. Tebt. 5. 159 requires modification in the light of the new evidence.

2. Σινά[ρ]υ: the reference to Τακόνα in **73**. 14 as well as to the lower toparchy (cf. e.g. **52**. 4) proves that this is the Oxyrhynchite Sinaru (P. Oxy. 373, &c.) rather than the Heracleopolite (p. 8).

4. ἐ[ξήγαγεν is supplied from l. 10 and **73**. 11. If ὥστε is right the line may have continued μὴ δύνασ|θαι, as in **73**. 12.

5. The latter part of this line is puzzling; Ἀσπένδιον does not seem admissible. The interlinear insertion may have been something like ἄδικον βίαν αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ μὴ πρότερόν με δύνασθαι αὐτὸν ἐπαναγκάσαι τὸ ὑποζύγιον ἀποδοῦναι (cf. **73**. 18–9); but the papyrus is here so much damaged that verification of the reading is hardly possible.

6 sqq. The position of this fragment in relation to that preceding is unknown, but the gap between them is unlikely to be large. If the fragment be so placed that the lacuna at the beginning of ll. 6–9 coincides with that in ll. 1–4, the loss at the ends would amount to about 20 letters.

7. πράκτορι τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν: this is the first occurrence of this title which is a natural antithesis to the πράκτωρ ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλικ[ῶν] προσόδων τεταγμένος in P. Petrie II. 22. 15. The relation of the πράκτωρ ἰδιωτικῶν to the πράκτωρ ξενικῶν, who is also found in the third century B.C. (ξενικὸς πράκτωρ, P. Magd. 41. 5), remains doubtful. The πράκτωρ ξενικῶν certainly collected private debts, but he may have been distinguished from the πράκτωρ ἰδιωτικῶν by dealing with a special class of debtors; cf. P. Tebt. 5. 221, note. His peculiar functions, however, have not yet been clearly ascertained.

Above τ of τῶι is what appears to be a large γ, to which we can attach no meaning.

8–10. This passage apparently implies that according to the provisions of the διάγραμμα a person who prevented or obstructed an execution was liable for three times the amount of the debt. At the beginning of l. 10 ἀποδ]είξω might possibly be read.

9. The letters added above αλλα are coarsely written and imperfectly preserved. They are not more intelligible than the γ above l. 7.

12 sqq. There are clear indications of another line where the papyrus breaks off below l. 12, and the similarity of handwriting and phraseology (ἐπαναγκασ[; cf. l. 3) strongly suggests that Frs. (*c*) and (*e*) belong to the lower part of the petition. But Fr. (*c*) must be placed below l. 12, for there is a selis between ll. 15 and 16, which does not occur in Frs. (*a*) and (*b*). Whether Fr. (*d*), containing ll. 17–9, also belongs to **34** is more doubtful. ῥαφάνια seems irrelevant, but we are ignorant of the context and the hand is extremely similar. Line 19 was the last of the document.

35. Petition of Hieroduli. at Harvard

Mummy A. 11·5 × 8·6 *cm*. About B.C. 250.

This papyrus contains on the recto the beginning of a petition addressed to Sonnophris, no doubt an official, by the ἱερόδουλοι of a temple of Thoëris, reminding him of the protection which he had previously afforded them in connexion with the collection of the temple revenues, and apparently complaining of the conduct of a comarch; but the papyrus breaks off before the point of the letter is reached. On the verso is a partly effaced document in 7 lines

written in a large, thick cursive hand of an early type. The petition is to be assigned to the latter part of the reign of Philadelphus.

Σ̣οννώφρει χαίρ[ειν.]
Πετοσῖρις Ποκωῦτος καὶ Ὀννῶ-
φρις Πετ̣ῆσιος ἱερόδουλοι Θυή-
ριος μεγάλης καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ
5 ἱερόδουλοι. διατελο[ῦ]μεν
τοὺς φόρους εὐτακτοῦντες
εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν διὰ τὴ̣ν παρ' ὑμῶν
σκέ̣[π]η̣ν, καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τοῖς
ἔμπροσθε χρόνοις ὑπὸ ὑ-
10 [μῶ]ν σκεπαζόμε[θ]α.
ἐ̣π̣εὶ Πετοσῖρι̣ς̣ ὁ̣ κωμαρχῶν
[11 letters]α̣ν π̣ά̣ντας
. . . . . .

'To Sonnophris, greeting. We, Petosiris son of Pokoüs, Onnophris son of Petesis, hieroduli of the great Thoëris, and the rest of the hieroduli, have long administered with regularity the revenues of the temple on account of your protection, and now as in former times we are protected by you. Whereas Petosiris the comarch . . .'

1–2. For the punctuation adopted cf. **34**. 1, note. We have found no other instance of the occurrence of the name Σοννῶφρις, and the initial letter is not quite certain, the middle part having disappeared. The ink representing the two ends of the supposed Σ might perhaps be regarded as accidental, but if so l. 1 was begun further to the right than the lines following.

3. Θυήριος: perhaps the temple of Thoëris at Oxyrhynchus, known from P. Oxy. 43, verso iv. 13, is meant.

5–6. That the ἱερόδουλοι were particularly concerned with collecting the revenues of the temples is a new fact. Very little is known about their position; the title ἱερόδουλος is applied to the Twins at the Serapeum, and in P. Tebt. 6. 25 the ἱερόδουλοι are distinguished from the κατὰ μέρος ἔθνη of the regular priests, from which passage Otto (*Priester und Tempel*, i. p. 118 [1]) infers that the word was applied to the lower branches in general of the priesthood.

36. Notice of Loss.

Mummy A 15. 14 × 10·2 *cm*. B.C. 229 (228).

A notice of the loss of a sheep, addressed in duplicate to Harmiusis the φυλακίτης of Talaë in the 19th year of, probably, Euergetes. Cf. **144**, a fragment of another notice addressed to Harmiusis, **37**, which is also

in duplicate, and P. Petrie II. p. 33 (= III. p. x). The text, written in a large rude semi-uncial, is on the verso; the recto has a few traces of obliterated writing.

(Ἔτους) ιθ Θωὺτ β. προσαγγέλ-
λει Ἁρμιύσι φυλακίτηι
Ταλέους Σάτοκος ἀπο-
λωλεκέναι ἐκ τῆς αὐλῆς
5 νυκτὸς πρόβατον θῆλυ
δασὺ Ἀράβιον ἄξιον (δραχμῶν) η.

(ἔτους) ιθ Θωὺτ β. προσαγγέλλει
Ἁρμιύσι φυλακίτηι Τάλη
Σάτοκος ἀπολωλεκέναι
10 ἐκ τῆς αὐλῆς νυκτὸς
πρόβατον θῆλυ Ἀράβιον
δασὺ ἄξιον (δραχμῶν) η.

'The 19th year, Thoth 2. Satokos announces to Harmiusis, the guard of Talaë, that he has lost from the pen at night an unshorn ewe of Arabian breed, worth 8 drachmae.'

3. Ταλέους: for this form of the genitive cf. **37**. 4. The genitive Ταλάους occurs in **157** and Τάλη in l. 8, **144**, and again in Roman times (p. 8), and the dative Τάληι (?) in **117**. 8, while Ταλάη is the form used in the more correctly written papyri **106–7** and **136–142**. The accusative Ταλάην and dative Ταλάηι are found in **75**. 1 and 5. This village, which was in the Κωίτης τόπος, is to be distinguished from Ταλαώ (**55**. 2) in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

6. δασύ: cf. ψιλόν and ἡμίκουρον in **32**. 12–6.

37. Notice of Loss.

Mummy A (probably A 9). 11·6 × 10 *cm*. B.C. 235 (234).

Notification to the φυλακίτης of Talaë of the loss of two goats; cf. the preceding papyrus. The hand is of a similar type to that of **36**, and is probably to be referred to the reign of Euergetes, but the year is very uncertain.

(Ἔτους) [ι]β̣ [μηνὸς Φαρμο]ῦ̣θ̣[ι η.
προσα[γ]γέλλει Στράτιος Στράτω-

νος Θρᾶιξ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς Πτολε-
μαίωι φυλακίτηι κώμης Ταλέου[ς
5 ἀπολωλεκάναι νυκτὸς ἐν τῶι
῾Ηρακ[λε]ίτου κλήρωι αἶγας δασεῖ-
ς δύο ἔρσενα καὶ θέλεαν ὧν τ̣ε̣ι-
μὴ δρ[α]χμαὶ τέτταρες.

(ἔτους) ι̣β̣ μ[η]νὸς Φαρμοῦθι η. προσ-
10 αγγέ[λλε]ι Στράτιος Στράτωνος
Θρᾶιξ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς Πτολεμαί-
ω̣ι̣ φ[υ]λακίτηι κώμης Ταλέ-
[ους ἀ]πολωλεκέναι νυκτὸς
[ἐν τωῖ ῾Η]ρακλείτου κλήρωι
15 [αἶγας] δασεῖς δύο ἔρσενα
καὶ θήλεαν ὧν τιμὴ δραχμαὶ
τέτταρες.

5. l. ἀπολωλεκέναι. 7. l. θήλειαν.

'The 12th year, the 8th of the month Pharmouthi. Stratius son of Straton, Thracian of the Epigone, announces to Ptolemaeus, guard of the village of Talaë, that he has lost at night-time in the holding of Heraclitus two thick-haired goats, a male and a female, worth 4 drachmae.'

4. Ταλέου[ς: cf. 36. 3, note.

38. Declaration on Oath.

Mummy A. 25·6 × 21·6 *cm.* B.C. 252–1 (251–0).

A declaration on oath concerning a shipwreck, probably made by the captain of one of the government transports; cf. P. Magd. 11 (of which P. Magd. 37 is the beginning), a petition to the king by a *ναύκληρος* of one of these boats, who had been delayed by a storm off Aphroditopolis (Atfih), near the scene of the disaster which is the subject of 38.

Below the oath are 5 more lines, and 9 or 10 narrow lines have been added in the right-hand margin, which are too incomplete for continuous decipherment,

but conclude with the date, the 34th year (of Philadelphus). The writing is extremely cursive.

. . . .

[15 letters] α̣ποδω[
τηριο̣ν̣[. .] . [.] . [. .] . . . . ε̣ν̣ην ἠξιωσ[. .
αὐτὸν συγ⟨γ⟩ράψαι αυ̣τ̣[.] . ενιτ̣[.] . μ̣ω̣ . . α
ἀ̣νέλαβέν με καὶ συνκαταπλέω̣ τ̣ο̣ύ̣τ̣ο̣ις
5 [ἕ]ω̣ς̣ τοῦ πόρου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν ὅρμον τὸν
Ἀφροδιτοπολίτην, ἀνέμου δὲ γενομένου
καὶ τῶν συρίων ὑπὲρ τὴν σκηνὴ[ν] ο̣ὐσῶν
συνέβη κλεῖναι τὸν δεξιὸν τοῖχον τοῦ
πλοίου καὶ καταδῦναι τὸ πλοῖον διὰ
10 [τ]οῦτο.
ὀμνύω δὲ βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ
[Ἀρ]σινόην Φ[ιλ]άδελφον θ[ε]οὺς Ἀδελφοὺς
καὶ θεοὺς Σωτῆρας τοὺς τούτ[ω]ν
γον[ε]ῖς εἶναι τὰ προγεγραμμένα
15 [ἀλη]θῆ.

'.. and I sailed down with them as far as the channel by the harbour of Aphroditopolis; but a wind having arisen and the Syrian cloths being above the cabin, it came about that the right side of the ship listed and the ship thereby sank. And I swear by king Ptolemy and Arsinoë Philadelphus, gods Adelphi, and by the gods Soteres their parents, that the aforesaid statements are correct.'

5. τὸν ὅρμον τὸν Ἀφροδιτοπολίτην: the site of Aphroditopolis is only 1½ miles from the Nile, and its port does not seem to have borne a separate name of its own. P. Magd. 37. 1 has γενομένου χειμῶνος [? περὶ]ξ Ἀφροδίτης πόλ[εως. The ὅρμος τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου mentioned in l. 4 of that papyrus is probably, as the editors remark, Ptolemais ὅρμου.

7. συρίων: cf. **51**. 3, note. Apparently they were piled up on deck above the level of the cabin.

13. The gods Soteres are also mentioned in another βασιλικὸς ὅρκος written in the 34th year (unpublished), of which only the ends of lines are preserved; but they are omitted (apparently) in P. Petrie III. 56 (*a*). 4 (16th–27th years) and 56 (*b*). 7 (after the 26th year). In 56 (*a*). 3, where the editor restores (ὀμνύει) βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Πτο]λεμαῖον, we should prefer βασιλέα Πτο]λεμαῖον preceded either by a title of the person taking the oath or by a name in the dative; cf. 56 (*b*). 5. The deification of Soter and Berenice took place in the earlier part of Philadelphus' reign, but the year is not known. Otto (*Priester und Tempel*, i. pp. 143–6) places it between the 7th and 15th years.

VII. OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

39. LETTER OF XANTHUS TO EUPHRANOR.

Mummy 5. 17·8 × 8 *cm.* B.C. 265 (264).

A letter authorizing the embarkation upon a government transport of a quantity of corn, which was due from certain κλῆροι. Xanthus and Euphranor, the two principals here concerned, recur in **100** and the latter also in **101**, and on the analogy of those two documents the corn which is the subject of the present order is no doubt to be explained as rent. It is evident that the government frequently resumed possession of land which had been granted to military settlers, after whose names it nevertheless continued to be called; cf. **81** and **52**. 26, note. The official status of Xanthus and Euphranor is not given, but they must both have been connected with the State granaries. The corn was apparently delivered in the first instance to Euphranor and was forwarded by him to Xanthus, who was of superior rank and probably occupied a position similar to that of Semnus in **101**. As that document is the latest of the series it is even possible that Semnus was Xanthus' successor. The mention of the village of Peroë in **84** (*a*). 7 indicates that the district both here and in **100–1**, which came from the same mummy as **84** (*a*), was the Κωίτης.

Ξάνθος Εὐφράνορι
χαίρειν. σύνταξον
μετρῆσαι διὰ Κιλλέ-
[ο]υς Ὥρωι εἰς κοντω-
5 *[τὸ]ν βασιλικὸν ἐφ' οὗ ναύκληρος*
καὶ κυβερνήτης αὐ-
τὸς Ὧρος τὸν ἐπιτε-
ταγμένον σῖτον
[τ]ῶι Ἀλεξάνδρου
10 *καὶ Βρομένου κλήρωι*
καὶ Νικοστράτου καὶ
Παυσανίου, σύμβολον
[δ]ὲ ὑμῖν γραψάσθω
[Κ]ιλλῆς ἢ ὁ ναύκληρος
15 *[κ]αὶ δεῖγμα σφραγισάσ-*
[θ]ω, καὶ ἡμ[ῖ]ν ἀνενέγκατε.
ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) κα
Θωὺθ ι.

On the verso

Εὐφράνορι.

5. βασιλικον above the line.

'Xanthus to Euphranor, greeting. Give orders for the delivery through Killes to Horus on the State barge, of which the master and pilot is the said Horus, of the corn levied upon the holding of Alexander and Bromenus and Nicostratus and Pausanias; and let Killes or the ship-master write you a receipt and seal a sample, and bring them to me. Good-bye. The 21st year, Thoth 1. (Addressed) To Euphranor.'

3. Killes was perhaps *παρὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν γραμματέων*, like Nechthembes in **98**. 10.
4. *κοντω[τό]ν*: cf. Diod. xix. 12 *πλοῖον κοντωτόν*.
15. Cf. **98**. 12. The object was of course to prevent the corn from being tampered with during its transit.

40. Letter of Polemon to Harimouthes.

Mummy 13. 32·7 × 11 *cm.* B.C. 261 (260).

This letter is one of a group (**40–4**) addressed to Harimouthes, who in **44**. 9–10 is called the toparch of the lower toparchy (i. e. of the Oxyrhynchite nome), while in **85**. 10, written like **40–3** several years earlier than **44**, he is described as nomarch. Unless we are to assume that one of these descriptions is incorrect, or that the Harimouthes in **85** is a different person, it must be concluded either that Harimouthes combined the two offices of nomarch and toparch, or, what is the more natural inference, that he was first one and then the other, which suggests that the office of toparch was the superior. In Rev. Laws, however, the nomarch is regularly given precedence (cf. e. g. xxxvii. 3), though the passage in xli. 16–7 *τῶι προεστηκότι τοῦ νομοῦ νομάρχηι ἢ τοπάρχηι* suggests that their functions differed little. Cf. note on P. Tebt. 61 (*b*). 46. The present letter and **41** are both from Polemon, whose position is not stated but was apparently above that of Harimouthes. He here writes somewhat obscurely about the sale of some barley.

The correspondence of Harimouthes, as is shown by **44**. 9 and **85**. 3, belongs to the latter part of the reign of Philadelphus.

Πολέμων Ἁριμούθηι
χαίρειν. περὶ τῶν
συμβόλων γεγράφαμεν
Κρίτωνι καὶ Καλλικλεῖ
5 *ἵνα γένηται ὡς ἐπέ-*
σταλκας. ἐπίστασο
μέντον ἀκριβῶς
δραχμὴν μίαν οὐθεὶς
σ̣οι μ̣ὴ̣ π̣λ̣ηρ(ώσ)ηι· κ̣α̣ὶ̣ γ̣ὰ̣ρ
οἱ παρὰ Κερκίωνος
ἔχουσιν ἤδη ἐμ παρα-
15 *γραφῆι ἐκ τοῦ λογι-*
στηρίου.
ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) κδ Ἐπὴφ κα.

ὅτι τῆς κριθῆς
ἧς συγγέγραψαι
10 τιμῆς δώσειν

On the verso
Ἁριμούθηι.

7. l. μέντοι.

'Polemon to Harimouthes, greeting. I have written to Criton and Callicles about the receipts, to have your requests carried out. But you must clearly understand that for the barley no one will pay so much as 1 drachma, at which price you have agreed to supply it; for the agents of Kerkion have now obtained (a lower price?) in a memorandum from the audit office. Good-bye. The 24th year, Epeiph 21. (Addressed) To Harimouthes.'

4. Καλλικλεῖ: probably the writer of **42–3**.

12. μὴ πληρηι for μὴ πληρώσηι is a doubtful and not very satisfactory reading; but μή is confirmed by the subjunctival termination of the verb, and μέντον in l. 7 shows that the writer was capable of mistakes. μετρῆι cannot be read.

14–5. Harimouthes had been forestalled in some way by Kerkion's agents, but what exactly is implied by ἔχουσιν ἐμ παραγραφῆι is not clear. For παραγραφή cf. P. Tebt. 188 καὶ προσγείνε(ται) Ἀπολλωνίωι . . . ἀπὸ παραγρα(φῆς) τοῦ Φαρμ(οῦθι) (τάλαντον) α. παραγράφειν is similarly used of entries in a list or account, e.g. P. Tebt. 5. 189, where τῶν παραγραφομένων probably means simply the sums 'entered against' the φυλακῖται, without any reference, as we formerly supposed, to false returns on their part.

41. Letter of Polemon to Harimouthes.

Mummy 13. 31·7 × 10·8 *cm.* About B.C. 261.

Another letter to Harimouthes from Polemon, notifying him of the arrival of Mnason, a δοκιμαστής, who was to collect certain arrears and sell some oil. Harimouthes is directed to obtain security for Mnason to the value of 1000 drachmae, and to assist him in the performance of his duties. The nature of the arrears in question is not stated, but very likely they too were connected with the oil-monopoly, and it is evident that Mnason was personally responsible. In other papyri in this volume the δοκιμαστής is closely associated with the τραπεζίτης (cf. **106**, introd.), but he appears here in a somewhat different capacity, though still in connexion with the royal bank (l. 25).

Πολέμων Ἁ[ριμο]ύθηι χαί-
ρειν. ἀπεστ[άλκ]αμεν πρὸς
σὲ Μνάσωνα [τὸ]ν δοκιμασ-
τὴν μετὰ φυ[λα]κῆς. διεγ-
5 γυήσας οὖ[ν] α̣ὐ̣τ̣ὸν παρα-

15 εἰσαχθῆναι πάντα, καὶ
ἡμῖν ἐπίστειλον ὅτι
παρείληφας αὐτὸν παρὰ
τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν μαχίμων
καὶ ὅτι διεγγυήσεις αὐτὸν

μονῆς (δραχμῶν ?) ʼΑ̣ ἄ̣φ̣[ε]ς̣ αὐτὸν
εἰσαγαγεῖν τὰ ὀφειλή-
ματα κα[θ]ὰ σύγκειται
πρὸς ἡμᾶ[ς,] τ̣ὸ̣ πρόστιμον
10 αὐτῶ̣ι σ̣υ̣μ̣β̣α̣λ̣ὼ̣ν̣ παρὰ σαυ-
τοῦ ο̣σ̣ο̣υ̣ . μ̣ . ἐπιτρέψει
ἀποβιάζεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ
. . . . σ̣ε̣[. .]μ̣ . . , κ̣αὶ συνεπι-
λαμβάνου αὐτῶι πρὸς τὸ

20 τῶν ʼΑ (δραχμῶν), ἐπιμέλειαν δὲ
ποίησαι ὅπως καὶ τὸ ὑπάρ-
χον ἔλαιον δι' αὐτοῦ ἤδη
πραθῆι καὶ ἡ τιμὴ ἀνα-
κομισθεῖσα πέσηι ἐπὶ τὴν
25 [βασιλικὴν] τράπεζαν.

. . . . .

On the verso

Ἁ]ριμούθηι.

'Polemon to Harimouthes, greeting. I have sent to you Mnason the controller under guard. Obtain security of 1000 drachmae for his remaining, and allow him to collect the arrears as agreed upon between us; and contribute the penalty out of your own funds. . . . Assist him also so that everything be collected, and send me word that you have received him from my soldiers and that you will obtain the security of 1000 drachmae for him; and be careful to see that the existing store of oil be now sold by him, and the price be collected and paid into the royal bank. . . (Addressed) To Harimouthes.'

4–5. διεγγυήσας . . . παραμονῆς: cf. **92–3**, which are specimens of contracts made with sureties for the appearance of accused persons. For μετὰ φυλακῆς cf. e.g. **59**. 4.

6. ἄφ[ε]ς is somewhat short for the space.

9–10. The arrears apparently involved a penalty upon Mnason himself; the precautions taken against his absconding show that he was in difficulties.

11. The traces suggest οσους μη or οσουδην; the apparent υ prevents us from reading ὅπως μή, with which ἐπιτρέψει would have to be a middle future.

13. ἡμᾶς ε[might be read at the beginning of the line.

18. For μάχιμοι in attendance upon officials cf. P. Tebt. 113. 81, &c.

21 sqq. The καί perhaps indicates that the ὀφειλήματα had arisen in connexion with the oil-industry. According to the provisions of Rev. Laws xlviii, the manufactured oil was sold to the retail traders by the οἰκονόμος and ἀντιγραφεύς, while the δοκιμαστής plays no part. But that ordinance had probably not yet been issued; and in any case the appearance of the δοκιμαστής here may be due to some special circumstances.

42. LETTER OF CALLICLES TO HARIMOUTHES.

Mummy 13. 19·8 × 8·1 *cm.* B.C. 262 (261).

This letter and **43** were written to Harimouthes by Callicles, an official superior whose title is nowhere stated. The subject of the present, rather obscure, note is the delivery of some corn which was due from Harimouthes.

Καλλικλῆς Ἁριμούθηι
χαίρειν. τὸν σῖτον ὃν

ἔφης μεταβαλεῖσθα[ι]
τοῖς παρὰ τῶν σιτολό-
5 γων ὅσομ μὲν ἀνενηνό-
χασι ἕως Φαῶφι λ παρα-
δεξόμεθα, τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν
ἐὰμ μὴ μεταβάλῃις
ἕως Ἀθὺρ η δώσομεν
10 Λευκίωι ἐν ὀφειλήματι.
ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) κδ
Ἀθὺρ δ.

On the verso

2nd hand Ἀθὺρ δ, παρὰ Καλλι-
κλέους περὶ τοῦ σίτου.

1st hand Ἁριμούθηι.

5. ι of ανενηνοχασι corr. from α̣. 7. ν of τον above the line.

'Callicles to Harimouthes, greeting. With regard to the corn which you said you would transfer to the agents of the sitologi, the amount which they have paid (?) up to Phaophi 30 we will accept; but the rest, if you do not transfer it before Athur 8, we shall give to Leucius as a debt. Good-bye. The 24th year, Athur 4. (Addressed) To Harimouthes. (Endorsed) Athur 4, from Callicrates concerning the corn.'

3. For μεταβάλλειν in connexion with corn cf. **45**. 6.

43. Letter of Callicles to Harimouthes.

Mummy 13. 16·7 × 8·6 *cm.* B.C. 261 (260).

A second letter from Callicles (cf. **42**) to Harimouthes, asking for some sesame to be delivered at Pela for the manufacture of oil. As the Revenue Papyrus shows, the nomarchs and toparchs were among the officials responsible for the management of that industry, so that it is natural to find Harimouthes acting in this connexion; cf. **40**, introd.

Καλλικλῆς Ἁριμούθηι
χαίρειν. σύνταξον μετρῆσ̣[αι
τὸ σήσαμον τ̣ὸ̣ ἐμ Πέλαι
Πρωτομάχωι καὶ τῶι σιτολόγ[ωι,] οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν
5 ἐν τῆι πόλει σήσαμον. ἵνα οὖν

μηθὲν ὑστερῆι τὰ ἐ[λ]αιουργῖα
φρόντισον ἵνα μὴ αἰτίας ἔχῃς
καὶ τοὺ[ς] ἐ[λ]αιουργοὺς ἀπόσ-
τειλόν μοι.

10 ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) κδ Ἐπεὶφ κ.

On the verso

2nd hand (ἔτους) κδ Ἐπεὶφ κ, παρὰ
Καλλικλέους περὶ ση-
σάμου ὥστε Πρωτομάχωι.

1st hand Ἁριμούθηι.

4. και τωι σιτολογ[ωι added above the line.

'Callicles to Harimouthes, greeting. Give orders for the sesame at Pela to be measured out to Protomachus and the sitologus, for there is no sesame at the city. Take care then that the oil-presses do not fall short, lest you be blamed; and send me the oil-makers. Good-bye. The 24th year, Epeiph 20. (Addressed) To Harimouthes. (Endorsed) The 24th year, Epeiph 20, from Callicles about sesame for Protomachus.'

5. τῆι πόλει: sc. Oxyrhynchus.

6–8. Cf. Rev. Laws xlv. 13 sqq. and, for the strictness of the rules regulating the movements of ἐλαιουργοί, *ibid.* xliv. 8 sqq.

44. LETTER OF DINON TO HARIMOUTHES.

Mummy 13. 12·4 × 33·3 *cm.* B.C. 253 (252).

A letter to Harimouthes from an official named Dinon, giving urgent orders for the native soldiers in Harimouthes' district to be sent up under a captain, and also for the dispatch of some labourers for harvesting purposes. No reason is assigned for the movement of the soldiers, and its object cannot be guessed. The document is written in a fine hand across the fibres of the papyrus.

Δείνων Ἁριμούθηι χαίρειν. ἐγράψαμέν σοι πρότερον περὶ τῶν μαχίμων
τῶν ὄντων ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ σὲ τόποις ὅπως ἀποσταλῶσιν μετὰ Βιθελμείνιος τοῦ ἡγε-
μόνος καθότι γράφει Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ διοικητής, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιγεγραμ-
μένους θεριστὰς κατὰ τὴν δοθεῖσάν σοι γραφήν, ὁρῶντες δέ σε καταραθυμοῦντα
5 ᾤιμην δεῖν καὶ νῦν ἐπιστεῖλαί σοι. ὡς ἂν οὖν λάβηις τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πάντα πάρεργα

ποιησάμενος ἀπόστειλον πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς μαχίμους ἤδη, τοὺς δὲ θεριστὰς ὡς ἂν
ἑτοίμους ποιήσηις ἐπίστειλον ἡμῖν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἔτυχεν περὶ τούτων τὴν σπουδὴν
ποιεῖται ὁ διοικητής. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λβ Μεχεὶρ ιγ.

On the verso

τοπάρχηι	(in demotic)	Ἁριμούθηι
10 τῆς κάτω	*Mecheir* 14	

In the reverse direction, above Ἁριμούθηι,

2nd hand Μεχὶρ ιδ̣,
περὶ μαχίμων
καὶ θεριστῶν.

1. ν of των corr. from μ. 2. ει of βιθελμεινιος corr. from η. 3. σε was inserted above και and again crossed out. 4. σε added above the line. 9. ι of τοπαρχηι corr. from ς.

'Dinon to Harimouthes, greeting. I have written to you before concerning the native soldiers in the district under you, that they be sent with Bithelminis the captain in compliance with the letter of Apollonius the dioecetes, and similarly that the harvesters be sent who have been levied in accordance with the list given to you; but seeing that you are negligent I thought it my duty to send to you instructions again now. Therefore as soon as you receive this letter put everything else aside and send me the soldiers at once, and so soon as you can get the harvesters ready let me know; for the dioecetes is showing no ordinary anxiety with regard to this. Good-bye. The 32nd year, Mecheir 13. (Addressed) To Harimouthes, toparch of the lower toparchy. (Endorsed) Mecheir 14, concerning soldiers and harvesters.'

3. This is the same Apollonius who is mentioned in **95**. 10, **110**. 43 *al.*, P. Petrie II. 4 (3). 1, &c. The earliest date at which he is known to have held the office of dioecetes is the 27th year of Philadelphus (Rev. Laws xxxviii. 3; cf. P. Amh. II. 33. 28 and 37); the latest is supplied by the present document (32nd year, Mecheir 13).
ἐπιγεγραμμένους indicates compulsory labour; cf. **47**. 12.

45. Letter of Leodamas to Lysimachus.

Mummy A 16. 12·7 × 7·5 *cm.* B.C. 257 (256). destroyed

This and the following five documents (**46–50**) are all letters written by Leodamas, an official connected with the corn-revenues, probably in the Oxyrhynchite nome since the Oxyrhynchite village Sephtha is mentioned in

45. 5. Four of the letters (**45–8**) are addressed to a subordinate called Lysimachus, who seems to have been specially concerned with the collection and transport of grain; and the correspondence, which covers the 28th to the 30th years of Philadelphus, consists chiefly of instructions on official matters. Leodamas was a careless writer, and mistakes are more frequent than usual at this period of comparatively correct Greek.

In **45** on reaching the bottom of the papyrus Leodamas turned it over and finished his letter on the verso; cf. **48**.

Λεω[δάμ]α̣[ς] Λ̣[υ]σ̣ι̣μ̣[άχωι
{Λυσιμαχωι} χαίρειν.
ὡς ἂ[ν] λάβητε τὴν ἐ̣[πι-
[στολὴ]ν παραγίνεσθε
5 [ἵν]α [τ]ὸν ἐν Σέφθαι σῖτον
μεταβάλ[ησ]θε πρὸ τοῦ
το̣ . . . τ̣ο̣ ἐμβαλεῖν,
καὶ εἴ τι κερμάτιον
λελογεύκατε φέρε-
10 τε εὐθέως. καὶ τὰ
λοιπὰ πειρᾶσθε
συνάγειν, καὶ μὴ
ὑπολιμπάνεσθε,
καὶ τὸν παρὰ Φίλωνος
15 σῖτον ὅπως μηθὲν
ὑπολείψεσθε ἐν αὐ-
τῶι ἀλλὰ πάντα παρα-
μετρήσασθε. καὶ ὅπως
μ̣ὴ̣ λογεύσετε παρευ̣ρ̣έ̣σ̣[ε]ι

On the verso

20 μ̣η̣δ̣ε̣μ̣ι̣ᾶ̣ι̣ τὸ α̣ρ̣ . [. ι]κὸν
καὶ ι̣π̣π̣ιατρικόν, [ἀ]λλ' εἴ
τι λελογεύκατε κ̣α̣τ̣α-
χωρίσατε ε̣ἰ̣ς̣ τὸ χ̣ω̣μ̣α-
τικόν. [ἔρ]ρ̣ω̣σ̣ο̣.
25 (ἔτους) κη Χ̣ο̣ί̣[α]χ.

Λ̣υ̣[σιμάχ]ω̣ι̣.

6. ου of του corr. from ων?

'Leodamas to Lysimachus, greeting. As soon as you receive this letter, come here in order to transfer the corn at Sephtha before lading . . . , and if you have collected any money bring it at once, and try to levy the rest, and do not leave any arrears; and take care that you do not leave the corn from Philon still owing from him, but secure payment of everything, and take care that on no pretext whatever you collect the . . . and horse-doctors-tax; but if you have collected anything credit it to the embankments-tax. Good-bye. The 28th year, Choiak. (Addressed) To Lysimachus.'

14. Φίλωνος: he is also mentioned in **47**. 6 and **49**. 10.

21. A tax for doctors at this period, called ἰατρικόν, is known, e.g. from **102**; but an impost for maintaining veterinary surgeons is new. The reading ἱππιατρικόν is nearly certain, but that of the first three letters of the tax which is coupled with it is very doubtful. ι or φ can be read in place of ρ.

23. χωματικόν: cf. **112**. 13, note.

46. Letter of Leodamas to Lysimachus.

Mummy A 16. 13·1 × 6·2 *cm.* B.C. 258 (257).

Another letter from Leodamas to Lysimachus on official matters; cf. **45**, introd.

Λεωδάμας Λυσ[ι-
μάχωι χαίρειν.
ὅ τι ἂν πρῶτον λο-
γεύσῃς δὸς Κράτη-
5 *τι τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ν[αύ-*
λου (δραχμὰς) οε ὑπολογή-
σας (δραχμὰς) δ, καὶ σύμβο-
λον ποίησαι ἀπέ-
χοντα αὐτὸν τὰς
10 *οε πλήρεις. καὶ*
τοὺς λοιποὺς οὐκ εἰσ-
πράσσεις ἀλλὰ ῥα-
θυμᾶιτε. ἔδει δὲ
πάλαι τὰ ἐνέχυ-
15 *ρα αὐτῶν ὧδε εἶν[αι*
καὶ πεπράσθαι. ἔτι οὖν
καὶ νῦν ἢ τὸ ἀργύριον
εἰσάγετε ἢ τὰ ἐνέχυ-
ρα αὐτῶν ἀποστέλ-
20 *λετε ὅπως πραθῇ.*
ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) κη Παῶπι κ.
A line erased.

On the verso

Λυσιμάχωι.

11. *σε* of *εισπρασσεις* corr. from *εσ*. 12. l. *ῥαθυμεῖτε*.

'Leodamas to Lysimachus, greeting. As soon as ever you collect anything, pay Crates the rest of the freight charges, 75 drachmae, subtracting 4 drachmae; and get a receipt stating that he has received the 75 drachmae in full. You do not exact payment from the others, but are neglectful. Their securities ought to have been here long ago and sold; now therefore at length either collect the money or send their securities to be sold. Good-bye. The 28th year, Phaophi 20. (Addressed) To Lysimachus.'

47. Letter of Leodamas to Lysimachus.

Mummy A 16. 22·6 × 7·3 *cm.* B.C. 256 (255).

Another letter to Lysimachus from Leodamas, giving him various directions concerning his official duties. The letter is written with more than usual carelessness, syllables and even whole words being sometimes omitted, and the

damaged surface of the papyrus renders several passages very difficult to decipher.

Λεωδάμας Λυσιμά-
χωι χαίρειν. Δημητρί-
ου τοῦ τοῦ Παρμενίω-
νος υἱοῦ σύνταξον τοὺ[ς
5 καρποὺς πάντας συνε-
χές, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τ[ῶ]ν
ἄλλων τῶν [.]τ[.]εκαι[. . . ,
συντέτακται γὰρ ἤδη
ἕως τοῦ Πανήμου μηνό[ς,
10 ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τῶν λοι-
πῶν ἕως τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ,
θερίζειν δὲ καὶ ἀμᾶν
καὶ λεπταγίοις . υντασ[. .
. [.]αν οἷς καθηκας. εἰ δέ
15 τις πυρὸς πα[ρ]έστηκεν κα-
θαρὸς παρ' [ὡι]τινιοῦν ἀπο-
[δ]οῦ ἵνα τιμ[ὴν .] . ρ . [.] .
σωμεν τῶν γινομέν[ω]ν
τῶν ἐπανάγκων, τῶν
20 δὲ λοιπῶν μ[. .] . αχρου,
χρεία γάρ ἐστιν μα . . ικου.
καὶ ὄλυραν δὲ κ[αὶ κρ]ιθὴν
ἑτοίμαζε ἵνα [παραμ]ετρή-
σωμεν εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν.
25 καὶ τοὺς μόσχους τοὺς πα-
ρὰ Φίλωνος τοῦ Λυσανί⟨ου⟩ καὶ
τὸν παρὰ Φίλωνος καὶ Σπο-
κέους εἰ μὲν ἀπέσ⟨ταλ⟩κας εἰς
Δικωμίαν, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀπόσ-
30 τειλον τ . . . ν ἤδη ἵνα
ἀποδοθῶσιν Λυκομήδῃ,
οὕτω γὰρ συντέταχεν.
καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπό-
στειλον Δημητρίω[ι
35 ἐν τάχει ἵνα μὴ παῖς
ἀποσταλῇ. ἔρρωσο.
(ἔτους) κθ Μεχεὶρ κ.

On the verso

Λυσιμάχω[ι.

12. ζ of θεριζειν corr. 15. τ of πα[ρ]εστηκεν above θ (?) erased. 20. ω of λοιπων corr. from ι or ρ.

'Leodamas to Lysimachus, greeting. Give instructions to (collect?) the crops of the son of Parmenion unremittingly, and likewise those of the others . . . since instructions have already been given to do so by the month of Panemus, and likewise those of the rest up to the full number, and to mow and reap them and . . . If there is any sifted wheat to hand with any one, sell it in order that we may pay over the value of the necessary dues, but . . . the rest, for it is wanted . . . ; and prepare both olyra and barley in order that we may measure it to the State. With regard to the calves from Philon son of Lysanias and the calf from Philon and Spokes, if you have sent them to Dicomia (it is well); but if not send them at once that they may be delivered to Lycomedes, for those are his instructions. And send the letter to Demetrius immediately in order that a slave may not be sent. Good-bye. The 29th year, Mecheir 20. (Addressed) To Lysimachus.'

4. It is not clear whether σύνταξον governs καρποὺς or an infinitive is to be supplied. On the former hypothesis σύνταξον might mean 'assess,' a sense which would suit this context but is rare, and, in view of both the other instances of συντάσσειν in ll. 8 and 32, where the ordinary meaning 'instruct' is appropriate, and the frequency of σύνταξον followed by an infinitive (e. g. **39**. 2), decidedly difficult, especially as the infinitives in l. 12 seem to depend on σύνταξον. It seems preferable, therefore, to supply an infinitive meaning 'collect' or 'assess'; cf. the omission in l. 29.

9. Panemus corresponded approximately to Pauni at this period; cf. App. i. The action which Lysimachus was told to perform had to be carried out before the end of the harvest.

13. λεπταγίοις seems to be equivalent to λεπτογείοις, meaning 'barren land.' The beginning of the next word suggests only ὕνις, 'plough-share,' but the third letter is certainly τ, and probably σ has been omitted and the word is some form of συντάσσειν.]αν in l. 14 is the termination of an infinitive, perhaps ἀ[μ]ᾶν (cf. l. 12), but the first letter could be almost anything.

17. The verb following τιμὴν very likely began with παρα, possibly π]αρα[στ]ή|σωμεν.

20.]. αχρου is probably the termination of an imperative following μ[ή: but the form seems to be erroneous.

23. [παραμ]ετρήσωμεν: cf. **45**. 17 παραμετρήσασθε.

29. Δικωμίαν: this village (cf. Τρικωμία in the Arsinoite nome) is not otherwise known. Leodamas has omitted the apodosis to εἰ μὲν . . . Δικωμίαν. αποσ|τ . . . must be meant for ἀπόστειλον, but it is difficult to reconcile the vestiges of the termination with ειλον. Perhaps Leodamas made a mistake and wrote αποστ . . . . τειλον.

35. παῖς: or Πάις; cf. **112**. 57, P. Petrie III. 65 (*a*). 1.

36. Possibly ἀποσταλῇ[ι], but Leodamas generally omits ι adscript with subjunctives, e.g. **46**. 4 and 20.

48. Letter of Leodamas to Lysimachus.

Mummy A (probably 16). 11·5 × 7·1 *cm*. B.C. 255 (254).

Another letter from Leodamas to Lysimachus, asking for information with regard to advances of seed-corn. After concluding the letter with the customary salutation and date, Leodamas changed his mind and erased them, continuing the letter on the verso; cf. **45**. The writing on the recto is across the fibres.

Λεωδάμα[ς] Λυσι[μ]άχωι
χαίρειν. τὰ σπέρμα-
τα τῶν διηγγυημέ-
νων κλήρων τίνι γρά-
5 ψ[α]ς ἔδωκας; οὐ γὰρ
εὑρίσκω ἐν τοῖς βυ-
βλίοις. πάλιν οὖν γρά-

ψας αὐτῶν τῶν σπερ-
μάτων ἀπόστειλόν
10 μοι ἤδη, καὶ δὸς τῶι
παρ' Ἀντιπάτρου, ἐὰν
δὲ μὴ καταλαμμάνῃς
ἄλλωι̣ δὸς ἵνα μὴ ἐπι-
κωλύωμαι τὸν λόγον
15 συνθεῖναι. [[ερρωσο (ετους) λ]]
[[Μεσορ(η) κη]]

On the verso

καὶ ὡσα̣ύ̣τ̣ως μετρη-
4 obliterated lines.
22 ἔ̣ρ̣ρ̣ω̣σ[ο̣] (ἔτους) λ Μεσορ(ὴ) κη.

8. l. τὰ σπέρματα. 12. l. καταλαμβάνῃς.

'Leodamas to Lysimachus, greeting. To whom did you give in writing the seed for the holdings which have been taken in pledge? I cannot find the entry in the books. Write another list, therefore, of the seed issued for them and send it to me at once; and give it to the agent of Antipater or, if you cannot catch him, to some one else, that I may not be prevented from making up my account. Likewise measure . . . Good-bye. The 30th year, Mesore 28.'

3. διηγγυημένων κλήρων: for an example of a deed placing a κλῆρος in pledge cf. Wilcken, *Aktenstücke*, no. 11.

49. Letter of Leodamas to Laomedon.

Mummy A 16. 11·2 × 8·6 *cm*. About B.C. 257.

A short letter from Leodamas to Laomedon, another of his subordinates, giving him directions about the transport of corn and olives. The reference to the latter is interesting, since olives are not mentioned either in Rev. Laws or in the Petrie papyri.

Λεωδάμας Λαομέδοντι [χαί-
ρειν. πορεύθητι οὗ ἂν ἀκού[σῃις
Λυσίμαχον καὶ ἐπισπούδασον ὅπως

ἂν ὁ σῖτος ἐμβληθῆι ὅτι τάχ[ι]σ[τα
5 κ̣α̣ὶ̣ συνκατάγαγε μεθ᾽ αὐτοῦ.
ε[ἶπ]ον δὲ αὐτῶι καθάπερ ἔγρα-
ψα [α]ὐ̣τῶι ὅπως ἂν ἐμβάληται
τὰς ἐλαίας εἰς βίκους ἢ εἰς μώια,
καὶ πειρᾶσθε ὡς ἀκοπωτάτας
10 καταγαγεῖν, καὶ παρὰ Φίλωνος
τοῦ Λυσανίου ὑπόμνησον ὅπως ἂν
λάβηι τὰς ἐλαίας τὰς κα̣λ̣ὰ̣ς̣
καθάπερ αὐτῶι ἔγραψα.
ἔρρωσο.

On the verso

15 εἰ[ς] τ̣[ὴ]ν̣ π̣ό̣λ̣ιν Λαομέ̣δ̣[ο]ν̣τ̣[ι
πα . . . [. . .

5. l. μετ᾽. 8. ω of μωια above the line.

'Leodamas to Laomedon, greeting. Go to whatever place you hear that Lysimachus is at, and take care that the corn is embarked as quickly as possible, and bring it down with him. Tell him that, as I wrote to him, he is to put the olives into jars or μώια for embarkation, and try to bring them as unbroken as possible. Remind him that he is to receive from Philon son of Lysanias the fine olives, as I wrote to him. Good-bye. (Addressed) To Laomedon . . ., at the city.'

2. πορεύθητι: the reading of the penultimate letter is very doubtful, but it is as much like τ as θ, which is the only likely alternative.

8. μώια are receptacles of some kind, either boxes or jars; cf. P. Petrie III. 65 (*b*). 6 and P. Grenf. I. 14. 13–16, βῖκοι occurring both times in the same context, as here. From P. Grenf. I. 14 it appears that a small μώιον could contain 6 πύξινα, and that 2 μώια of Parian marble could be inside a lamp-stand. μώστια, which are mentioned in P. Grenf. I. 14. 5 immediately after a βῖκος, seem to be allied to μώια, which are also found in ostraca (e.g. Sayce, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, xxiii, p. 214) as a measure of ἄχυρον; cf. the μουεῖ(ον) in P. Oxy. 146. 3.

15. The πόλις is probably Oxyrhynchus; cf. **45**, introd.

50. LETTER OF LEODAMAS TO THEODORUS.

Mummy A 16. 8·8 × 8 *cm.* About B.C. 257.

A short letter from Leodamas (cf. **45**, introd.) to Theodorus, another official, giving him instructions about the delivery of olyra to Lysimachus. The date is probably the 28th or 29th year of Philadelphus.

[Λε]ω[δ]άμας Θεοδώρωι
[χαίρ]ειν. ἀνενηνόχαμεν εἰς τὸ
βασιλικὸν ὀλυρ(ῶν) (ἀρτάβας) Ἀωλδβ΄.
σ̣ὺ [ο]ὖν ὑπολιπόμενος σαυτῶι
5 ταύτην τὴν ὄλυραν τὴν
λοιπὴν ἀπομέτρησον Λυσιμά-
χωι ἵνα . . . η̣τ̣α̣[. . . . .
ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) κ[.

On the verso

Θεοδώρωι.

2. νε of ανενηνοχαμεν above the line. 6. ω of λυσιμαχωι corr. from ου.

'Leodamas to Theodorus, greeting. I have paid over (?) to the State $1834\frac{2}{3}$ artabae of olyra. Do you therefore leave this olyra for yourself and measure out the rest to Lysimachus, that it may be . . . Good-bye. The 2[.]th year . . . (Addressed) To Theodorus.'

51. Letter of Demophon to Ptolemaeus.

Mummy A 9. 9·9 × 35 *cm.* B.C. 245 (244).

The following twelve documents (**51–62**; cf. **167–8**), which are dated in the closing years of the reign of Philadelphus or the first few years of his successor, are all addressed to Ptolemaeus, the holder of some minor post in the Oxyrhynchite nome. His title is not mentioned, but his sphere was a village (**59**. 11), where he apparently exercised the functions of an officer of police (**59–62**), and had also financial duties (**51**. 2–4, **58**. 7). He was probably subordinate to the archiphylacites (**56**, introd.), and may have been a phylacites. Whatever his position, he did not always fill it to the satisfaction of his superiors, and on more than one occasion he received a reprimand (**56**. 7–8, **59**. 9–12).

In the present letter, as also in **52–3**, the correspondent of Ptolemaeus is Demophon, who here sends instructions for the collection of dues upon green crops and for the purchase of 'Syrian cloths' (cf. note on l. 3), in accordance with an order, a copy of which is enclosed, from Apollodotus, a higher official.

Δημοφῶν Πτολεμαίωι χαίρειν. ὑπογέγρ[απτα]ι τῆς παρ' Ἀπολλοδότου
ἐλθο̣[ύ]σης μοι ἐπιστολῆς

περὶ τῆς λογείας τῶν χλωρῶν τἀντίγραφ[ον. π]ράττε οὖν τοὺς ⟦. .⟧ πρὸς
ἀργύριο[ν] ἠγηρακότας
ἤδη καθάπερ γ[έ]γραπται, τὰς δὲ συρίας ἃς [ἐ]άν σοι παραθῶ[ν]ται [πρι]ά-
μενος λάμβανε ἀρεστὰς
τ[ι]μῶν τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) β Μεχὶρ ιβ.
5 Ἀπολλόδοτος Δημοφῶντι χαίρειν. πρὸς τῆι τῶν χλωρῶν λογείαι γί[ν]ου
ἤδη καὶ συρίας λάμβανε
ἐξ[αδρ]άχμους καὶ ἐπαλλαγῆς τοῦ ἡμίσους τῶν δ (δραχμῶν) (ὀβολὸν) (ἡμιω-
βέλιον), τοσοῦτο γὰρ ἔκκειται ἐγ βασιλικοῦ. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) β
Μεχὶρ ιβ.

On the verso

Πτολεμαίωι.

2. l. ἠγορακότας.

'Demophon to Ptolemaeus, greeting. Appended is a copy of the letter which has come to me from Apollodotus about the collection of green-stuffs. Do you therefore exact payment now from the purchasers on the silver standard, in accordance with his instructions; and any Syrian cloths that may be deposited with you accept, if satisfactory, and buy at the prices below written. Good-bye. The 2nd year, Mecheir 12.

'Apollodotus to Demophon, greeting. Take in hand now the collection of the green-stuffs, and accept Syrian cloths at 6 drachmae with an agio on half the sum at the rate of 1½ obols in 4 drachmae, for that is the rate published by the government. Good-bye. The 2nd year, Mecheir 12.

'(Addressed) To Ptolemaeus.'

2. By the λογεία τῶν χλωρῶν, as the following sentence shows, is meant the collection of the value of the green crops, not the crops themselves. What these particular χλωρά were and who are signified by τοὺς πρὸς ἀργύριον ἠγορακότας is, however, obscure. The latter phrase rather suggests the farming of a tax, and seeing that **52–3**, which are also letters from Demophon to Ptolemaeus, not improbably refer to the ἐννόμιον, that impost might be supposed to be also the subject here. Or the χλωρά may well be the produce of royal domains sown with this class of crops, the share of which accruing to the government as rent had been sold; cf. P. Tebt. 27. 54 sqq. μηθένα τῶν γεωργούντων τὴν βασιλικὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἀφέσει [γῆν] ἐφάψεσθαι τῶν χλωρῶν πλὴν . . . τῶν ἐγδιοικηθησομ[ένων] ὧν αἱ τειμαὶ καὶ τούτων αἱ ἀσφάλε[ιαι δο]θεῖσαι κατατεθήσονται ἐπὶ [τ]ῶν τραπεζῶ[ν] πρὸς τὰ καθήκοντα εἰς τὸ βα[σιλικόν]. If ἐγδιοικηθησομένων there means 'to be collected' as the analogy of other passages suggests, the expression would be very similar to λογεία τῶν χλωρῶν in **51**.

3. συρίας: cf. Hesych. συρία· ἡ παχεῖα χλαῖνα, ἤτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ σισύρνης, ἢ ὅτι ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ γίνεται, οὗτοι δὲ Σύροι, and Pollux 7. 61 ἣν δὲ συρίαν οἱ πολλοί, ταύτην αὐτόποκον ἱμάτιον οἱ κωμικοί. Besides **38**. 7 συρίαι are mentioned in a mutilated papyrus of about this period belonging to Dr. Mahaffy, Ἀκέστωρ δὲ ὁ οἰκονόμος [ὑπ]άρχειν συρίας προδοθῆναι ἑκάστωι εἰς [ ]ν (δραχμ) ι. The συρίαι were apparently included among the fabrics monopolized by the government, the producers of such fabrics, as is shown by **67–8**, being paid on a scale similar to that

fixed in the present passage. The mention of an ἐπαλλαγή in l. 6 is another point of connexion between the three documents. In **67** and **68** the rate of the ἀλλαγή or ἐπαλλαγή is $\frac{3}{4}$ obol to the stater, while here it is $1\frac{1}{2}$ obols to the stater, reckoned upon half the amount, which comes to the same thing.

παραθῶνται: cf. Rev. Laws xliv. 5, &c.

52. Letter of Demophon to Ptolemaeus.

Mummy A (probably A 9). Fr. (*a*) 11·7 × 25, Fr. (*b*) 10·2 × 9·8 *cm*. About B.C. 245.

Another letter from Demophon to Ptolemaeus (cf. **51**, introd.), enclosing a list of persons who are generally assessed at the rate of 1 drachma 4 obols per aroura (a lower rate occurring in l. 23). Owing to the incompleteness of the introductory letter the purport of the whole document is somewhat obscure; but apparently the list refers to the amounts payable by certain inhabitants of Tholthis, a village of the Oxyrhynchite nome, who had pastured their flocks upon Crown lands in various parts of the lower toparchy. Whether the impost in question is connected with the λογεία χλωρῶν in **51**. 2, or is identical with the tax called ἐννόμιον (**132**; cf. P. Petrie III. 109 (*a*)) or εἰς τὰς νομάς, levied for use of the royal pastures (Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 191 and 265), is not clear. From references in receipts for ἐννόμιον to the number of the sheep Wilcken (*l. c.*) infers that that impost was proportionate to the number of sheep turned out to graze, whereas in **52** the tax is clearly proportionate to the area of the pasturage. The terms of the introductory letter in **52**, especially the references to the 'using up' of the pastures and the securities to be obtained in consequence, suggest that the proceedings of the persons mentioned in the list had been irregular (cf. P. Tebt. 66. 75 sqq.); but this hypothesis does not accord very well with **53**, another letter from Demophon to Ptolemaeus enclosing a precisely similar list of persons who are mostly assessed at 1 drachma 4 obols on the aroura (cf. **130**, a fragment of a third document of the same character). The phrase προσάγγελμα τῆς πρώτης δεχημέρου applied to the list in **53**. 2 recalls the terminology employed in regard to the collection of ordinary taxes, and on the whole it seems preferable to identify the payments in **52** and **53** with the ἐννόμιον.

In ll. 24–33, which are on a separate fragment, Demophon's handwriting is smaller, and perhaps this piece, which in any case is not part of Cols. i or ii, belongs to **130** or another similar list, though not to **53**.

Fr. (*a*). Col. i.

[Δ]ημοφῶν Πτολεμαίωι χαίρειν.

[ὑπ]ογέγραφά σοι τῶν ἀπὸ Θώλθεως

[οἳ κα]τανενεμήκασιν ἐκ τῆς βασι-
[λικῆς] γῆς τῆς ἐν τῆι κάτω το-
5 [παρχίαι τὰ ὀν]ό̣μ̣α̣τ̣α̣ κ̣α̣[ὶ τὰ
π̣λήθη κ̣[αὶ ὧ]ν̣τινων κλήρων
ἀποκέχρηνται ταῖς νομαῖς. σὺ
οὖν πειρῶ ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα
διεγγυῆσαι ὅπως μηθὲν δι[ά-
10 πτωμα ἐξ ὑστέρου γίνη[ται,
ο̣ἶμ̣α̣ι̣ γ̣ά̣ρ̣ σ̣ε̣ . . . . ν . [.]δια̣[.
. . . .

Col. ii.

[. . .]ο̣σ̣ω̣ς Βαρκαῖος ἰδι(ώτης) ὡσαύτως (δραχμαὶ) ιϛ (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον),
Π[. . .]ιας Κυρηναῖος τῆς ἐπιγονῆς (δραχμαὶ) θ (δυόβολοι),
Δ̣[η]μ̣ήτριος Φίλωνος Κυρηναῖος τῆς
15 [ἐπι]γονῆς (δραχμαὶ) η (πεντώβολον) (τέταρτον),
[.] . ν̣ . . Τ[ε]ῶτος ποιμὴν καὶ Πετερ-
μοῦθις Κομοάπιος (δραχμαὶ) θ (τέταρτον),
Ὧρος Πνᾶτος ἱερεὺς γόητος ιϛ (ὀβολὸς) (ἡμιωβέλιον),
ἄλλας ὁ αὐτὸς (ἀρούρας) β (δραχμαὶ) γ (δυόβολοι),
20 Πετοσεῖρις Φαυῆτος καὶ Πετοσεῖρις
Πασιγώνιος καὶ Ἱππόλυσος (ἀρούρας) βδʹ (δραχμαὶ) γ (πεντώβολον),
ἄλλας Πετοσεῖρις Αὐφμωῦτος ἀράκου
[ἀ]ρούρας ε (δραχμαὶ) ε (τριώβολον),
. . . .

19. This line was inserted later. 22. ειρις of πετοσειρις above the line.

Fr. (*b*).

. . . .

[. . . . . τῆς ἐ]π̣ιγον[ῆς
25 [ἀράκου (ἀρούρας)] ιε (δραχμαὶ) κ̣[. .
[ἐκ τοῦ Πτολ]εμαίου Πραξίας Καλλιδρ[όμου
[. . . . . τῆς] ἐπιγονῆς ἀράκ(ου) (ἀρούρας) ϛ ἀν(ὰ) α (τετρώβολον) (δραχμαὶ) ι,

[. . . . .]ο̣[. .]ς ἀρά(κου) ιδ ἀν(ὰ) α (τετρώβολον) (δραχμαὶ) κγ (δυόβολοι),
[. . . . .]τος καὶ Ἁρμιῦσις ποιμένες
30 [. . . . .] . ἀρά(κου) (ἀρούρας) ι (δραχμαὶ) ις (τετρώβολον),
[. . . . .]ρχώνσιος ἀρά(κου) (ἄρουραν) α (δραχμὴ) α (τετρώβολον),
[. . . . .] Π̣α̣οῦτος γεωργὸς
[. . . . .]α . (πυροῦ) β∠.

'Demophon to Ptolemaeus, greeting. I have written below the names of the inhabitants of Tholthis who have used pasturage in the Crown land in the lower toparchy, and the amounts, and the holdings in which they have used up the pastures. Do you therefore try to obtain as good security as possible, in order that there may be no subsequent loss, for I think that you . . .

'. . . os, Barcean, private, likewise 17 dr. 4½ ob.; P . . . ias, Cyrenean of the Epigone, 9 dr. 2 ob.; Demetrius son of Philon, Cyrenean of the Epigone, 8 dr. 5¼ ob.; . . . son of Teos, shepherd, and Petermouthis son of Komoapis, 9 dr. ¼ ob.; Horus son of Pnas, priest . . . 17 dr. 1½ ob., and on 2 more arourae the same Horus 3 dr. 2 ob.; Petosiris son of Phaues and Petosiris son of Pasigonis and Hippolysus on 2¼ arourae 3 dr. 5 ob.; on 5 more arourae of aracus Petosiris son of Auphmoüs 5 dr. 3 ob., . . . In the holding of Ptolemaeus: Praxias son of Callidromos, . . . of the Epigone, on 6 arourae of aracus at 1 dr. 4 ob. 10 dr.; . . . on 14 arourae of aracus at 1 dr. 4 ob. 23 dr. 2 ob.; . . . and Harmiusis, shepherds, on 10 arourae of aracus 16 dr. 4 ob.; . . . son of . . . rchonsis on 1 aroura of aracus 1 dr. 4 ob.; . . . son of Paous, cultivator, . . . 2½ artabae of wheat.'

3. κα]τανενεμήκασιν: cf. the κατανενεμημένη in P. Tebt. 61 (*a*). 188, &c.

6. Possibly κ[αὶ ὧ]ντινων, but ν does not suit the vestiges after the lacuna very well. Cf. note on l. 26.

9. διεγγυῆσαι: the object understood is probably τοὺς ἀπὸ Θώλθεως (cf. **41**. 5 and **53**. 3), not the κλῆροι, though διηγγυημένοι κλῆροι occur in **48**. 3. ἀσφάλειαι in connexion with the revenues derived from χλωρά also occur in an obscure passage in P. Tebt. 27. 55–9; cf. **51**. 2, note.

13. (δυόβολοι): this, the early Ptolemaic expression for 2 obols, is written out in P. Petrie II. 44. 25 and the London Bilingual papyrus of Philopator's reign (*Pal. Soc.* II. 143).

18. γόητος: if this is a genitive, we must suppose the existence of a deity called 'the Wizard'; if a nominative (of an unknown form), it is a very curious epithet to apply to a priest.

26. [ἐκ τοῦ Πτολ]εμαίου: sc. κλήρου; cf. **53**. 14 and 18, and **117**. 8, note. It is probable that this κλῆρος was βασιλικός like those called βασιλικοί in **85**. 13 and **101**. 5, and really formed part of the βασιλικὴ γῆ (cf. l. 3 above), having returned to the possession of the State either at the death of the original holder (cf. **81**, introd.) or for some other reason. The name of the original holder continued, however, to be attached to it, as was still the case even in Roman times; cf. P. Oxy. 483. 5, note, and **118**. 2, note. This view of the κλῆροι βασιλικοί also suits **39**, **100**, and **119**, where the State apparently receives a rent upon such holdings, and is confirmed by **75**, which refers to the sale by government officials of part of the Φιλοξένου κλῆρος, though a difficulty arises in connexion with **99**; cf. **99**. 8, note. In **112**. 9, however, where an impost upon χλωρά is apparently found, the land seems to be really cleruchic, and the same may be true of the κλῆροι in **52**, though

the βασιλικοὶ κλῆροι are in any case to be explained as land which had reverted to State ownership.

33. The sign for $\frac{1}{2}$, here applied to an artaba, instead of being angular is semicircular and identical with that employed at this period for $\frac{1}{2}$ obol; cf. notes on **53**. 20 and **119**. 17.

53. Letter of Demophon to Ptolemaeus.

Mummy A 9. Breadth 11 *cm.* B.C. 246.

Another letter from Demophon to Ptolemaeus, dated in the last year of the reign of Philadelphus, and enclosing a list of persons at Tholthis and Mouchinaruo (in the Oxyrhynchite nome), who are for the most part rated at 1 drachma 4 obols on an aroura; cf. introd. to **52** and **130**.

[Δημοφῶ]ṇ Πτολεμαίωι χα[ί]ρειν. ἀπέσταλ-
[κά σοι] τὸ προσάγγελμα τῆς πρώτης δεχημέρου
τοῦ Ἀθύρ· πειρῶ οὖν ἀσφαλῶς διεγγυᾶν ὡς πρὸς σὲ
τοῦ λό[γ]ου ἐσομένου. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λθ Ἀθὺρ ιϛ.
5 Θω̣[λθις·] Θεόδωρος Καλλικράτους ἐκ τῆς παρειμένης (ἀρούρας) εη´ (δραχμαὶ) η (τριώβολον) (τέταρτον),
Πετεῆσις ποιμὴṇ καὶ Παυῆς ἐλαιοπώ̣λ̣ης (ἀρούρας) γ∠η´ (δραχμαὶ) ϛ (τέταρτον),
Ἁρμιῦσις Πανήσιος καὶ Πᾶσις Τεῶτος (ἀρούρας) γ (δραχμαὶ) ε,
Παυῆς Φίβιος δ´ (τριώβολον), Πασιαι̣μοῦς δ´η´ (δυόβολοι),
Ὡ̣ρ̣ο̣ς̣ Ο̣ἱμ̣ᾶτος (ἀρούρας) δ (δραχμαὶ) δ, / (ἄρουραι) ιϛδ´η´ (δραχμαὶ) κδ (δυόβολοι) (ἡμιωβέλιον).

. . . .

10 ἐκ τοῦ . [
Με̣[ν]ω̣ν[
Ω̣ρ . [.] . τ̣οσ[
/ [
ἐκ τοῦ Κυδρέους . [
15 . . . . ριων Ορ . . ξ̣[
Πευνεῆσις φυ(λακίτης) ἀράκ(ου) δ´ [(τριώβολον ?) .]αρ̣ . . . ε̣ . [.]ελ̣α̣σ̣[. . . . .
ἀράκ(ου) δ´ (τριώβολον), / ἀράκ(ου) αδ´ (δραχμαὶ ?) [β (τριώβολον) χ]όρτ̣(ου) ∠ (δραχμὴ) α, / (δραχμαὶ) γ [(τριώβολον).
ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Ὀνάρχης [. . . .] . [. .]τ[.] . αρσ̣υ̣ . [. καὶ

Εὔνομος ἐκ Μουχιναρυὼ [ἀράκ(ου) γ] (δραχμαὶ) ε.

20 Σισόις Ἁρενδώτου ∠δ′ (δραχμὴ) [α] (ὀβολὸς ?) [(ἡμιωβέλιον), Ὧ]ρος Ὥρου φυ(λακίτης)

Μουχιναρυὼ ∠ (πεντώβολον), Πετομύχιος Πετοσείριος

[Μου]χι[ν]αρυὼ ἀράκ(ου) ∠δ′ (δραχμὴ) α (ὀβολὸς ?) (ἡμιωβέλιον),

/ ἀράκ(ου) (ἄρουραι) ε (δραχμαὶ) η (δυόβολοι). / τῆς κώμης ἀράκ(ου) κβ∠η′

(δραχμαὶ) λε (ὀβολὸς) (ἡμιωβέλιον), χόρτου β∠ (δραχμαὶ) ε (ἡμιωβέλιον), / (δραχμαὶ) μ (δυόβολοι).

5. καλλικρατους added above the line. 24. The sign for δραχμαί was inserted after /μ was written.

'Demophon to Ptolemaeus, greeting. I have sent you the report of the first ten days of Athur. Do you therefore endeavour to obtain good security, knowing that you will be held accountable. Good-bye. The 39th year, Athur 16. At Tholthis: Theodorus son of Callicrates on $5\frac{1}{8}$ arourae of the concessional (?) land 8 drachmae $3\frac{1}{4}$ obols,' &c.

3. Cf. **52**. 9, note.

4. The year being the 39th must be the 'revenue' not the 'regnal' year (cf. App. ii). Athur 16 of Philadelphus' 39th regnal year would almost certainly fall within his 40th revenue year, which he did not live to enter; cf. p. 245.

5. τῆς παρειμένης: cf. P. Oxy. 713. 25 περὶ δὲ Πεεννὼ ἐκ τῆς Θρασυμάχου παρειμένης. As **53** also refers to the Oxyrhynchite nome the same land is probably meant, and παρειμένη in P. Oxy. 713 is then a survival from Ptolemaic times like the names of the κλῆροι; but the precise sense of the term is obscure.

10. Perhaps ἐκ τοῦ Π[τολεμαίου; cf. **130**, where Πτολεμαίου precedes Κυδρέους (l. 14).

17. The figures are restored from the total in l. 24; cf. note *ad loc.*

19. [ἀράκ(ου) γ] is restored from the number of drachmae, on the assumption that the rate is the usual one of 1 dr. 4 ob. on the aroura. But if 3 arourae is correct here, the items making up the number 5 in l. 23 will be complete, and therefore 'Ονάρχης and Εὔνομος must be partners.

20. The symbol for $\frac{1}{2}$ aroura here and elsewhere in this papyrus is a half-circle like that representing $\frac{1}{2}$ obol; cf. notes on **52**. 33 and **119**. 17.

23-4. The amounts of land given in ll. 9, 17, and 23 add up correctly to the total of $22\frac{5}{8}$ arourae. A half-aroura of χόρτος also occurs in l. 17, leaving only 2 arourae of χόρτος to be accounted for between ll. 9 and 14. This indicates that the loss between ll. 9 and 10, if any, is very small.

54. Letter of Demophon to Ptolemaeus.

Mummy A (probably A 9). 25 × 7·2 *cm.* About B.C. 245.

An undated letter from Demophon to Ptolemaeus (cf. **51**, introd.) on private matters. The first part of it gives some interesting instructions about the

provision of musicians for a festival at Demophon's house; then follow messages about a kid (ll. 17–9), a fugitive slave (ll. 20–3), and various articles wanted by the writer (ll. 23–8), with a postscript concerning the mode of sending them (ll. 30–2).

Δημοφῶν Πτολε-
μαίωι χαίρειν. ἀπό[σ-
τειλον ἡμῖν ἐκ παν-
τὸς τρόπου τὸν αὐ-
5 λητὴν Πετωῦν ἔχοντ[α
τούς τε Φρυγίους αὐ-
λ[ο]ὺς καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς, κ[αὶ
ἐάν τι δέηι ἀνηλῶσαι
δός, παρὰ δὲ ἡμ[ῶ]ν κọμị-
10 ị̂ṣ. ἀπόστειλον δὲ ἡ[μ]ῖν
καὶ Ζηνόβιον τὸν μαλα-
κὸν ἔχοντα τύμπανον καὶ
κύμβαλα καὶ κρόταλα, χρεί-
α γάρ ἐστι ταῖς γυναιξὶν πρὸς
15 τὴν θυσίαν· ἐχέτω δὲ
καὶ ἱματισμὸν ὡς ἀσ-
τειότατον. κόμισαι δὲ
καὶ τὸν ἔριφον παρὰ Ἀρισ-
τίωνος καὶ πέμψον ἡμῖν.
20 καὶ τὸ σῶμα δὲ εἰ συνεί-
ληφας παράδος [[αυτο]]
Σεμφθεῖ ὅπως αὐτὸ δι-
ακομίσηι ἡμῖν. ἀπόσ-
τειλον δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ τυ-
25 ροὺς ὅσους ἂν δύνηι καὶ
κέραμον κạ[ι]νὸν καὶ λά-
χανα π[αντ]ọδαπὰ καὶ
ἐὰν ὄψον τι ἔχ̣ῃ̣ι̣[ṣ.]
ἔρρ[ωσο.]
30 ἐμβαλοῦ δὲ αụ̂τ̣ạ̀ καὶ φυ-
λακίτας οἳ συνδιακομιοῦ-
σιν [[ạ]] τὸ πλοῖο[ν.]

On the verso

Πτολεμαίωι.

10. λ of αποστειλον corr. from ν.

'Demophon to Ptolemaeus, greeting. Make every effort to send me the flute-player Petoüs with both the Phrygian flutes and the rest; and if any expense is necessary, pay it, and you shall recover it from me. Send me also Zenobius the effeminate with a drum and cymbals and castanets, for he is wanted by the women for the sacrifice; and let him wear as fine clothes as possible. Get the kid also from Aristion and send it to me; and if you have arrested the slave, deliver him to Semphtheus to bring to me. Send me as many cheeses as you can, a new jar, vegetables of all kinds, and some delicacies if you have any. Good-bye. Put them on board with the guards who will assist in bringing the boat. (Addressed) To Ptolemaeus.'

11. *μαλακός* may be merely a nickname, but probably refers to the style of Zenobius' dancing. Smyly well compares Plautus, *Mil.* 668 *Tum ad saltandum non cinaedus malacus aequest atque ego.*

26. *κα[ι]νόν*: or perhaps *κενόν*. *κέραμον* can also have a collective sense, 'earthenware.'

 P Yal. 1.34

55. LETTER OF SCYTHES TO PTOLEMAEUS. at Yale

Mummy A (probably A 9). 9·3 × 12 *cm.* B.C. 250 (249).

A short letter from Scythes, a superior official, to Ptolemaeus (cf. **51**, introd.), ordering him to come to Talao, a village in the Oxyrhynchite nome (cf. P. Oxy. 265. 15), with a shepherd who was to give evidence. The writing is across the fibres.

Σκύθης Πτολεμαίωι χαίρειν.
παραγενοῦ εἰς Ταλαὼν ἤδη
ἄγων καὶ τὸν ποιμένα τὸν ἐλέγ-
ξοντα περὶ ὧν μοι εἶπας. ἐὰν δὲ
5 βρ̣α̣δ̣ύτερον ποιῆις σαυτὸν βλά-
ψει̣ς̣, [ο]ὐ̣ γ̣ὰρ σχολάζω μένειν πλείονα
χ̣ρ̣[όνον.] ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λε Χοίαχ̣ ς̣.

On the verso

Πτολεμαίωι.

'Scythes to Ptolemaeus, greeting. Come to Talao at once, and bring with you the shepherd in order that he may give evidence in the matter about which you told me. If you are remiss you will injure yourself, for I have no leisure to remain longer. Goodbye. The 35th year, Choiak 6. (Addressed) To Ptolemaeus.'

– P Yale 1.35

56. LETTER OF PATRON TO PTOLEMAEUS. at Yale

Mummy A 9. 12·1 × 4·6 *cm.* B.C. 249 (248).

A peremptory note to Ptolemaeus from Patron, perhaps the ἀρχιφυλακίτης mentioned in **34**. 1 and **73**. 9–10, ordering him not to molest a certain Nicostratus; cf. **59**. 9–12 and introd. to **51**.

Πάτρων Πτολε-
[μα]ίωι χαίρειν. παρα-
γενόμενος πρὸς
ἡμ̣ᾶ̣ς̣ Ἴλων ἔφη εἰσ-
5 πράσσειν σε Νικό-

στρατον ἐκ Κόβα
(δραχμὰς) β. σὺ οὖν μὴ ἐνό-
χλει [α]ὐτόν. ⟦ου⟧
7 lines erased.
ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λζ
10 *Φαῶφι ιζ.*

On the verso

Πτολεμαίωι.

'Patron to Ptolemaeus, greeting. Ilon has come to me and said that you were exacting 2 drachmae from Nicostratus of Koba. Do not molest him. Good-bye. The 37th year, Phaophi 17. (Addressed) To Ptolemaeus.'

6. Κόβα was in the Κωίτης τόπος (cf. p. 8); but Nicostratus must have been for the time being in the Oxyrhynchite nome, since he had come within reach of Ptolemaeus. Whether this Κόβα is identical with the village called Κόμα in the Roman and Byzantine periods (p. 8, P. Oxy. 142 and 150) is doubtful.

9–10. These two lines are over the erasure.

57. Letter of Dionysodorus (?) to Ptolemaeus.

Mummy A 8. 7·7 × 32·2 *cm.* B.C. 247.

A letter to Ptolemaeus ordering a person who had brought the writer a petition to be sent to him. The writer's name is doubtful, but is perhaps Dionysodorus, as in **58**. The writing is across the fibres.

Δ̣ι̣[ο]ν̣υ[σόδωρος Π]τ[ο]λεμαίωι χαίρειν. ὡς ἂν λάβηις τὴν ἐπιστ[ο]λ[ὴ]ν̣ ἀ̣νάπ[εμψον
πρὸς ἡμᾶς [Δημή]τριον τὸν κομίσανθ' ἡμῖν κατ' Εὐαγόρου ἔντευξιν εἰς Ἀλ[εξαν-
δρείας παρε̣[. . . .]ν̣.
ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λη Πανήμου [.]

On the verso

5 *Πτ[ο]λεμαίωι.*

'Dionysodorus to Ptolemaeus, greeting. As soon as you receive this letter send to me Demetrius who brought me a petition against Evagoras to the . . . of Alexandria. Good-bye. The 38th year, Panemus . . (Addressed) To Ptolemaeus.'

3. There is not room for παρε[μβολή]ν.

4. Panemus at this period probably coincided approximately with Epeiph (cf. App. i), in which month the numbers of Philadelphus' regnal years were still one in arrear of those of the revenue years; cf. **80**. 13–4, note. Since **57** is dated by the Macedonian calendar, Panemus-Epeiph would be expected to fall within the 38th regnal rather than the 38th revenue year; cf. p. 367. But it is difficult to refer Panemus-Epeiph to the 39th revenue year, for Philadelphus was almost certainly dead before that date; cf. p. 364.

58. Letter of Dionysodorus to Ptolemaeus.

Mummy A 9. 19·5 × 7·5 *cm.* B.C. 245–4 (244–3).

A letter to Ptolemaeus from Dionysodorus, asking for an advance of 8 drachmae. If this Dionysodorus was also the writer of **57**, he was the official superior of Ptolemaeus.

Διονυσ[όδω]ρος Πτολε-
[μαί]ωι χαίρειν. ὡς ἂν
τ[ὴ]ν ἐπ[ισ]τολὴν λάβηις
δὸς Τε[λ]έστωι τῶι παρὰ
5 Διοδότου τοῦ . [.]κλ . .
δωτου ἀφ' οὗ λελό-
γευκας ἀργυρίου (δραχμὰς) η, τοῦ-
το δέ σοι προσδέξομαι.
ἀναδέδεκται γὰρ
10 ἡμῖν ἀπομετρήσειν
σῖτον. μὴ οὖν ἄλλως
ποιήσηι[ς.
ἔρρωσ[ο. (ἔτους)] γ [. . . .
[

7. αργυριου added above the line.

'Dionysodorus to Ptolemaeus, greeting. As soon as you receive this letter give Telestus the agent of Diodotus son of . . . 8 drachmae of silver out of what you have collected, and for this sum I will be responsible (?) to you; for he has undertaken to measure us out some corn. So do not neglect this. Good-bye. The 3rd year . . .'

8. προσδέξομαι: cf. P. Petrie III. 64 (*b*). 6 (ἐξεδέξατο) and 81 (*b*). 1.

59. Letter of Zenodorus to Ptolemaeus.

Mummy A 9. 17·2 × 8·8 *cm.* About B.C. 245.

A letter from Zenodorus to Ptolemaeus, directing him to send up a woman who had been found in the illicit possession of a quantity of oil, and adding a sharp warning to Ptolemaeus himself. A Zenodorus is known from an unpublished Hibeh papyrus to have been oeconomus of one of the toparchies of the Oxyrhynchite nome at this period, and he is probably to be identified with the writer of this and the following letter; cf. also **60** and **124–7**.

Ζηνόδωρος Πτολεμαίωι
χαίρειν. ὡς ἂν λάβηις
τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπόσ-
τειλον πρὸς ἡμᾶς μετὰ
5 φυλακῆ[ς] τὴν παραδο-
θεῖσάν σοι ἔχουσαν τὸ
κ̣λ̣έπιμον ἔλαιον
καὶ τὸν παραδόντα σ̣ο̣ι̣
ἀπόστειλο[ν]· κ]αὶ εἰ μὴ
10 παύσει κ̣[α]κοποῶν
ἐν τῆι κώμη[ι] μεταμε-
λή[σ]ει σοι.
ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) [.] Ἐπεὶφ ι.

On the verso

Π]τ[ο]λεμαίωι.

'Zenodorus to Ptolemaeus, greeting. As soon as you receive this letter, send to us under guard the woman who was delivered to you with the contraband oil in her possession, and send also the person who delivered her to you; and if you do not stop your malpractices in the village you will repent it. Good-bye. The . . year, Epeiph 10. (Addressed) To Ptolemaeus.'

7. κλέπιμον: this adjective is unknown, but is a much more satisfactory reading here than κλόπιμον. The same word is no doubt to be recognized in Rev. Laws lv. 20 ἐὰν δὲ . . . βο[ύλ]ωνται ζητεῖν φάμε[νοι ἔλ]αιον παρά τ[ισι]ν ὑπάρχειν κλ[έπ]ιμον, which suits the sense far better than κά[ρπι]μον. On the smuggling of oil cf. also P. Tebt. 38 and 39.

60. Letter of Zenodorus to Ptolemaeus.

Mummy A 9. 12·8 × 7 *cm.* About B.C. 245.

Another order from Zenodorus to Ptolemaeus (cf. **59**) for the arrest of a man named Ctesicles if he failed to make a payment within a certain period.

Ζηνόδωρος Πτολεμαίωι
χαίρειν. ἐὰμ μὴ ἀποσ-
τείληι Κτησικλῆς
εἰς Σινάρυν πρὸ ἕκτης
5 ὥρας τῆι ιθ (δραχμὰς) κ
ἀπόστειλον αὐτὸν πρὸς
ἡμᾶς μετὰ φ[υ]λα-
κῆς ἤδη, καὶ ὅπως
μὴ ἄλλως ποιήσεις.
10 ἔῤ[ρωσο. (ἔτους) . .
[

On the verso

Πτολεμαίωι.

6. αυτον added above the line.

'Zenodorus to Ptolemaeus, greeting. If Ctesicles does not send 20 drachmae to Sinaru before the sixth hour on the 19th, send him to me under guard at once, without fail. Good-bye. The . . year . . . (Addressed) To Ptolemaeus.'

61. Letter to Ptolemaeus.

Mummy A 9. 13·1 × 9·7 *cm.* B.C. 245 (244).

An order to Ptolemaeus to produce a number of persons before Ammonius, a superior official. The name of the writer is lost, but was perhaps Zenodorus; the hand is similar to that of **59**, but not certainly identical with it.

[. . . . .] Π[το]λεμαίω[ι
[χαίρειν. ὡς] ἂν λάβηις τὴν
[ἐπιστο]λὴν κατάστησον

[. . . . .] πρὸς Ἀμμώνιον
5 [. . . . .] . . χι̣[.] Πετοσῖριν
Σ̣ε̣νύχιος καὶ Πετοσῖριν Πασι-
πῶτος, Ἁρνοῦφιν Παυῆτος,
Ἁρυώ[την] τ̣ὸ̣ν λαξόν.
ἔ[ρ]ρωσο. (ἔτους) β Παχὼνς ις.

'. . . to Ptolemaeus, greeting. As soon as you receive this letter produce . . . before Ammonius . . . son of . . ., Petosiris son of Senuchis, Petosiris son of Pasipos, Harnouphis son of Paues, and Haruotes the stonemason. Good-bye. The 2nd year, Pachon 16.'

4. A place-name may have stood in the lacuna either here or in l. 5; cf. **62**. 13–5.

62. Letter of Philippus to Ptolemaeus.

Mummy A 9. 18·4 × 8 *cm*. B.C. 245 (244).

A letter from Philippus, whose official status does not appear, to Ptolemaeus, directing him to bring before Philippus the accuser in a case of robbery.

Φίλιππος Πτολε-
μαίωι χαίρειν. [
κακοῦργον τὸν τ[ὴν
λείαν ποιήσαντα
5 ἐπικαλεῖ Τνᾶς
Ἁρνούφιος, ὃν συν-
τέταχα τῶι
ἀρχιγερεῖ τῶι ἐν
Θώλτει παραδ[ο]ῦ-
10 ναί σοι. ὡς ἂν λάβηις
τὰ γράμματα
λαβὼν αὐτὸν τὸ
τάχος ἀποκατά-
[στ]ησον πρὸς ἡμᾶς
15 [ἐν] Ὀξυρύγχων π[ό]λ[ε]ι,
[καὶ ὅ]π̣ω̣[ς] μὴ ἄλλως ἔσται.
ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) β Παῦνι κ.

On the verso

Πτολεμαίωι.

'Philippus to Ptolemaeus, greeting. The criminal who did the pillage is accused by Tnas son of Harnouphis, whom I have instructed the chief priest at Tholthis to hand over to you. As soon as you receive this letter take him at once and produce him before me at the city of Oxyrhynchus; and be careful to carry out these directions. Good-bye. The 2nd year, Pauni 20. (Addressed) To Ptolemaeus.'

2. There would be room for [τόν after χαίρειν, but it is unnecessary.

8. ἀρχιγερεῖ: another instance of the insertion of γ in this word perhaps occurs in P. Petrie III. 53 (*p*). 2. Cf. **27**. 33 and P. Tebt. 63. 7, note.

63. Letter of Criton to Plutarchus.

Mummy 18. 17·8 × 8 *cm.* About B.C. 265.

A letter from Criton asking Plutarchus to settle accounts, in order that Criton might meet a demand to pay for some seed which had been sown upon a cleruchic holding. It is probable that this Plutarchus is the same person as the Plutarchus addressed by Paris in **64**, although the two documents were obtained from different mummies; for another connecting link is provided by **65**, which comes from the same mummy (18) as **63**, and is also concerned with a Paris. Moreover, the three letters deal with similar topics and are undoubtedly close together in date. **64** belongs to the 21st year of Philadelphus, while the dates in the papyri from Mummy 18 range from about the 15th to the 28th year of that reign. Criton and Plutarchus recur in **110**. 13 and 17 (cf. **159**), and seem to have been minor revenue-officials at or near Ἱερὰ Νῆσος, a village in the division of Polemon in the Arsinoite nome; cf. **63**. 19, **110**. 21, **80**. 3–4, **81**. 16. The position of Paris was probably similar.

On the verso are parts of 7 much effaced lines, but no signs of an address.

Κ̣ρίτων Πλουτάρχω[ι
χαίρειν. παραγεν[ό]μεν[ος
πρ[ὸ]ς μὲ Νίκαιος ἀπῆιτει
τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ σπέρμα-
5 [το]ς οὗ ἔφη ἐμβεβληκέ-
ν[α]ι εἰς τὸν Πρωταγόρου
κ[λ]ῆρον (ἐτῶν) γ (ἀρτάβας) λγ,

[εἰ] δὲ μὴ ἔφη καθέξειν
τὸν χόρτον μου τὸν ἐν
10 τῶι πεδίωι. εἰ οὖν οὔ-
τως πολιτευσόμεθα
ἀλλήλοις καλῶς ἂν
ἔχοι. σὺ οὖν διόρθωσαι
αὐτοῖς τὸ λ[ο]ιπὸν ὃ προσ-
15 οφείλεις μοι. ἦσαν δὲ
(δραχμαὶ) οβ· τούτων ἄφελε
(ἀρταβῶν ?) μ̣ τ̣ι̣μ̣ὴν κϛ (τετρώβολον)
καὶ [. . .]γ̣ ὃ̣ [ἔλ]αβον πα-
ρὰ σοῦ ὥστε Θευδώρωι κ̣ . . . . [. . .] . s ἐφ' Ἱερᾶς Νήσου [(δραχμὰς) δ,
20 / (δραχμαὶ) λ̣ (τετρώβολον), (λοιπὸν) μ̣α (δυόβολοι),
λαβὼν παρὰ Τ̣ι̣μάρχου

. . . .

19. ωστε . . .] . s added above the line.

'Criton to Plutarchus, greeting. Nicaeus has come to me demanding the price of the seed which he said he had ordered for the holding of Protagoras during three years, namely 33 artabae, otherwise he said he should lay claim to my hay in the fields. If we are going to hold such relations it will indeed be well. Do you therefore settle with them the remainder owing from you to me. The sum was 72 drachmae; deduct from this the price of 40 artabae, 26 drachmae 4 obols, and for . . . which I received from you for Theodorus . . . at Hiera Nesus, 4 drachmae, total 30 drachmae 4 obols, remainder 41 drachmae 2 obols. Take from Timarchus . . .'

5–7. The meaning of ἐμβεβληκέναι here is not quite clear. If it be 'imposed upon,' as e.g. in P. Tebt. 37. 7 ἐμβεβλῆσθαι (ἔργα) εἰς τὴν γῆν, Nicaeus must be supposed to be an official who first ordered the loan of seed and then himself advanced it on behalf of Criton. This seems more likely than that ἐμβάλλειν is used literally of sowing, for which σπείρειν would be the word expected. The land in question may have been one of the βασιλικοὶ κλῆροι, as in **85**. 12–3; but loans or presents of seeds were also made to cleruchs, e.g. **87**.

10–3. We suppose ἀλλήλοις to refer to Criton and Nicaeus, and καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι to be ironical. The construction of πολιτεύεσθαι with a dative is unusual.

17. The lowness of the price (4 obols per artaba) shows that the grain was of some inferior kind, very likely olyra. An artaba of olyra was worth $\frac{2}{5}$ artaba of wheat (**85**. 14–5, note), of which the normal value was 2 drachmae (**84** *a*. 8–9, note).

18. Perhaps [(ἀρταβῶν)] γ, but ὅ is then unsatisfactory; a neuter antecedent would be more appropriate. The stroke which we have considered to be the top of a γ may be a mark of abbreviation. The following letter is rather more like σ than ο, but ἅς cannot be read.

21. There are some blurred ink marks immediately in front of λαβών, but they are outside the line and probably accidental. They might, however, be taken to represent an inserted καί.

64. Letter of Paris to Plutarchus.

Yale = PYale 1.31

Mummy 97. Breadth 7·3 *cm.* B.C. 264 (263).

A letter from Paris asking for an advance of 60 drachmae on account of a large amount of olyra which was due to him from Plutarchus. The mutilation of the latter part of the letter has obscured some of the details of the proposed transaction. The writer is probably identical with the Paris mentioned in **65**, and his correspondent with the Plutarchus to whom **63** is addressed; cf. **63**, introd.

Πάρις Πλουτάρχωι
χαίρειν. γέγραφέν σοι
Ἀντίπατρος μετρῆ-
[σ]αί μ[οι] ὀλυρῶν (ἀρτάβας) Ἀυν
5 [ὧν] δε[ῖ σ]ε λαβεῖν (ἀρτάβας) σν
τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐμοὶ με-
τρῆσαι. χρείαν οὖν
ἔχω (δραχμῶν) ξ, καλῶς
ἂν οὖν ποιήσαις δοὺς
10 Ψενομοῦτι τῶι ἀποδι-
[δόντι σοι τὴν ἐπιστο-
[λὴν
. . . .
τὸν σῖτον ἀπόστ[ει-
λόν μοι τὰς [ξ (δραχμὰς)
15 κα[ὶ] τῆι β [. . . . .
την ἄξω . . . [. . . .
ὃς καταβαλεῖ το . . . . [.
τ . . . . [. . . .]ηνο . κ[.] . [.
. ας ποιή[σει.] χρὴ δὲ καὶ
20 [γρά]φειν μοι π[ερ]ὶ ὧν ἂν χρεί-
αν ἔχηις. [ἔρρωσο.
(ἔτους) κα Π[α . . . . .

A fragment . . .
]ι . [
]ποσ . [
25] . [
. . .

On the verso

Πλουτάρ-
χωι.

13. τ of σιτον corr.? 22. κα corr. from κβ or vice versa.

'Paris to Plutarchus, greeting. Antipater has written to you to measure out to me 1450 artabae of olyra, of which you ought to take 250 artabae and to measure out the rest to me. Now I am in want of 60 drachmae; you will therefore do well to give Psenomous,

the carrier of this letter, . . . Send me the 60 drachmae and on the 2nd I will bring . . . tes . . . who will pay . . . And you must write to me about anything which you require. Good-bye. The 21st year, Pauni (?). (Addressed) To Plutarchus.'

10. There is a break in the papyrus below l. 10, and several lines may be lost between ll. 12 and 13. Perhaps ll. 23–5 come in here.

13. The τ of σῖτον is very doubtful; the letters τον σιτο and λον with part of the μ of μοι in the next line are on a separate fragment, and its position is not quite certain.

16. τηυ is the termination of a personal name, e.g. Ἁρυώτην.

65. Letter concerning Paris.

Mummy 18. *34·2 × 5·8 cm.* About B.C. 265.

The purpose of this letter, the commencement of which is lost, was to secure the immediate delivery to Paris (cf. **64**) of 80 artabae of aracus, in part-payment of a debt of 100 artabae of wheat. The writer proposed to obtain the remainder by purchase from the State. His correspondent, who is desired to pay over the aracus, was perhaps Plutarchus, the recipient of **63–4**; cf. introd. to **63**.

. . . . .
ἀπέστειλα πρὸς σὲ
ὅπως ἂν παραγενό-
μενος συνστα-
θῆις̣ Π̣άριτι
5 [ἵ]να μετρήσηις
αὐτῶι τὰς π (ἀρτάβας)
τοῦ ἀράκου, ἐγὼ
γὰρ ὅρκον συγγέ-
γραμμαι μετρῆ-
10 [σ]αι τῆι τετρά-
[δ]ι πυρῶν (ἀρτάβας) ρ.
[ἐπ]εὶ οὖν οὐκ ἐξέ-
[στα̣]ι̣ σ̣ο̣ι σήμερ[ον
[μετ]ρ̣ει̣ν̣ καλῶς
15 [ἂν] ποιήσαις πα[ρα-
[γε]νόμενος εἰς̣ σ̣[. .]
[. . .] τῆι ε̣ ἵνα
[μετρή]σηις τοῦ
[ἀρά]κο̣υ̣ τὰς π (ἀρτάβας ?)
20 [Πά]ρ̣ιτι, εἰ δὲ μὴ
[με]τρήσεται μ[ὲ
[τῶ]ι ὅρκωι ἔνοχον
[εἶν]αι καὶ εἰσπράσ-
[σεσ]θαι τῆς (ἀρτάβης) (δραχμὰς) δ.
25 [θέλ]ο̣μεν οὖ̣ν̣ ἐγ δη-
[μο]σ̣ί̣ο̣υ̣ τὸν λοιπὸν
[συν]αγοράσαι σῖ-
[το]ν ἵνα μη̣[θὲ]ν̣
[εἰς ἐ]μὲ ὑ̣σ̣τ̣ε̣ρ̣ή̣σ̣η̣ι̣.
30 ἔρρωσο.
[(ἔτους) . .] Ἁθὺρ δ.

11. The numeral ρ corr.? 18. υ of του corr. from ν.

'I have sent to you so that you may go and meet Paris in order to measure out to him the 80 artabae of aracus; for I have engaged under oath to measure out on the 4th 100 artabae of wheat. So since you will not be able to measure it to-day, you will do well to go to . . . on the 5th to measure out to Paris the 80 artabae of aracus. If this is not done I shall be liable to the consequences of my oath and shall be mulcted of 4 drachmae per artaba. I wish to purchase the remainder of the corn from the State, in order that there may be no arrears against me. Good-bye. The . . th year, Athur 4.'

8. A fragmentary specimen of such an oath is P. Petrie III. 56 (*a*).

10. τῆι τετράδι: i. e. the day on which this letter was written; cf. l. 31.

21 sqq. The oblique construction is probably a reminiscence of the actual contract, from which this sentence is a more or less exact quotation. Above the first few letters of l. 22 are some thin strokes which resemble]οτι and may represent an insertion.

66. Letter of Protarchus to Clitarchus.

Mummy 10. 11 × 32·8 *cm.* B.C. 228 (227).

The following documents (**66–70** (*b*)), with **160–3**, belong to the correspondence of Clitarchus, who, as is shown by their contents as well as by the endorsement on **66**, was a government banker, his district being the Κωίτης τόπος. They belong to the reign of Euergetes and are close together in date, the only years mentioned being the 18th and 19th.

The present text consists of a letter from Protarchus informing Clitarchus that he had undertaken the collection of the tax of $\frac{1}{100}$ and $\frac{1}{200}$, an impost probably connected with the ἐγκύκλιον or tax on sales and mortgages of real estate (cf. note on l. 1), and requesting Clitarchus to collect the dues on his account. The writing is across the fibres of the papyrus.

Πρώταρχος Κλειτάρχωι χαίρειν. ἐξ[ειλ]ήφαμεν τὴν ρ´ καὶ σ´ παρὰ τῶν τὴν δωρεὰν
πραγματευομένων. ἐπεὶ οὖν πίπτει [σοι] ἐ̣ν τοῖς κατὰ σὲ τόποις εἰκοστή, καλῶς ἂν ποι-
ήσαις συντάξας τοῖς παρὰ σοῦ προσλο[γ]εύειν καθότι ὑμῖν καὶ Ἀσκλη-πιάδης γέγραφεν,
ὡ[ς δ'] ἂν παραγένωμαι ἀπὸ τῆς πα̣[.] . [. . . . . .] τοῦ χαλκοῦ συνλαλήσω σοι ὥστε σε
5 μὴ διὰ κενῆς εὐχαριστῆσαι ἡμ[ῖν.]

ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) ιθ Παχὼνς ιδ.

On the verso

2nd hand τραπεζίτηι Κωί-
του (1st hand) Κλειτάρχωι.

'Protarchus to Clitarchus, greeting. I have contracted for the one per cent. and half per cent. with the managers of the δωρεά. Since therefore the 5 per cent. tax is paid to you in your district, you would do well to order your agents to collect the other taxes too, as Asclepiades also has written to you; and so soon as I arrive from the delivery (?) of the copper I will have a conversation with you, so that you shall not oblige me to no purpose. Good-bye. The 19th year, Pachon 14. (Addressed) To Clitarchus, banker of the Koïte district.'

1–2. The character of this tax of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and its relation to the δωρεά and the εἰκοστή are not quite clear. τὴν δωρεάν here might be interpreted as τὴν ἐν δωρεᾷ γῆν, as e.g. in P. Petrie II. 39 (*g*). 14 ὑπάρχει ἐν τῆι δωρεᾶι χόρτος ἱκανός, P. Magd. 28 τῆς Χρυσέρμου δωρεᾶς. As Rev. Laws show (xxxvi. 15, xliii. 11, xliv. 3), large tracts of land were held ἐν δωρεᾷ, chiefly perhaps by court favourites, and the holders seem to have had special treatment in respect of taxation. The εἰκοστή in l. 2 might then be compared with that in P. Petrie II. 11 (2). 4, a 5 per cent. tax on the rent of an οἰκόπεδον, while the $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. would be some similar impost of which the present is the first mention.

But δωρεά may have another sense which is more suitable to the context in **66**. In the first place πραγματεύεσθαι is the word commonly used at this period for the farmers of a tax. Secondly, in the London Bilingual papyrus of the 13th year of Philopator (*Proceed. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* xxiii. p. 301, *Pal. Soc.* II. 143), appended to a demotic contract of sale is a banker's receipt in Greek, in which there appears, coupled with 8 drachmae $2\frac{1}{4}$ obols for ἐγκύκλιον, a payment of 3 obols for δωρεά. Now the commonest form of εἰκοστή was the ἐγκύκλιον (cf. **70** *a*); and if this be the εἰκοστή in **66**. 2 there will be here the same collocation of δωρεά and ἐγκύκλιον as in the London text. Moreover, the $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of l. 1 recalls the ἑξηκοστή and ἑκατοστή of the Zois papyrus which were paid on the occasion of a sale through the government of land given in security for a tax; cf. the extra charges amounting to $\frac{3}{40} \times 2$ (τὰ καθήκοντα τέλη διπλᾶ), added to the πρόστιμον in P. Amh. 31, of B.C. 112. It thus seems possible to find a link between the $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the δωρεά, and the 5 per cent. by means of the supposition that they were all three connected with sales. Another passage in which δωρεά probably signifies a tax is P. Petrie III. 53 (*s*) ἀφείκαμεν δὲ καὶ τὸ γραφεῖον τῶν Αἰγυπτίων συγγραφῶν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ [τ]ούτων πρότερον πεῖπτον διδόναι παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἔχουσι τὴν δωρεάν. The γραφεῖον, a tax paid for drawing up contracts (?), is here remitted, and the proceeds previously derived from it are transferred to the 'holders of the δωρεά.' ἔχουσι at first sight suggests land-holders rather than tax-farmers; but it is very difficult to see what the former could have to do with the γραφεῖον, and the view that ἔχοντες τὴν δωρεάν here means much the same as πραγματευόμενοι τὴν δωρεάν in **66** is supported by P. Oxy. 44. 22, where the impost γραφεῖον is coupled with ἐγκύκλιον, with which, as we have seen above, the δωρεά was closely connected. We should therefore explain the ρʹ καὶ σʹ as a percentage upon sales, being an addition to the ordinary εἰκοστή and resembling the δωρεά, within which it may even have been included.

With regard to the $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and the analogous percentages of the P. Zois, it is singular that in P. Petrie III. 57 (*b*), where some land is sold by the government under conditions similar to those in P. Zois, the tax paid is the ordinary ἐγκύκλιον of 5 per cent. J. C. Naber, *Archiv*, I. p. 90, explains the difference in the rate as a remission. That is no

doubt possible, and in the absence of further evidence it is difficult to find a better theory. But the idea of lightening the burden of taxation does not seem to have played much part in the policy of the Ptolemies; it is possible that, so far from representing a remission, the percentages in the Zois papyrus may mark an augmentation, the $\frac{1}{100}$ and $\frac{1}{200}$ rising to $\frac{1}{60}$ and $\frac{1}{100}$, and perhaps subsequently to the $\frac{3}{40}$ of P. Amh. 31. An analogy for such an increase is provided by the history of the ἐγκύκλιον, the rate of which was doubled towards the end of the second century B.C. But the absence of the ἐγκύκλιον in P. Zois then remains unexplained.

3. Asclepiades is probably identical with the writer of **67–9**.

4. Perhaps πα[ρ]α[δόσεως] or πα[ρ]α[δοχῆς], but the reference is obscure. The fourth letter, if not α, might be e.g. γ, π, or τ. συνλαλήσω κ.τ.λ. means that Protarchus was prepared to give a *quid pro quo*.

67. Letter concerning Payment of Cloth-workers.

Mummy 10. 32·8 × 8·6 *cm.* B.C. 228 (227).

This papyrus and **67** are letters to the banker Clitarchus (cf. **66**, introd.), officially authorizing him to pay different sums to certain weavers at Ἀγκυρῶν πόλις and Χοιβνῶτμις in the Heracleopolite nome for a variety of fabrics manufactured on behalf of the government. As Rev. Laws lxxxvii sqq. (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 267–9) and P. Tebt. 5. 63–4, 238 sqq. combine to show, the weaving industry was, at any rate in its more important branches, a government monopoly. The persons actually employed in it had of course to be paid for their work, and the scale of prices found here may be compared with those fixed in Rev. Laws xlvi. 18–20 for the production of the various kinds of oil; cf. the regulation of the price of συρίαι in **51**. 5–6 (note on l. 3), and P. Tebt. 5. 248 sqq., where it is forbidden to make the cloth-weavers, byssus-workers, and robe-weavers work δωρεὰν μηδὲ μισθῶν ὑφειμένων. The finer processes of manufacture seem to have been centred in the temples; but it is not at all likely that the whole weaving industry was under their control (P. Tebt. 5. 63, note), and there is no hint either in **67–8** or **51** that priests were in any way concerned. The formula of the two authorizations closely resembles that found in P. Petrie III. 87 (*a*) verso, (*b*), and 89. Asclepiades, the official by whom they were sent, and who appends his signature in **67**. 28, was probably the local οἰκονόμος, the principal revenue official of the nome, or his ἀντιγραφεύς; cf. the frequent mentions of the οἰκονόμος in the section of the Rev. Laws which concerns the ὀθονιηρά, lxxxvii. sqq. Asclepiades' order to Clitarchus in **69** to bring an account is quite in keeping with such a position.

The names of the various fabrics are usually abbreviated both in **67** and **68**, and are difficult to identify. They are all classed as ὀθόνια, and are also in-

cluded under an abbreviation which may be either *ισ( )* or *σι( )*. On the whole we think *ἱσ(τοί)* 'webs' more probable than *σι(νδόνες)*, since *ἱστοί* also occur in Rev. Laws xciv. 2 and 5, where a *ἱστός* is rated at 25 drachmae, though that passage is too mutilated to be conclusive; cf. also Ps. Aristeas ed. Schmidt, p. 69. 16 *βυσσίνων ὀθονίων ἱστοὺς ἑκατόν*. Other abbreviations are *μη( )*, *πρ( )*, *βυọ( )*, and *ἱμạ́(τια?)*, but it is doubtful, except in the case of *πρ( )*, what is the correct order of the letters. *σορώια* (**67**. 14, in other places abbreviated *σορωι*) may be connected with *σορός* and denote a kind of cloth used for burials.

Ἀσκλ[η]πιάδης Κλειτάρχωι
χ[α]ίρειν. [δὸς] ἀπὸ τῶν πι-
πτόντω[ν εἰ]ς τὸ ιθ (ἔτος)
τοῖς ἐν Ἀγκυρῶν πόλει
5 [ὑ]πογεγραμμένοις ὑφάνταις
δ̣ι̣ὰ̣ . . εω̣ς̣ τοῦ παρ' Ἀπολλωνίου
[καὶ Πετ]ειμούθου τοῦ Τε-
[. . . . . τ]οπογραμματέως
[καὶ . . . . .] κωμογραμματέως
10 [εἰς τιμὰ]ς ὀθονίων τῶν
[συντελ]ουμένων εἰς τὸ [βα-
σ[ιλικ]ὸν μη( ) κα πρ( ) ζ, / ἱσ(τοὶ?) κη,
(δραχμὰς) τκϛ (τετρώβολον), βυọ( ) ζ ξε (δυοβόλους),
σορωίων ζ νϛ, / ἱσ(τοὶ) μβ
15 (δραχμαὶ) υμη, καὶ ἀλλα(γῆς) ιδ, / υξβ,
καὶ σύμβολον ποίησαι πρὸς
αὐτούς. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) ιθ Ἀθὺρ κβ.
τούτων ἑκάστωι τῶν ὑπο-
γεγραμμένων· Θοτομ̣οῦτι
20 Πετοσίριος μη( ) γ πρ( ) α, / δ,
(δραχμὰς) μϛ (τετρώβολον), βυọ( ) α θ (δυοβόλους), σορωί(ου) α η,
/ ἱσ(τοὶ) ϛ (δραχμαὶ) ξδ, ἀλλ[α(γῆς)] β, / ξϛ.
Ἁρμήνει Σισόιτος ὡσαύτως,
Πετενούπει Πάσιτος,
25 Τεῶι Ἀθεμμέως, Πετοσίρει
Ἁρχήβιος, Ἀμεννεῖ
Νεχθοσίριος, Τεσώμ̣ε̣ι̣ [. . . . .

2nd hand Ἀσκληπιάδη[ς Κλειτάρ-
χωι χα[ίρει]ν. χρ[ημά-
30 τισον χαλκ[ο]ῦ τετ[ρα-
κοσίας ἑξήκοντα δύ[ο
καθότι γ[έ]γρ[α]πται [. . .
[ ]
[. . .]βων β . [. . . . . .
35 γμάτων ϛ [. . . . . .

'Asclepiades to Clitarchus, greeting. Give out of the sums paid in for the 19th year to the weavers at Ancyronpolis below written, through . . ., agent of Apollonius, and Petimouthes son of Te . . ., topogrammateus, and . . . komogrammateus, for the prices of cloths supplied to the Treasury, namely for 21 me . . ., 7 pr . . ., total 28 webs, 326 drachmae 4 obols, for 7 buo . . . 65 drachmae 2 obols, for 7 soroia 56 drachmae, total 42 webs 448 drachmae, and for agio 14 drachmae, total 462 drachmae; and make out a receipt with them. Good-bye. The 19th year, Athur 22. To each of the following: to Thotomous son of Petosiris for 3 me . . . and 1 pr . . ., total 4, 46 drachmae 4 obols, for 1 buo . . . 9 drachmae 2 obols, for 1 soroion 8 drachmae, total 6 webs 64 drachmae, and for agio 2 drachmae, total 66. To Harmenis son of Sisois similarly, and to Petenoupis son of Pasis, Teos son of Athemmeus, Petosiris son of Harchebis, Amenneus son of Nechthosiris, Tesomis son of . . . .

'Asclepiades to Clitarchus, greeting. Pay 462 drachmae of copper, as above written . . .'

4. Ἀγκυρῶν πόλις: a town on the east bank of the Nile in the Heracleopolite nome, possibly Hibeh itself; cf. pp. 9–10.

7. In **68**. 5 the topogrammateus is Petimouthes son of Thotortaeus; but the patronymic here is certainly different, and since the villages are not the same in the two papyri and Petimouthes is not an uncommon name, it is unlikely that a single person is meant.

9. Perhaps τοῦ] κωμογραμματέως; cf. **68**. 5–6, note. But there would be room for a short name like Ὥρου.

10–1. A papyrus belonging to Prof. Gradenwitz, containing a receipt issued by the παραλημπταὶ δημοσίων ἱματίων for differently coloured cloths, indicates that the government control of the supply of such materials continued into the Roman period.

12–4. The abbreviation μη( ) consists of a μ with an η written above (the μ being square in l. 12 and rounded in l. 20), πρ( ) of a π with a ρ drawn through it; the former possibly stands for μήρυγμα (cf. note on ll. 34–5), the latter might be connected with the προσκεφάλαια which occur in Rev. Laws cii. 7. The σ of ισ(τοί ?) is written in the form of a capital as in the symbol for 200, the ι being a long stroke drawn through it. In the case of βυο( ) the three letters are written one above the other, the υ being a good-sized curve immediately over the β, and the third letter a small thick mark which at l. 21 is slightly elongated, suggesting a β or an ι rather than an ο; in **68**. 7 it is a mere dot. In l. 21 the curve is slightly turned over and thickened at the left end and might be interpreted as ου; but this feature is not noticeable in l. 13 or **68**. 7. βυσ, i. e. βυσ(σίνων), can certainly not be read. The prices of the different fabrics work out as follows:—μη( ) and πρ( ) cost 11 dr. 4 ob. each, βυο( ) 9 dr. 2 ob., and σορώια 8 dr.; in **68** the scale is the same and ἱμά(τια ?) also appear, costing 7 dr. apiece.

15. ἀλλα(γῆς): the rate is $\frac{3}{4}$ obol on the stater, which is identical with that in **68**. 9 and **51**. 6, where the word ἐπαλλαγή is used. The prices are calculated on a silver basis (πρὸς ἀργύριον), and in making payment in copper (cf. l. 30) the government allowed a small agio. The usual rate of the agio on payments in copper at this period was about $2\frac{1}{2}$ obols on the stater; cf. P. Petrie III. p. 86, where the data are collected (add P. Petrie III. 67 (*a*). 2, (*b*). 14, 117 (*e*). 12, 15). The difference is probably to be accounted for by the fact that in the present case the government was not receiving, but paying.

34–5. The numbers suggest that the reference is again to different sorts of cloth and that -βων and -γμάτων may be the termination of two of the words abbreviated in ll. 12 sqq. The figures, however, do not help to identify them, since the number 2 does not occur in the foregoing list, and so ll. 33–5 cannot be a repetition of it. -γμάτων might possibly be μηρυγμάτων, though that term means the thread rather than the material woven from it; cf. Hesych. μήρυγμα, σπείραμα ἢ ἐκτεινόμενον, and μήρυσμα, κάταγμα ἢ σπάσμα ἐρίου. As for -βων, there is one β if not two (cf. note on ll. 12–4) in βυο( ), but we can find no likely word. Line 35 is probably, though not certainly, the conclusion of the document.

68. Letter concerning Payment of Cloth-workers.

Mummy 10. Breadth 11 *cm.* About B.C. 228.

A letter, similar to **67**, from Asclepiades to Clitarchus, authorizing payment to be made to a number of weavers for cloths of various kinds manufactured by them; cf. **67**, introd. The writing is across the fibres of the papyrus.

[Ἀσκληπ]ι̣ά̣δ̣ης Κ̣λ̣ει̣[τά]ρ̣χ̣ω̣ι̣ χ̣α̣[ίρειν.
[δὸ]ς ἀπὸ τῶν πιπτόντων εἰς τ[ὸ . . (ἔτος)
Ἁθὺρ τοῖς ἐν Χοιβνώτμει ὑπογεγ[ραμμένοις
ὑφάνταις διὰ Διονυσίου τοῦ παρ' Ἀπο[λλω]νίο[υ
5 καὶ Πετειμούθου τοῦ Θοτορταίου τοπογρ(αμματέως) κ̣[αὶ . .
κωμογρ(αμματέως) εἰς τιμὰς ὀ̣θ̣ονίων τῶν συντελουμέν[ω]ν
εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν μη( ) οδ ωξγ (δυοβόλους), βυο̣( ) κα ρϙς,
σορωί(ων) μβ τλς, ἱμα̣(τίων) κα ρμζ̣, / ἱσ(τοὶ) ρνη (δραχμαὶ) Ἀφμβ̣ [(δυό-
 βολοι),
ἐπαλ(λαγῆς) μη (ὀβολὸς) (τέταρτον), / Ἀφϙ (τριώβολον) (τέταρτον), σύμ-
 βολον δὲ ποίησα[ι
10 πρὸς αὐτούς. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ὑπόλο(γον) π̣[οίησαι
ἀνθ' οὗ γράφει Ἀπολλώνιος ἔχειν Ε̣ὐ̣φρά̣[νορα
παρὰ̣ τ̣ῶν α̣ . . ευ̣ω̣ν π̣α̣ι̣ν̣ . . . ιτ . σ̣ι̣ . . . [. . . . .
τιν Πασωτ[. . . . . .] . τ . . [. .]φ . . . [. . . . .

[ε]ἰς τὸ βασιλικ[ὸν 21 letters
15 τιμ . [.]ωσ . [" "
[. .] . [30 "
. . . .
[. . . . . μη( ) κ σ]λγ [(δυοβόλους),] β[υο( )] β [ιη (τετρώβολον),
σορωί(ων) [δ λβ,] ἱ[μα(τίων) β ιδ, / ἱσ(τοὶ)] κη σϙη, ἐπαλ(λαγῆς) θ
(ὀβολὸν) (ἡμιωβέλιον) (τέταρτον) χ(αλκοῦν), / τζ (ὀβολὸς) (ἡμιωβέλιον ?)
(τέταρτον) χ(αλκοῦς).
Ὥρωι Πετ[ο]σίρ[ιος μη( ) β κ]γ (δυοβόλους), βυο( ) α θ (δυοβόλους)
σορωί(ων) β ιϛ,
20 ἱμα(τίου) α ζ, / ἱσ(τοὶ) ϛ νε (τετρώβολον), ἐπαλ(λαγῆς) α (τετρώβολον ?)
χ(αλκοῦς) γ∠, / νζ (δυόβολοι) χ(αλκοῖ) γ∠.
Σεμθεῖ Πασῶτος . . . . ρ . χος τουτοπα . [. .
[. . . . . .] Θοτεῦτος [. .] . . ροχ[. .] τουτοπ[. . . .
[. . . . .] . . [. . . .] . . [. .] . Πετοσιρ . . .
[25 letters]φ[
. . . .

3. Χοιβνώτμει: cf. **112**. 26.

5–6. The offices of topogrammateus and komogrammateus here seem to have been combined in a single person, as at a later period in P. Oxy. 251 and 252. There is hardly room at the end of l. 5 for τοῦ, still less for a proper name. Perhaps, however, τοῦ was abbreviated or written very small; it is noticeable that in the corresponding passage in **67**. 9 there is only a very short space between καί and κωμογραμματέως.

9. ἐπαλ(λαγῆς): cf. **67**. 15, note.

10 sqq. This passage, ordering a deduction to be made for reasons which are obscured by the mutilation of the papyrus, has nothing corresponding to it in **67**.

16. There is a break below this line, and it is quite uncertain how many lines are missing.

17–8. The total number of ἱσ(τοί) and their value being preserved in l. 18, and the prices of the different units being known (cf. **67**. 12–4), a calculation shows that the items here must be either (*a*) 20 μη( ) at 11 dr. 4 ob. = 233 dr. 2 ob., 2 βυο( ) at 9 dr. 2 ob. = 18 dr. 4 ob., 4 σορώια at 8 dr. = 32 dr., 2 ἱμά(τια) at 7 dr. = 14 dr., total 298 dr.; or (*b*) 19 μη( ) = 221 dr. 4 ob., 4 βυο( ) = 37 dr. 2 ob., 4 σορώια = 32 dr., 1 ἱμά(τιον) = 7 dr., total 298 dr. The first set of figures suits the vestiges of l. 17 the better.

21–2. The second halves of these two lines seem to be identical. τοῦ τοπάρ[χου might possibly be read, but it is difficult to see why the toparch should be introduced in this context.

69. Letter of Asclepiades to Clitarchus.

Mummy 10. 15·6 × 7 *cm.* B.C. 230 (229).

A short letter from Asclepiades (cf. **67**–**8**), directing Clitarchus (cf. **66**, introd.) to come to him bringing an account and the balance of some money. The writing is across the fibres of the papyrus.

Ἀσκληπιάδης
Κλειτάρχωι χαίρειν.
παραγίνου τῆι
η τοῦ Ἀθὺρ κομίζων
5 τόν τε λόγον τοῦ
Φαῶφι καὶ τὰ περ̣ι̣όν-
τα χρήματα,
[καὶ] μὴ ἄλλως ποιή-
[σηις.]
10 ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) ι̣η̣ Ἀ̣θ̣ὺ̣ρ̣ ε̣.

3. ου of παραγινου corr. from ε̣σθε.

'Asclepiades to Clitarchus, greeting. Come up on the 8th of Athur bringing both the account of Phaophi and the balance of the money, without fail. Good-bye. The 18th year, Athur 5.'

70 (*a*). Letter of Zoilus to Clitarchus.

Mummy 10. 15·4 × 7·6 *cm.* B.C. 229–8 (228–7).

A letter from Zoilus telling the banker Clitarchus (cf. **66**, introd.) that a payment of 10 drachmae was due from another Zoilus for the 5 per cent. (ἐγκύκλιον) tax on a purchase of land. **70** (*b*) and **163** are similar notifications of payments due to the bank for the ἐγκύκλιον. The writer was most probably the farmer of the tax, and these documents represent the διαγραφαί which figure in the common formula of ἐγκύκλιον receipts, τέτακται ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἐγκυκλίου κατὰ διαγραφὴν τελωνῶν; cf. e.g. P. Amh. 52.

The view of Revillout (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* xiv. p. 120 sqq.) that the rate of the ἐγκύκλιον tax, which according to him was fixed by Psammetichus at $\frac{1}{10}$,

was reduced in the 9th year of Epiphanes to $\frac{1}{20}$, has already been refuted, as Wilcken points out (*Ost.* I. p. 183), by P. Petrie III. 57 (*b*), which proves that the rate of $\frac{1}{20}$ existed in the 4th year of that king. The Hibeh papyri now carry this rate back to the reign of Euergetes I, and we suspect that Revillout's account of the early history of the tax is altogether erroneous. It is very unlikely that the Ptolemies lowered a rate which they found already established; the tendency of their finance was rather in the opposite direction.

Ζωίλος Κλειτάρχωι
χαίρειν. δέξαι παρὰ
Ζωίλου τοῦ Πτολε-
μαίου Σινωπέως
5 ἀ̣ρ̣ο̣(υρῶν) κ̣ συκαμινοα-
κανθίνου λ̣ι̣τοῦ
ἃ̣ς̣ ἐπρίατο παρὰ
Βίωνος τοῦ Φιλήμο-
νος Ἐρετριέως χαλ-
10 κοῦ πρὸς ἀργύριον
[(δραχμῶν) σ] κʹ (δραχμὰς) δέκα.
ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) ιθ
[. . . .]

'Zoilus to Clitarchus, greeting. Receive from Zoilus son of Ptolemaeus, of Sinope, on account of 20 arourae of smooth (?) mulberry-acanthus land, which he has bought from Bion son of Philemon, Eretrian, for 200 drachmae of copper on the silver standard, the twentieth, namely 10 drachmae. Good-bye. The 19th year . . .'

5. The letters at the beginning of this line are broken, but it is clear that the abbreviation for ἀρουρῶν, if that be the word meant, is written in an abnormal manner, the usual stroke above the line being replaced by a small ο; the supposed α and ρ are also very doubtful. But both the tenor of the document and the analogy of **70** (*b*) and **163** make ἀρουρῶν here almost indispensable. λιτοῦ in l. 6 is also a difficulty; we can find no parallel for the application of the adjective λιτός to land. There is, however, hardly any doubt about the reading; the only possible substitutes for the first two letters are α and ρ, but these are much less satisfactory.

9. χαλκοῦ πρὸς ἀργύριον: i. e. copper at a discount. An agio of about 10 per cent. was usually charged for payments in copper which ought to have been in silver; cf. **67**. 15, note, and **109**. 6.

70 (*b*). Letter to Clitarchus.

Mummy 10. $7{\cdot}5 \times 7{\cdot}1$ *cm.* About B.C. 228.

Conclusion of another notification, no doubt addressed like **70** (*a*) to Clitarchus, that 2 drachmae were due to the bank for the ἐγκύκλιον tax on a purchase of land. The vendor is described as a Perso-Egyptian (Περσαιγύπτιος), i.e., presumably, the son of a mixed marriage.

. . . .
μάχιμος Ἡρακ̣[λε-
οπολίτης ἀμ̣π̣έ̣-
λου (ἀρούρας) αδ´ [[ης̣]] ἣν
ἐπρίατο κατ᾽ [Αἰ-
5 γυπτίας συγγρα-
φὰς παρὰ Ἀσφε̣ᾶ̣
Ὥρου Περσαιγυπτί-
ου περὶ κώμην Τμοι-
νεθῦμιν (δραχμῶν) μ κ´ β̣.
10 [ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) . . .]

'(Payment is due from) . . ., native soldier, of Heracleopolis, on account of $1\frac{1}{4}$ arourae of vine-land bought by him in accordance with Egyptian contracts from Aspheas son of Horus, Perso-Egyptian, near the village of Tmoinethumis for 40 drachmae, the twentieth, namely 2 drachmae. Good-bye. The . . th year . . .'

1. The formula must have differed slightly from that in **70** (*a*). Probably ὀφείλει took the place of δέξαι παρά.

8. Τμοινεθῦμιν: cf. **163**; in **80**. 7 the name is spelled with an initial Θ.

71. Correspondence concerning a Strike.

Mummy A 11. $8{\cdot}5 \times 11{\cdot}7$ *cm.* B.C. 245 (244).

A fragment of a series of official letters concerning a strike of slaves employed in a stone-quarry. Lines 4–11 contain a copy of a letter from Antiochus to Dorion forwarding a letter from Aenesidemus, of which only the beginning is preserved (ll. 12–4), and ordering the immediate arrest of the offenders. Lines 1–3 are the conclusion of a letter which may be from Dorion

to the φυλακῖται. From **72**, in which Antiochus and Dorion recur, it appears that the latter was an epistates (sc. φυλακιτῶν) probably at Phebichis, and the quarry in question was most likely on the east bank in the neighbourhood of that village, possibly at Hibeh itself; cf. pp. 9–10. The third year, in which the correspondence took place, no doubt refers to the reign of Euergetes.

. . . .

[19 letters ἐπ]ιστολῆς [
[13 „ ἀν]τιγραφ[. .] γινέσθω . . . [
. . . . . ἀναφερ[. . .] ἔρρωσθε. (ἔτους) γ Θωὺθ κ.
Ἀντίοχος Δωρίωνι χαίρειν. τῆς ἐπιστο[λῆς
5 ἧς γέγραφεν ἡμῖν Αἰνησίδημος περὶ τ[ῶν
ἀνακεχωρηκότων σωμάτων ἐκ τῆς ἐ[ν
Κεφαλαῖς λατομίας ἀπέσταλκά σ[ο]ι τἀ[ν-
τίγραφα. ὡς ἂν οὖν λάβηις τὰ γράμμ[ατα
τὴν πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποίησαι ὅπ[ως ἀνα-
10 ζητηθέντες ἀποσταλῶσι πρὸς [ἡμᾶς
μετὰ φυλακῆς. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) γ Θ[ω]ὺθ [.]
Αἰνησίδημος Ἀντιόχωι χαίρειν. Α . δ [. .
Πάσιτος Ἀφροδιτοπολίτης [καὶ . . .] . . . [. .
. . ιτος Ἡρακλεοπολίτης . [

. . . .

4–11. 'Antiochus to Dorion, greeting. I have sent you a copy of the letter which Aenesidemus has written to me about the slaves who have deserted from the stone-quarry at Cephalae. As soon as you receive this letter use every effort to search for them, and send them to me under guard. Good-bye. The 3rd year, Thoth.'

6. σωμάτων: slaves were also employed in the quarries in the Fayûm near Lake Moeris (cf. P. Petrie II. 4 (2). 5 and 4 (9). 4), but there the λατόμοι proper were free wage-earners; cf. P. Petrie II. 13 (1). 1 ἐλευθερ[ο]λατόμων. For ἀνακεχωρηκότων cf. P. Tebt. 26. 18 and 41. 14, where strikes of βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί are referred to.

72. Correspondence concerning a Temple Seal.

Mummy A 7. 17 × 35 *cm*. B.C. 241 (240).

The subject of this lengthy text is the disappearance of the official seal belonging to the temple of Heracles at Phebichis. A large piece is unfortunately missing from the upper part of the papyrus, but the sense except in one or two

passages is nevertheless clear. The body of the document is occupied by a copy of a petition from Petosiris, high-priest of the temple, addressed to Dorion the epistates. The seal, it appears, had been missing for five months; and Petosiris had written previously to Dorion accusing a certain Chesmenis, a priest, and his son Semtheus of having stolen it. Information had also been given to the basilicogrammateus, but inquiries had led to no result. Dorion was therefore requested to take further steps. An official was accordingly sent, and the petition is succeeded by a copy of his report. Chesmenis on being questioned denied that he had the seal, but the next day four other priests volunteered the information that it was all the while in the sanctuary—of which Chesmenis seems to have been in charge—but said that they were afraid that if they gave it to the high-priest, he would use it for a common indictment against them. These two documents are inclosed in a short covering note from Dorion to Antiochus, who also appear in conjunction in **71**. 4. It is noticeable that there Antiochus' name precedes that of Dorion, while here the positions are reversed. Since the papyri are practically contemporary and belong to the same find (cf. p. 11), there is good reason for assuming the identity of the persons. It will follow that the position of the names of writer and addressee is no surer guide to their relative dignity in the third century B.C. than in the second; cf. P. Tebt. 13. 2, note, and 22, introd. Except in formal petitions, the writer of a letter seems to have usually placed his own name first.

It is remarkable that in ll. 6–7 the high-priest accuses Chesmenis of having abstracted the seal in order to use it for letters to Manetho. The manner in which this name is introduced indicates that its bearer was a well-known man, and seeing that the persons concerned are priests, it is not impossible that we here have a reference to the famous writer on Egyptian history and religion, who was himself a priest, probably of Sebennytus. If that be so he lived later than has been generally supposed. Hardly any details concerning Manetho's life are known, but according to Plutarch (*De Is. et Osir.* 28) he was consulted by Ptolemy Soter. That he should be still alive and active in the 6th year of Euergetes is surprising, but not absolutely inconsistent with Plutarch's statement, if Manetho lived to a great age.

Δωρίων Ἀντιόχωι χαίρειν. τοῦ πρὸς [με 15 letters *ὑπομνή]ματος παρὰ Πετοσίριος τοῦ*

ἀρχιερέως τοῦ ἐμ Φεβίχει Ἡρακλέους Εὐθε . [. . . . . ἱεροῦ, καὶ τῶν ἐπι]δ[ο]θέντων παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων

ὑπογέγραφά σοι τὰ ἀντίγραφα· ἀξιῶ σε εν . [22 letters *] ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) ς Φαμενὼθ ζ.*

ὑπόμνημα. Δωρίωνι ἐπιστάτηι παρὰ [Πετοσίριος ἀρχιερέως. πρότ]ερόν σοι ἐνεφάνισα ἐν τῶι Χοίαχ
5 μηνὶ περὶ τῆς σφραγῖδος τοῦ ἱεροῦ διότι [. . . . . αὐτὴν Χεσμῆνις] καὶ Σεμθεὺς ὁ υἱὸς ἐν τῶι Ἀθὺρ μηνὶ
ἀπὸ ἐνάτης, τοῦτο δὲ ἔπ[ρ]αξεν πρὸς τὸ σ[22 letters] ὧν [ἂ]ν βούλωνται γράφειν Μανε-
θῶι καὶ οἷς ἂν βούλωνται. προσαγγέλλω οὖ[ν 18 letters ἐπεὶ] ο[ὐ] δυνάμεθα χρήσασθαι ἄλληι
[σφ]ραγῖδι, ἐδώκαμεν δὲ ἐν τῶι Χοίαχ μη[νὶ 21 letters] . [. .] τῶι παρὰ Ἁρυώτου βασιλικῶι
[γρ]αμματεῖ περὶ τούτων ὑπόμν[η]μα [ἀξιῶν 19 letters] . [.]αμον ἀπεσταλκότα πρὸς
10 [Ἁρυώ]την Νεχθεμμέως τὸν πρότερ[ο]ν [ἐν τῶι ἀδύτωι ὄντα καὶ τὸν ν]ῦν ὑπάρχοντα Χεσμῆνιν
[. . . .] . . [. .] πυθέσθαι περὶ τῆς σφραγῖδος [24 letters]ας παρὰ Σεμθέως τοῦ Χεσμή-
[νι]ο[ς .]π . [.]ει[. . . . . . .]νη ωσπρ . τ[. .] . υ[. . . . . . .] . [14 letters εἰ-λ]ηφέναι. καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις
[εἴ] σ[ο]ι δοκεῖ μ[. . . .] ἀποστεῖλαί τινα π[ρὸς] αὐτοὺ[ς . . . . . .]ε . . . . . [.] . [.]ιος τοῦ Παοῦτος καὶ Ἁρυώτου
τοῦ Νεχθεμμέως περὶ τούτου καὶ γράψα[ι] ἡμῖν π[ρὸς . . . .]ον τὸν στρα-[τη]γ[ό]ν. εὐτύχει.
15 (ἔτους) ϛ Φαμενὼθ ϛ. ἀποσταλεὶς Ἀριστόνικος πρὸς τὸν [ἐν τῶι] ἀδύτωι Χ[ε]σμῆ[ν]ιν ἐπηρώτα εἰ ὑπάρχει ἐν τῶι
ἱερῶι [[τ .]] ἡ σφραγὶς ἧι χρῶνται οἱ [ἱ]ερ[ε]ῖς πρὸς τὰς γραφ[θησο]μένας ἐπιστολάς, Χεσμῆνις δὲ οὐκ ἔφη ἔχειν.
τῆι δ[ὲ] ζ παραγενόμενοι Θοτορταῖος Ἁ[ρ]μαχόρου Ἁρμάχορος Νεχθεμμέ[ο]υ[ς] Ἱμούθης Πνάσιο[ς] Ἁρυώτης Νε-
χθεμμέους τὴμ μὲν σφραγῖδα ὡμολόγουν ὑπάρχειν ἐν τῶι ἀδύτωι, τῶ[ι δὲ] ἀρχιερεῖ οὐ[κ] ἔφασαν πιστεύειν
ἵνα μὴ κυριεύσας κοινὴν ἐπιστολὴν κατὰ πάντων γράψας σφραγίση[ται αὐ]τῆι τῆι σφραγῖδι.

On the verso

20 Ἀντιόχωι [ ]

2. Second ε of φεβιχει inserted after ι was written. 8. l. βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως?

'Dorion to Antiochus, greeting. I have written below for you copies of the memorandum addressed to me by Petosiris the high-priest of the temple of Heracles Eu . . . at Phebichis and the declaration presented by the priests. I beg you to (take cognizance of the matter?). Good-bye. The 6th year, Phamenoth 7.

'Memorandum. To Dorion the epistates from Petosiris, high-priest. I made a previous statement to you in the month of Choiak about the seal of the temple, that it was abstracted by Chesmenis and his son Semtheus on the ninth of the month Athur, which he did in order to (seal?) anything they may wish to write to Manetho and any other persons they please. I therefore report the matter to you, since we cannot use any other seal; and in the month of Choiak I presented a memorandum on the subject to . . . agent of Haruotes the basilico-grammateus (?), requesting him to send . . . to Haruotes son of Nechthemmeus, who was formerly in the sanctuary, and Chesmenis, who is now there, to inquire about the seal; and he (reported, having learnt?) from Semtheus son of Chesmenis, that . . . had (not?) taken it. You will therefore do well, if it please you, to send some one to them . . . son of Paous, and Haruotes son of Nechthemmeus concerning this matter, and write for me to . . . the strategus. Farewell.

'The 6th year, Phamenoth 6. Aristonicus having been sent to Chesmenis who is in the sanctuary asked him if the seal which the priests used for the letters that they had to write was in the temple; and Chesmenis denied that he had it. On the 7th, however, Thotortaeus son of Harmachorus, Harmachorus son of Nechthemmeus, Imouthes son of Pnasis, and Haruotes son of Nechthemmeus came and confessed that the seal was in the sanctuary; but they said they did not trust it to the high-priest, lest when he obtained possession of it he should write a letter accusing them all and seal it with the actual seal. (Addressed) To Antiochus.'

1. Petosiris the high-priest is also mentioned in **131**.

2. Εὐθε . . . seems to be an unknown epithet of Heracles; the third letter looks like θ but this may be due to some ink having come off from another papyrus, in which case σ might be read. Perhaps, however, ἱεροῦ did not follow, and ευθε . [need not then refer to Ἡρακλέους at all. For the cult of Heracles, i.e. Hershef, cf. the mention of a Ἡρακλεῖον in **110**. 5.

3. ἀξιῶ σε εν . [: or perhaps ἀξιώσας ν . [. The doubt is caused by some extraneous ink; cf. note on l. 2.

6. σ[φραγίσασθαι is the natural word, but the genitive ὧν is not easy to account for.

9. There remains only the tip of the letter before μον, but it is sufficient to exclude μάχιμον.

10. The supplement after πρότερ[ο]ν is suggested by l. 15.

11–2. This passage is too much damaged for complete reconstruction. Something like ὁ δὲ αὐτῶι ἀπήγγειλεν ἀκούσ]ας παρὰ Σεμθέως . . . τούτους μὴ εἰλ]ηφέναι (sc. τὴν σφραγῖδα) or τὸν δεῖνα εἰλ]ηφέναι may have been written.

13. After π[ρὸς] αὐτοὺ[ς some such supplement as πευσόμενον παρά suggests itself, but the traces of letters are so scanty that they can hardly be identified.

14. π[ρὸς . . . τ]ὸν στρα[τη]γ[ό]ν is not very satisfactory, but στρα cannot be avoided, and the other letters, though not certain, suit the vestiges.

16. γραφ[θησο]μένας: the future is not wanted, but γραφ[ο]μένας does not fill the space. Possibly, however, there was a flaw in the papyrus, which the writer left blank.

73. LETTER OF ANTIGONUS TO DORION.

Mummies 69 and 70. 23·5 × 12·9 *cm.* B.C. 243–2.

A letter from Antigonus to the epistates Dorion (who is different from the Dorion in 72) recounting the same events which are the subject of **34**, a petition of Antigonus to the king; cf. introd. to that papyrus. This document, like **34**, is only a draft, and is full of additions and corrections; it is written on the verso, the recto being blank.

Ἀντίγ[ονος Δωρί]ωνι χαίρειν. ἔ[γραψας περὶ Καλλιδρό-
τ[οῦ Καλλικρά]του
μου ὥ[στε ἔ]τι καὶ νῦν ἐπαν[αγκάσαι αὐτὸν τὸν ὄνον
[τῶι κυρί]ωι
ἀποδοῦν[αι ἢ τι]μὴν αὐτῶι ⟦. . [17 letters
ὁ Καλλίδρο[μος] δὲ τὸν Δωρίων[α 16 „
ὅπως [. . . .] ἐνέγκηι
5 ⟦και εαν . [. . .]ρη⟧δ . να ἀπολυ[17 „
πρᾶξαι δ[ὲ αὐ]τὸν τιμὴν τοῦ ὄ[νου (δραχμὰς) κ. ἐγὼ οὖν ἡσυ-
χῆι μὲν κα[τὰ τὴ]ν ⟦π⟧ γραφεῖσάν μο[ι ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐπιστολὴν
ἀπήγαγον [τὸν] Κα[λλίδ]ρομον ε[ἰς τὸ ἐν Σινάρυ δεσμω-
τήριον ἵνα τ[ὸ ὑποζ]ύγιον ἀπ[οδῶι Δωρίωνι, Πάτρων δὲ
ἀρχι τῆ[ς κάτω] τοπαρχίας
10 ὁ φυλακίτης παρ[αγε]νόμενο[ς] ε[ἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον
τὸ ἐν Σινάρυ
ἐξήγαγεν τὸν Καλλίδρομον [ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου
ἡμᾶς κατὰ τὸ
ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι τὴν πρᾶξιν π[οιήσασθαι ⟦εκ του
διάγραμμα
⟦σωματος⟧ τόν τε ὄνον ἀναγαγ[ὼν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν
ἐν Τακόναι
καὶ ἔχων παρ' αὐτῶι ἐγ μέσου ἀ[φήιρηκεν αὐτόν.
15 εἰ οὖν μὴ ἠρρωστήσαμεν επ[16 letters
⟦αν⟧
⟦ον⟧ εἰλήφειν ἂν παρ' αὐτοῦ διά [τινος μαχαιροφό-
ρου. ἔγραψα οὖν σοι περὶ τούτων [ὅπως εἰδῆις εἶναι
αἴτιον τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι τῶι Δω[ρίωνι ἀπόδοσιν τὴν
Πάτρωνος βίαν, ὃς ἀπειθῶν δια[τετέλεκε τοῖς πα-
20 ρὰ σοῦ προστάγμασιν. ἔ[ρρωσο. (ἔτους) δ . . . . . .

17. ρου· Pap.

'Antigonus to Dorion, greeting. You wrote to me about Callidromus, now at last to compel him either to give up the donkey to its master or to pay him its value. But Callidromus . . . to exact from him the value of the donkey, 20 drachmae. I therefore in accordance with the letter which you wrote to me removed Callidromus quietly to the prison at Sinaru in order that he might restore the animal to Dorion. But Patron the archiphylacites of the lower toparchy came to the prison at Sinaru and released Callidromus from the prison, so that I was not able to carry out the execution according to the edict; and he took away the donkey to his house and has removed it from my reach by keeping it with him at Takona. If I were not unwell I should have taken it from him through one of the sword-bearers. So I write to you about it in order that you may know that the reason why restitution has not been made to Dorion is the violence of Patron, who has continued to disobey your orders. Good-bye. The 4th year . . .'

2. The insertion above the line suggests a patronymic, and cf. **34**. 2 Καλλίδρο]μον Καλλικράτους; but τ[οῦ Καλλικρά]του (cf. e.g. **111**. 32 [Θη]ραμένου) is rather long for the lacuna.

3. τῶι κυρί]ωι: cf. **34**. 3.

4–5. The construction and sense of these two lines is obscure. With regard to the insertion above l. 5, there is a space both after ὅπως and before ἐνέγκηι. It is doubtful whether the erasure below extends beyond ρη; at any rate να was left untouched, though perhaps if ἵνα was written the interlinear ὅπως was intended to replace it. Above the end of l. 4 there are slight traces of ink which may represent another insertion.

6. (δραχμὰς) κ: cf. **34**. 3. ἡσυχῆι is written with an iota adscript also in P. Petrie I. 19. 5 and III. 8. 5.

7. ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐπιστολήν: cf. **34**. 2 κατὰ πρόσταγμα Δωρίωνος.

9–10. Cf. note on **34**. 1.

12. [[εκ του] σωματος]]: cf. **34**. 8.

16. μαχαιροφό]ρου: μαχαιροφόροι are frequently met with in the second century B.C. (cf. P. Tebt. 35. 13, note), but there seems to be no other mention of them in the third. ρου might also be the termination of a proper name; but the supplement we have suggested is more suitable to the context.

74. Order for Payment.

Mummy A. 8 × 24·2 *cm.* About B.C. 250.

A letter from one official to another, authorizing a payment of olyra (durra) to three persons who are probably minor officials. The conclusion of the document, which belongs to the reign of Philadelphus or Euergetes, is lost. An interesting conversion of artabae on the δοχικόν measure into artabae on the ἀνηλωτικόν measure occurs in ll. 2–3, but the proportion of 40 : 38 which is found here brings the evidence of this papyrus into conflict with that from other sources; cf. note on l. 2. The writing is across the fibres.

1 [.] . . . . . . [12 letters] χα[ί]ρειν. μέτρησον Νοβώνχι χιριστ[ῆ]ι καὶ Ὥρωι

2 Σ̣ε̣μ̣θ̣έ̣ως καὶ Ἁρσεμφθε̣[ῖ] τῶι παρὰ Τε̣[ῶ]το̣[ς] ὀλυρ(ῶν) (ἀρτάβας) Ἀ̣Βτξη ∠δ´ μέτρωι δοχικῶι,

3 [ὥ]σ̣τε γ[ίνεσ]θ̣αι ἀνηλωτικῶι Ἀ̣Βφ, σύμβολα δὲ ποίησαι πρ[ὸ]ς αὐτο[ὺς] β, τὸ μὲν ἓν εἰς τὸ Κλεομάχου ὄνομα

4 (ἀρταβῶν) Ἀχ ὃ γίνεται ἀνηλωτικῶι [(ἀρτάβαι) Ἀχ]πδ, τὸ δ´ ἕτερον εἰς τοὶμὸν ὄνομα (ἀρταβῶν) ψξη∠δ´,

5 ὥστε γίνεσθαι ἀνηλ[ωτικῶι (ἀρτάβας) ωις,] τὰ δὲ σύμβ[ο]λα ποίησαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καθὰ ὑπογέ-

6 γρα[πτ]αί σοι. μεμετρ[η 16 letters γρ]α̣μ̣ματέως τῆς Ζω[ίλο]υ̣ [νομ]α̣ρχίας

7 [.]τ̣[. . . .]ν̣ . . . α̣τ̣ι̣[28 letters]κ̣ωε[. .] . . [. . . .]π̣

. . . .

On the verso

κε.

3. [ω]στε added in the margin. ανηλωτικωι above the line. 4. l. τοὐμόν.

'. . . greeting. Measure to Nobonchis the agent, and Horus son of Semtheus, and Harsemphtheus the subordinate of Teos $2368\frac{3}{4}$ artabae of olyra on the receiving measure, which are on the spending measure 2500, and make two receipts with them, one in the name of Cleomachus for 1600 artabae, equivalent to 1684 on the spending measure, the other in my name for $768\frac{3}{4}$ artabae, equivalent to 816 on the spending measure, and make the receipts with them as herein instructed . . .'

2. $2368\frac{3}{4}$ artabae on the δοχικόν measure were equivalent to 2500 on the ἀνηλωτικόν measure, being subdivided in ll. 4–5 into 1600 δοχ. (which = 1684 ἀνηλ.) + $768\frac{3}{4}$ δοχ. (which = 816 ἀνηλ.); the missing figures are supplied by the arithmetic. As often happens in conversions from one standard to another, the ratios implied are not quite consistent, being approximately 71 : 75, 400 : 421, and 161 : 171 in the three cases respectively. A proportion of about 20 : 21 seems to be that aimed at, i. e. 1 art. δοχ. = $1\frac{1}{20}$ ἀνηλ. The sizes and names of the different kinds of artabae mentioned in papyri give rise to many problems; for the most recent discussions of them cf. P. Tebt. I. pp. 232–3, and Hultsch, *Archiv*, III. pp. 426–9. On the one hand there is a series of artabae ranging from 40 (or 42) to 24 choenices, and on the other a series of artabae on measures which bear the names δρόμου, ἀνηλωτικόν, Γάλλου, Φιλίππου, Ἑρμοῦ, χαλκοῦν, φορικόν, θησαυρικόν, and δοχικόν, to which may now be added the artaba μέτρωι τῶι χοι τῶι βασιλικῶι (**84** (*a*). 6, **90**. 11), and the art. μετρωι α . (   ) of apparently 40 choenices in **119**. 18. The main difficulty lies in the fact that although the relative sizes of the first six of the artabae in the second series are known from P. Brit. Mus. 265, in no case hitherto has there been direct evidence to connect any of these six with an artaba of the first series. In order therefore to determine the number of choenices in the artabae of the second series it is necessary to start from an assumption that one particular artaba in it is identical with an artaba in the first, or at any rate has a definite number of choenices. In P. Tebt. *l. c.* we took as our starting-point the supposed identity of the artaba δοχικῷ, which was known to be an official measure and was shown by P. Tebt. 61 (*b*). 390 to be $\frac{6}{7}$ of an artaba δρόμῳ, with

the artaba of 36 choenices often found in official corn-accounts in P. Tebt. I. From that primary assumption we concluded that the art. *δρόμῳ* in P. Tebt. 61 (*b*) and P. Brit. Mus. 265 contained 42 choen., the art. *ἀνηλωτικῷ* $31\frac{1}{4}$ choen., and the art. *χαλκῷ* $32\frac{13}{16}$ choen. Hultsch on the other hand, starting from the assumption that the art. *δρόμῳ* contained 40 choen. attributes $31\frac{1}{4}$ choen. to the art. *χαλκῷ* and $29\frac{3}{4}$ choen. to the art. *ἀνηλωτικῷ*. The art. *δοχικῷ*, which in P. Tebt. 61 (*b*). 390 stood at a ratio of 6 : 7 to the art. *δρόμῳ*, is not taken into consideration by Hultsch; it would on his view of the size of the art. *δρόμῳ* contain $34\frac{2}{7}$ choen. Applying these rival theories to the present passage, which gives the relative sizes of the art. *δοχικῷ* and *ἀνηλωτικῷ*, the ratio of 21 : 20 there indicated is equally inconsistent with our proposed ratio of 36 : $31\frac{1}{4}$ and Hultsch's ratio of $34\frac{2}{7}$: $29\frac{3}{4}$; and it is clear that whatever view be taken of the number of choenices in the artabae *δρόμῳ* and *δοχικῷ* in P. Tebt. 61 (*b*). 383, it is impossible to combine the evidence of that passage with **74**. 2 and P. Brit. Mus. 265 except by supposing either that there are one or more errors in the arithmetic of the conversions, or, what is more likely, that one at least of the three artabae *δοχικῷ*, *δρόμῳ*, and *ἀνηλωτικῷ*, was capable of variation in size. The inconsistency between the ratio of the art. *δοχικῷ* and *ἀνηλωτικῷ* found in **74** and the ratio of them found by combining P. Tebt. 61 (*b*). 383 with P. Brit. Mus. 265 is easily intelligible, if e.g. the art. *δοχικῷ* in **74** is not the same as the art. *δοχικῷ* in P. Tebt. 61 (*b*). 390, or if the art. *δρόμῳ* in P. Tebt. 61 (*b*). 390 is different from the art. *δρόμῳ* in P. Brit. Mus. 265, or if the art. *ἀνηλωτικῷ* in **74** is different from the art. *ἀνηλωτικῷ* in P. Brit. Mus. 265. But without further evidence it is impossible to detect by which of these three possible entrances the inconsistency has crept in. The ratio of 21 : 20 between the art. *δοχικῷ* and *ἀνηλωτικῷ* found in **74** is thus irreconcilable for the present with the other evidence for the relation of those two measures, but does it correspond to the ratio of the art. *ἀνηλωτικῷ* to any other known artaba? The answer to that question is in the affirmative. The ratio of the art. *χαλκῷ* to the art. *ἀνηλωτικῷ* in P. Brit. Mus. 265 is also 21 : 20; and from this correspondence it follows that, provided that the art. *ἀνηλωτικῷ* is the same in both papyri, the art. *δοχικῷ* in **74** is approximately identical with the art. *χαλκῷ*. Cf. also P. Petrie III. 129 (*a*). 4 *διάφορον ἀνηλωτικῷ (πυροῦ) ρλε ἀν(ὰ) ε ρ / αβ′*, where '5 per cent on 135 art.' seems to correspond, as Smyly remarks, to the ratio of 21 : 20 between the art. *χαλκῷ* and *ἀνηλωτικῷ* in P. Brit. Mus. 265, though how the total of $1\frac{2}{3}$ artabae was reached is quite obscure. The present volume supplies some important evidence as to the size of the art. *χαλκῷ*: cf. **85**. 18 *μέτρωι τῶι (ἐννεακαιεικοσι)χ(οινίκωι) τῶι πρὸς τὸ χαλκοῦν*. The phrase *τῶι πρὸς τὸ χαλκοῦν*, which is also found e.g. in P. Amh. 43. 10 and P. Cairo 10250 (*Archiv*, II. p. 80) without any previous specification of the number of choenices, suggests that this art. of 29 choen. is the art. *χαλκῷ* of P. Brit. Mus. 265. This inference is, however, far from certain, because the standard measures, whatever their size, were probably all made in bronze (cf. P. Tebt. 5. 85 *τὰ εὔ⟨σταθμα⟩ ἐν ἑκάστωι νομῶι ἀποδεδειγμένα χα(λκᾶ)*, sc. *μέτρα*), and the art. *χαλκῷ* may well have varied in size, as we have found reason to believe was the case with one at any rate of the art. *δρόμῳ*, *δοχικῷ*, and *ἀνηλωτικῷ*. But assuming that the art. *χαλκῷ* in P. Brit. Mus. 265 contained 29 choenices we can deduce the approximate sizes of the other artabae in that papyrus as follows:—

χαλκῷ : δρόμῳ = 25 : 32 ∴ δρόμῳ = $37\frac{3}{25}$ choen.
χαλκῷ : ἀνηλωτικῷ = 21 : 20 ∴ ἀνηλ. = $27\frac{13}{21}$ „
χαλκῷ : Φιλίππου = 10 : 11 ∴ Φιλίππου = $31\frac{9}{10}$ „
χαλκῷ : Γάλλου = 200 : 207 ∴ Γάλλου = $30\frac{3}{200}$ „
χαλκῷ : Ἑρμοῦ = 25 : 26 ∴ Ἑρμοῦ = $30\frac{4}{25}$ „

Applying this to the three artabae, *φορικῷ*, *θησαυρικῷ*, and another unnamed, in P. Brit.

Mus. 125, the ratios of which to each other correspond almost exactly to those of the art. δρόμῳ, χαλκῷ, and Ἑρμοῦ in P. Brit. Mus. 265, we should obtain $37\frac{3}{25}$ choen. for the art. φορικῷ, 29 for the art. θησαυρικῷ, and $30\frac{4}{25}$ for the unnamed art.; and with regard to **74**. 2 the art. δοχικῷ, being apparently identical with that χαλκῷ, would contain 29 choen., and if the art. δοχικῷ in P. Tebt. 61 (*b*). 390 also has 29 choen. the art. δρόμῳ there contains $34\frac{5}{6}$ art. There is a considerable element of uncertainty in these figures owing to the doubt attaching to the fundamental assumption that the art. of 29 choen. πρὸς τὸ χαλκοῦν in **85**. 13 is identical with the art. χαλκῷ in P. Brit. Mus. 265; but there seems to be as much evidence for that hypothesis as for either the assumption that the art. δοχικῷ in P. Tebt. 61 (*b*). 390 contains 36 choen., which was the basis of our previous calculations, or the assumption that the art. δρόμῳ contains 40 choen., which is the basis of Hultsch's scheme. The phrase used in P. Tebt. 105. 40 and 109. 20 μέτρωι ἑξαχοινίκωι δρόμου τοῦ ἐν τῇ προγεγραμμένῃ κώμῃ (sc. Κερκεοσίρει) Σουχιείου distinctly indicates that the μέτρον δρόμου of other temples might be different, so that the μέτρον δρόμου is a singularly unstable foundation upon which to build.

The μέτρα παραδοχικά in **87**. 12 are probably identical with the μέτρον δοχικόν of **74**, and for another example of the μέτρον ἀνηλωτικόν cf. **101**. 8.

6. Ζω[ίλο]υ [νομ]αρχίας: cf. e.g. Νίκωνος νομαρχίας in P. Petrie III. 37 (*a*). i. 4. If Zoilus here is the captain who is so often mentioned in these papyri (e.g. **96**. 30),]αρχιας may be the termination of a military term; but ἰλαρχία does not occur in the Petrie papyri, and the ἱππαρχίαι there are distinguished by numbers or by nationalities, not by the names of their commanders.

75. Letter of Theodorus to the Phylacitae. Pennsyl. 2824

Mummy A 15. 10·5 × 10·3 *cm.* B.C. 232 (231).

A letter from Theodorus, probably an ἀρχιφυλακίτης or ἐπιστάτης φυλακιτῶν (though cf. **105**. 1, note), to the φυλακῖται of Talaë in the Κωίτης τόπος (cf. **36**. 3, note), ordering them to survey and deliver to the purchaser part of a κλῆρος, which had reverted to the ownership of the State and was now being sold; cf. **52**. 26, note. Amongst other fragments from the same piece of cartonnage is part of a letter from Theodorus to Harmiusis, who is probably identical with the Harmiusis in **36**. 2: the 15th year in l. 10 is therefore more likely to refer to Euergetes than to Philadelphus; cf. also l. 3, note.

Θεόδωρος τοῖς ἐν Ταλάηι φυ(λακίταις) χαί-
ρειν. γέγραφεν ἡμῖν Πετοσῖρις ὁ το-
πάρχης καὶ Πετε[ι]μούθης ὁ το-
πογρ(αμματεὺς) πεπρακέναι Φιλάμμονι
5 ἐκ τοῦ Φιλοξένου κλ(ήρου) περὶ Ταλάην
χορταράκης (ἀρούρας) γβ'. παραλαβόντες
οὖν τὸν κωμογρ(αμματέα) περιμετρήσατε

αὐτῶι, πλέον δὲ μὴ προίεσθε ὡς
πρὸς [ὑ]μᾶς τοῦ [λ]όγου ἐσομένου.
10 ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) ιε Τῦβι β.

3. μ of πετε[ι]μουθης corr.?

'Theodorus to the guards at Talaë, greeting. Petosiris the toparch and Petimouthes the topogrammateus have written to me that they have sold to Philammon out of the holding of Philoxenus at Talaë $3\frac{2}{3}$ arourae of grass-aracus land. Take the komogrammateus therefore with you, and measure the area to him, but do not part with any more, knowing that you will be held responsible. Good-bye. The 15th year, Tubi 2.'

3. This Petimouthes is probably identical with one or other of the topogrammateis mentioned in **67**. 7 and **68**. 5 in the 19th year of Euergetes.

5. Φιλοξένου κλ(ήρου): a Φιλοξένου κλῆρος in the Oxyrhynchite nome is mentioned in **85**. 13, where it is called βασιλικός, implying that it had reverted to the Crown like the Φιλοξένου κλῆρος in **75**; cf. **52**. 26, note. Hence in spite of the difference of situation Philoxenus may be the same person in both cases.

6. χορταράκη is a new compound, for which cf. **130** χερσαράκου.

76. Order for Payment.

Mummy A. 9·8 × 10 *cm*. B.C. 248 (247).

A letter to Docimus, who is probably identical with the Docimus in **86** and was most likely a sitologus or other official connected with the State granaries, from Eupolis, probably a higher official, authorizing a payment of durra to be made to the lessee of a κλῆρος. This proceeding is stated to be in accordance with the terms of the lease, and the durra was perhaps required as an instalment of rent due to the landlord, but the mutilation of the important word in l. 8 leaves the object of the payment uncertain. The writing, which is very ill-formed, is across the fibres, and apparently on the verso.

Εὔπολις Ζωπυρίων⟨ος⟩ Δοκίμωι
χαίρειν. προοῦ Τειμοκρά-
τηι κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν
τοῦ κλήρου οὗ ἐμισθώσατ[ο
5 παρὰ Κρέοντος τοῦ Αὐτ[ονό-
μου πυρῶν ἀρταβῶν τ[ρι-
ακοσίων πεντήκοντα [. .
εἰ[ς] τὴν ι . α . αφορίαν [ὅ]λυ

ρ[ῶ]ṿ ἀρτάβας εἴκοσι πέν[τε.
10 ἔρ[ρ]ωσο. (ἔτους) λη
Θωὺτ κε̣.

On the recto

Δ̣ο̣κ̣ίμω[ι.

'Eupolis son of Zopyrion to Docimus, greeting. Pay to Timocrates, in accordance with the contract concerning the holding which he has leased from Creon son of Autonomus for 350 artabae of wheat, for the . . . 25 artabae of olyra. Good-bye. The 38th year, Thoth 25. (Addressed) To Docimus.'

4–5. ἐμισθώσατο is doubtful, but is preferable to ἐμίσθωσεν, although the middle and active forms of μισθοῦν are occasionally confused in later papyri, e.g. P. Gen. 69 and 70. It would no doubt also be possible to translate ἐμίσθωσεν in the normal way by connecting παρὰ Κρεόντος with προοῦ and making πυρῶν . . . πεντήκοντα a partitive genitive; and this would of course account for the payment to Timocrates. But the general structure of the sentence and the absence of ἀπό before πυρῶν are in favour of the other interpretation.

7. Possibly πεντήκοντα [ἕξ, but more probably the line ended with πεντήκοντα.

8. None of the known words ending in -αφορια suits the context, and there is no sufficient justification for altering -αφοριαν to -οφοριαν, or -αφοραν, though it is possible that the word is e.g. ἀναφορίαν, having the same meaning as ἀναφοράν. There might then be some connexion between it and the β ἀναφορά found in P. Tebt. 100. β ἀναφορίαν, however, does not fill the space required here, and there is no stroke above the first letter to indicate that it is a figure. The mention of the 350 artabae of wheat for rent in l. 6 shows that the 25 artabae of olyra were in some way connected with that amount, perhaps forming part of it.

77. LETTER CONCERNING THE PRIESTLY REVENUES.

Mummy A. 15·2 × 21·8 *cm*. B.C. 249 (248).

Conclusion of a circular addressed very likely by the dioecetes or some other high personage to officials in, probably, the Heracleopolite nome (cf. l. 1 and 110. 5), securing to one or more temples the due payment of their revenues; cf. the similar decree by Euergetes II in P. Tebt. 6. A double date of particular importance occurs in l. 8; cf. App. i. p. 341.

. . . .

[30 letters]ε̣ι̣ τ̣ῶ̣ι Ἡρακλ̣εί̣ω[ι
[30 „]ρ̣ο̣ν̣ παστοφόροις
[. . . . .] τῶν λογευό̣ν̣τ̣ω̣ν ἵνα συντελῆται τὰ νομιζόμενα

[τοῖς θ]εοῖς καθάπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς σπουδάζει. λογεύοντες δὲ
5 [παρὰ] ὧν καὶ πρότερον εἰώθει τὸ προδιδόμενον ἀποκαθίστατε
[. . . . . . . ,] συντετάγμεθα γὰρ περὶ τ̣ῶν τ̣ελωνικῶν ἐφ' ὧ̣ι
[τοῖς θε]ο̣ῖ̣ς̣ [τὰ] ἱερὰ σωθήσεσθαι καθὰ καὶ πρότερον.
(ἔτους) λϛ Ἀρτεμισίου κγ Παχὼν κβ.

3. l. λογεύοντων.

'. . . in order that the customary payments may be made to the gods in accordance with the king's desire. So collect from the same persons as before and restore (to the priests) the amounts previously paid to them, for we have received instructions with regard to the collection of taxes that the sacred revenues (?) are to be preserved for the gods as in former times. The 36th year, Artemisius 23, Pachon 22.'

78. Letter of Nicias to Argaeus.

Mummy A 13. 21·8 × 9·4 *cm.* B.C. 244–3 (243–2).

A letter to Argaeus from Nicias requesting that two persons should be released from some public service, the nature of which is not specified. As the scene was Alabastropolis, it was probably connected with quarrying. The writer and addressee no doubt occupied official positions, but there is no indication of their rank. The 4th year (l. 24) refers no doubt to the reign of Euergetes.

Ν̣ι̣κ̣ί̣α̣ς̣ Ἀργαίωι χ[αίρειν. πλεο-
ν̣ά̣κ̣ι̣ς̣ μου γεγραφηκότος σοι περ[ὶ
Ζωΐλου καὶ Πραξιμάχου ὅταν
λειτουργία προσπέσηι ἀπολ̣ύ̣-
5 ειν αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐδέποτε ὑ[πα-
κήκοας ἡμῶν. ἔτι οὖν καὶ νῦν
ἐπιμελές σοι ἔστω ἀπολύ-
ειν αὐτοὺς τῆς νῦν εἰς Ἀλα-
βάστρων πόλιν λειτουργίας
10 διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐκπ̣ε̣σ̣[εῖ]ν αὐτοῖς τ̣ὸ
νῦν λειτουργῆσαι, καὶ ἐὰν
ἐκ τοῦ Ὀξυρυγ[χ]ίτου ἐπιλέ-
γωνται Ζωΐλον ἀπολύσας
ἐὰν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Κωίτου Πρα-
15 ξίμαχον· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ δυνα-

τὸς ἦσθα ἀπολῦσαι γράψο(μ)
μοι καὶ ὅπως [ἀπὸ]λήμψει
τὴν γραφὴν παρὰ Δωρίωνος ἄνευ
ἐμοῦ ἵνα δι' ἐμοῦ τὸ παράγ-
20 γελμα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
δοθῇι.
ἔρρωσο.
(ἔτους ?) [δ . . . .]

On the verso
2nd hand (ἔτους) δ, περ[ὶ Ζωί-
25 λου.

10. εσ of εκπεσ[ει]ν above the line. 18. γραφην above the line.

'Nicias to Argaeus, greeting. Though I have often written to you about Zoilus and Praximachus, to release them when they are called upon to serve, you have never listened to me. So now at last be careful to release them from their present service at Alabastropolis because it is not at present their turn to serve; and if people are being chosen from the Oxyrhynchite nome release Zoilus, if from the Koite toparchy, Praximachus. If, however, you are unable to release them, write to me and get the document from Dorion without me, so that I may be the means of giving the men the order. Good-bye. The 4th year . . . (Endorsed) The 4th year, concerning Zoilus.'

8. Cf. P. Petrie II. 47. 37–8 λειτ[ουργεῖν] ἐν Ἀλαβάστρων πόλει. Ἀλαβάστρων πόλις is presumably identical with the village in the Hermopolite nome which in Roman times was called Ἀλαβαστρίνη; cf. B. G. U. 553. B. iii. 1. Alabastropolis is placed by Ptolemy at some distance from the river, to the south-east of Cynopolis and immediately opposite Hermopolis. λειτουργός as a title occurs in **96**. 14.

10. ἐκπεσ[εῖ]ν, if right, must have much the same sense as προσπέσῃι in l. 4. The word has apparently been corrected; cf. critical note.

16. ἦσθα for ἦς is a grammatical curiosity, perhaps due to a confusion caused by the use of ἦς for ἦσθα.

18. Two persons called Dorion held the office of ἐπιστάτης φυλακιτῶν in the Oxyrhynchite and Heracleopolite nomes respectively at this time (cf. **34**. 2, **72**. 4), and the Dorion in **78** may be identical with one of them or with the Dorion at Phebichis (if he be a distinct person) who occurs in **106**. 9, &c.

79. Letter of Ptolemaeus to Heraclides.

Mummy 87. 10·2 × 8·5 *cm.* About B.C. 260.

This fragment of a letter is noticeable for its elaborate introductory formula, which resembles, though it does not quite coincide with, that in P. Petrie III. 53 (*o*); cf. II. 13 (6). 1–3. The date is probably within the reign of Philadelphus.

Πτολεμαῖ[ος] Ἡρακλείδει
χαίρειν. εἰ ἔρρωσαι καὶ
ὧν πρόνοιαν ποιεῖ καὶ
τἄλλα σοι κατὰ λόγον ἐστὶν
5 εἴ⟨η⟩ ἂν ὡς ἐγὼ θέλω καὶ
τοῖς θεοῖς πολλὴ χά[ρι]ς,
ὑγίαινον δὲ καὶ [α]ὐτός.
ηδ̣ . . [ ]
εὐχαριστήσε̣[ις μ]οι
. . . . .

On the verso

Ἡρακλείδει.

'Ptolemaeus to Heraclides, greeting. If you are well, and if the objects of your care and other concerns are to your mind I should be glad, and much gratitude would be due to the gods; I myself am also in good health. You will oblige me . . .'

8. The letters above the line are very blurred and may have been cancelled. ἡδέως is unsatisfactory.

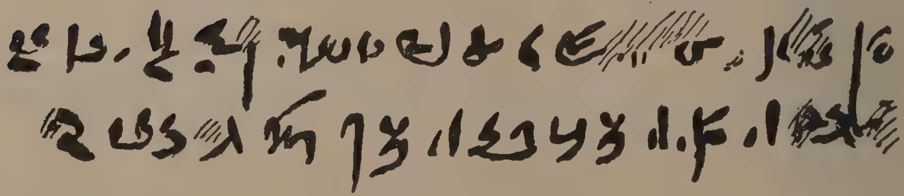
80. Export of Wine.

Mummy 117. 17·3 × 12·1 *cm.* B.C. 250.

A notice from Epichares to Chaeremon that Horus and another person (cf. note on ll. 2–3) were each exporting two jars of wine from villages in the Heracleopolite nome to Hiera Nesus, and that the tax of $\frac{1}{24}$ had not been paid. This Hiera Nesus is no doubt the village of that name in the south of the Fayûm (cf. e.g. **81**. 16), where Chaeremon presumably held an official post; and the tax of $\frac{1}{24}$ is probably to be regarded as an export duty analogous to those known in the Roman period. It may be conjectured that these tickets were given to the persons exporting the commodity, and that they had to produce them on reaching their destination. At the end is a signature in demotic, having an important date by two different systems of reckoning the king's years; cf. note *ad loc.* **154–5** are similar notices passing between the same officials. The writing is across the fibres of the papyrus.

Ἐπιχάρης Χαι̣[ρ]ή̣[μονι χα]ίρε[ιν.
[ἐ]ξ̣α̣γ̣ε̣ι̣ . . . .

κ̣ . [.]ε̣ω̣ς̣ τ̣[οῦ] Ἡ̣ρ̣[ακ]λ̣ε̣ο̣π̣ο̣λ̣ί̣τ̣ο̣υ̣ [νομοῦ εἰς
Ἱερὰν Νῆσον οἴνου κ(εράμια) β ὧν κδ´ ο̣ὐ̣ π̣[επρά]χ̣α̣-
5 μεν. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λε ⟦Παυ⟧ Ἐπεὶφ [.
2nd hand Ἐπιχάρης Χαιρήμονι χαίρειν.
ἐξάγε[ι] Ὧρος Τεῶτος ἐκ Θμ[οι-
νεθύμεως το̣[ῦ Ἡ]ρα[κλεο-
π̣[ο]λ̣ί̣τ̣[ου] ν̣ο̣[μο]ῦ̣ ε̣[ἰς Ἱερ]ὰ̣[ν
10 Νῆσον οἴνου κ(εράμια) β ὧν κ[δ´
οὐ πεπ[ρ]άχαμεν. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λε
Ἐπεὶφ δ.



On the verso
15 Ὧρος Τεῶτος.

6–14. 'Epichares to Chaeremon, greeting. Horus son of Teos is exporting from Thmoinethumis in the Heracleopolite nome to Hiera Nesus 2 jars of wine, on which we have not exacted a 24th. Good-bye. The 35th year, Epeiph 4.

'(Signed in demotic) Written by Haruotes, 2 measures of wine . . . Written in year 34 which makes year 35, Epeiph 4.'

2–3. We are unable to reconcile the vestiges at the beginning of l. 3 with Θμοινεθύμεως, neither do the very indistinct letters in l. 2 well suit Ὧρος Τεῶτος, and a longer name seems to be required. It is therefore preferable to suppose that this is not a single notice in duplicate, but two distinct notices written on the same sheet. Perhaps Horus and the other person were going in company. **154–5** also are not in duplicate.

13–4. For the transcription and translation of the demotic signature of the scribe we are indebted to Mr. Griffith. It contains the earliest extant mention of the two different methods of counting the king's years, which is found also in P. Petrie III. 58 (*d*) and P. Magd. 35; cf. Smyly, *Hermathena*, X. No. xxv, p. 432, and our discussion in App. ii. pp. 358–367. The 'revenue' year, which in those two papyri is explicitly called the year ὡς αἱ πρόσοδοι, began, we think, on Thoth 1, and the figures denoting it were sometimes one unit in advance of those of the 'regnal' year. In the present case the 35th is the revenue year, the 34th the regnal; and the papyrus shows that the 35th regnal year of Philadelphus must have begun later than Epeiph 4, i. e. more than 10 months after the beginning of the 35th revenue year.

81. Official Correspondence concerning Cleruchs.

Mummy 98. 28·8 × 25·8 *cm.* B.C. 238 (237).

This papyrus and the next both belong to the correspondence of Asclepiades, an official of some importance in the Arsinoite nome in the 9th year (of Euergetes). **81** contains a series of letters from Artemidorus, giving information of the death of certain cavalry soldiers, and directing that possession of their holdings should be resumed by the government. The language of Artemidorus plainly implies that the reversion of such *κλῆροι* to the State at their owner's death was the usual course at this period. That fact was not before definitely ascertained, though it had been inferred from the apparent inability of cleruchs to dispose of their holdings by will. In the second century B.C. it became customary for the cleruchic holding to pass from father to son, and it is possible that at the date of our papyrus also sons of cleruchs commonly received their fathers' holdings by a fresh grant from the State; but this practice has yet to be proved. Even in the later period a cleruch's rights of ownership were by no means complete; cf. P. Tebt. I. pp. 555–6.

Besides the column printed there are the ends of lines of the preceding column, which, as the words] *μερίδος* and *κλή*]*ρους* indicate, was of a like character. Adhering on the right is part of a new sheet containing the beginnings of lines of another letter from Artemidorus, with an enclosure addressed to Nicanor similar to that in ll. 5–10; one of the holdings referred to was *ἐν Φαρβα*[*ίθοις*, i.e. the Arsinoite village. There is also a separate strip having the first letters of lines preceded by a rather broad margin, which may have been the commencement of the roll; possibly it belongs to Col. i of the main fragment. *Θε*(*μίστου*) occurs in the margin; cf. l. 15 below. On the verso are parts of three much effaced columns in a small hand.

Col. ii.

[ ]

Ἀρτεμίδωρος· ὑπογέγραφ[*ά σ*]*οι τῆς πρὸς Νικάνορα* [*ἐπι-*
στολῆς τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὅ[*πως εἰ*]*δῇις.*
[(*ἔτους*) *θ*] *Φαῶφι κ̣*[*θ.*]
5 *Νικάνορ*[*ι.*] *οἱ ὑπογεγραμμ*[*έ*]*νοι ἱππεῖς τετ*[*ε*]*λευτήκασιν,*
ἀνάλαβε οὖν αὐτῶν [*τοὺ*]*ς κλήρους εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν·*

Ἡρ(ακλείδου) ἐν Βουβάστωι τῶν Ἐ[πι]μένους λο(χαγὸς) Σιτάλκης
Π[ο(λέμωνος)] [. . . .] . [. . . .]ιστα, ἐν Θε[ογ]ονίδι τῶν Λάκωνος λο(χαγὸς)
[. . . . . . .]μαχος Σκα . [. . . ,] ἐν Τεβέτνοι τῶν Σωσιπόλιος
10 [. . . . .]ν Ἀμμώνιος Απ[. . . . .] . ου. (ἔτους) θ Φαῶφι κθ.

[Χο]ίαχ δ.

Ἀρτεμίδωρ[ο]ς Ἀσκληπιάδει χαίρειν. οἱ ὑπογεγραμμένοι
ἱππεῖς τετελευτήκασιν, ἀνάλαβε οὖν αὐτῶν
Θε(μίστου) τοὺς κλήρους εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν· ἐν Ἡρακλείαι
15 τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος τῶν Δάμωνος λο(χαγὸς) Λέαγρος
Διονυσοφάνους, τῶν αὐτῶν δε(κανικὸς) Φιλωνίδης
Ἀρτεμιδώρου, ἐν Ἱεραῖ Νήσωι τῆς Πολέμωνος
τῶν Λίχα δε(κανικὸς) Ἐβρύζεμις Ζιοχόρου. (ἔτους) θ Ἀθὺρ κη.

ιθ.

20 Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἀσκληπιάδει χαίρειν. ὑπογέγραφά σοι
τῆς πρὸς Νικάνορα ἐπιστολῆς τἀντίγραφον ὅπως εἰδῆι[ς.
(ἔτους) θ Χοίαχ ιη.

'Artemidorus: I have written below for your information a copy of my letter to Nicanor. The 9th year, Phaophi 29.

'To Nicanor. The cavalry soldiers below-written have died; therefore take back their holdings for the State. At Bubastus of the troop of Epimenes, Sitalces son of . . ., captain; at Theogonis of the troop of Lacon, . . . machus son of Sca . . ., captain; at Tebetnu of the troop of Sosipolis, Ammonius son of A . . . The 9th year, Phaophi 29.

'Choiak 4. Artemidorus to Asclepiades, greeting. The cavalry soldiers below-written have died; therefore take back their holdings for the State. At Heraclia in the division of Themistes, of the troop of Damon, Leagrus son of Dionysophanes, captain, of the same troop Philonides son of Artemidorus, decurion; at Hiera Nesus in the division of Polemon, of the troop of Lichas, Ebruzemis son of Ziochorus, decurion. The 9th year, Athur 28.'

1. The day of the month, referring to the date on which the letter was received, was no doubt prefixed as in ll. 11 and 19.

7. λο(χαγός): cf. P. Petrie III. 4 (2). 29 τῶν Δ[άμων]ος λοχαγ[ός]. The Damon mentioned there and elsewhere in the Petrie papyri was doubtless identical with the Damon in l. 15 below. The marginal entries below this and the next line give the μερίδες of the villages, Bubastus being in that of Heraclides, and Theogonis and Tebetnu in that of Polemon; cf. l. 15.

10. The first word of this line should be a title, perhaps [ἡγεμώ]ν.

16. The abbreviation of δεκανικός (cf. note on **30**. 13), recurs in **103**. 7, and consists of a Δ with the right side omitted, followed by an ε.

18. The troop of Lichas, like that of Damon (l. 15; cf. note on l. 7), also occurs in the Petrie papyri, e.g. I. 16 (1). 12.

82. Official Correspondence.

Mummy 98. $33 \times 38\cdot4$ *cm.* B.C. 239–8 (238–7).

This papyrus, like **81**, contains copies of a series of letters addressed to Asclepiades, but though written in the same hand it is part of a different roll. In this case the letters are copied on the verso of a demotic document, and there are other points of difference. The dates in **81** are on the Egyptian calendar and in chronological order; in **82** the calendar used is the Macedonian, and the chronological order is reversed. There the letters were from a single person and dealt with one subject; here the writers, in at least two cases out of the three, are different, and their subjects miscellaneous. The first correspondent, whose name is lost, writes commending to the care of Asclepiades a letter which was to be delivered in the Heracleopolite nome. The second letter, which is sent by Aphrus, announces the appointment of a scribe of those cleruchs who had been sent to the Arsinoite nome in the 6th and 7th years (of Euergetes). Those two years were therefore marked by new settlements in the Fayûm on a considerable scale. The subject of the third letter is some timber, which the writer, Sopater, wished to be sold for the benefit of the Treasury.

Col. i.

[ ]
[. . . . . Ἀσκλη]πιάδει χ[αίρε]ιν. Φιμήνει τῶι
[ἀποδόντι τὴ]ν παρὰ σοῦ γραφεῖσαν ἡμῖν
[ἐπιστολὴν] περὶ τοῦ ἀντιλεγομένου σί̣του
5 [ὃν ἀπέστα]λ̣κας πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔν τε τῶι
[. . . . .] κ̣[ερ]κούρωι καὶ ἐν ἄλλωι κερκούρωι
[καὶ ἡμεῖς δ]ε̣δ̣ώκαμεν ἐπιστολὴν
μ̣ε̣τ̣[ακο]μ̣ί̣σαι πρὸς Νύσιον τὸν σιτολόγον
τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου. καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις
10 φροντίσας ὅπως ἐπιμελῶς ἀποδοθῆι,
ἔστιν γὰρ ἀναγκαιότερα περὶ ὧν γεγράφαμεν αὐτῶι.
(ἔτους) θ Ὑπερβερεταίου κζ.

ιζ.

Ἄφρος Ἀσκληπιάδει χαίρειν. καθεστήκαμεν
15 γραμματέα Ἰσοκράτην τῶν ἀπεσταλμέν[ω]ν

εἰς τὸν [Ἀρσι]νοίτην κληρούχων ἐν τῶι ς (ἔτει)
καὶ τῶ[ν] ἐν τῶι ζ (ἔτει) ἀπὸ Δαισίου. καλῶς οὖν [π]οιήσεις
συναν[τι]λ[α]μβανόμενος προθύμως περὶ τῶν
εἰς ταῦτα συγκυρόντων ἵνα κατὰ τόπον
20 ἐξάγηται τὰ κατὰ τὴν γραμματείαν
καὶ μηθὲν παραλείπηται τῶν τῶι βασιλεῖ
χρησίμων. (ἔτους) θ Γορπιαίου ιε.

Col. ii.

[
Σώπατρος Ἀσκλ[ηπιάδει χαίρειν.
25 καλῶς ποιήσεις [π]α[ρα]λαβ[ὼν . . . . .] . . [
τὸν παρ' ἡμῶν γραμματέα καὶ
τοὺς εἰθισμένους ἀποδοὺς τ[ὰ]
ὑπάρχοντα ξύλα χρηστ[ὰ] λβ
ἅ ἐστιν ἐν τῶ[ι . . . .]
30 [ὅ]πως ἡ τιμὴ πέσηι [τῶ]ι βασιλεῖ.
(ἔτους) θ Λωίου κδ.

'. . . to Asclepiades, greeting. Phimenis, the bearer of the letter written from you to me about the disputed corn which you sent to us in the boat of . . . and another boat, has been given a letter by me to be forwarded to Nysius, the sitologus of the Heracleopolite nome. Kindly see that it is carefully delivered, for the matter on which I have written to him is rather urgent. The 9th year, Hyperberetaeus 27.

'17th. Aphrus to Asclepiades, greeting. I have appointed Isocrates as scribe of the cleruchs sent to the Arsinoite nome in the 6th and 7th years from Daisius. Please therefore to give your zealous co-operation in all that concerns this, in order that the duties of the scribe's office may be performed in the district and none of the king's interests may be neglected. The 9th year, Gorpiaeus 15.

'. . th. Sopater to Asclepiades, greeting. Kindly take . . . our scribe and the other accustomed persons, and deliver the 32 good logs which are in the . . ., in order that their value may be paid to the king. The 9th year, Loius 24.'

6. κ[ερ]κούρωι: cf. P. Magd. 37. 2, &c.

8. Cf. **83**. 2–3 τῶι σιτολογ[ο]ῦντι τὸν Ὀξυρυγχίτην. It is doubtful whether in these cases stress is to be laid upon the article or not, i.e. whether the person named was the sitologus in chief or only one of a number of subordinates.

12. In the 9th year of Euergetes Hyperberetaeus approximately coincided with Athur, Gorpiaeus (l. 22) with Phaophi, and Loius (l. 31) with Thoth; cf. App. i.

15. γραμματέα . . . κληρούχων: cf. the ἐπιστάτης καὶ γραμματεὺς τῶν κατοίκων ἱππέων in P. Tebt. 32. 15, &c.

25. [π]α[ρα]λαβ[ών, if right, was perhaps followed by the name of the γραμματεύς.

27. ἀποδόμενος cannot be read; but ἀποδούς is suitable enough in the sense of 'delivering' for the purpose of the sale implied by l. 30.

28. The doubtful λ might be the α of χρηστά; but it is written quite close to the β, and two logs only would hardly have formed the subject of a letter.

83. Letter concerning a Payment of Corn.

Mummy 63. 11·11 × 8·8 *cm.* About B.C. 258–7.

Conclusion of a letter in which the addressee, probably an official connected with the royal granaries, is urged to lose no time in making a considerable payment in kind. The payment is described as a σιτομετρία, a term not infrequent at this period in the sense of allowances or salaries from either the State or private persons; cf. **118**. 37, P. Petrie III. 87 (*a*). 17, 141. 15. The 27th and 28th years (of Philadelphus) are referred to in ll. 5–6.

. . . .

[. . .] . [.] . ρ̣ . [

[. .] . . κράτει τῶι σιτο-

λογ[ο]ῦντι τὸν Ὀξυρυγ-

χίτην μετρῆσαι τὴν

5 σιτομετρίαν τοῦ κζ

καὶ κη (ἔτους) (πυρῶν) (ἀρτάβας) πγγʹ

καὶ κριθῶν (ἀρτάβας) πγγʹ.

εἰ οὖν μὴ με(μέ)τρηκας νῦν μέτρησον αὐτῶι,

καὶ τοῦτο μὴ ἑλκύσηις,

10 οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτήδειός ἐστιν.

ἔρρωσο.

[(ἔτους) . . . .

8. This line inserted later. 9. ηις of ελκυσηις written above θετω (which is not crossed through), and the first σ corr. from θ̣. 10. l. ἐπιτήδειον?

'. . . to . . . crates the sitologus of the Oxyrhynchite nome to measure out the allowance of corn for the 27th and 28th years, 83⅓ artabae of wheat and 83⅓ artabae of barley. If, therefore, you have not yet measured it to him do so now, and do not let this be delayed, for it (?) is inconvenient. Good-bye.'

2–3. τῶι σιτολογ[ο]ῦντι: cf. note on **82**. 8, and for the phrase cf. e.g. P. Oxy. 246. 4 τοῖς γράφουσι τὸν νο[μόν.

8. αὐτῶι: i.e. the person who was to receive the σιτομετρία, not the sitologus.

10. If ἐπιτήδειος is right, it must refer to αὐτῶι, 'he is a disagreeable person'; but the correction to ἐπιτήδειον gives a more natural sense.

VIII. CONTRACTS

84 (*a*). Sale of Wheat.

Mummy 5. 22·5 × 17·5 *cm*. B.C. 301–0. Plate IX.

The following contract between two Greek settlers at Peroë in the Koite toparchy for the sale of 30 artabae of wheat claims the honour of being the first dated Greek papyrus of the reign of Soter. All the documents derived from Mummy 5 are remarkably early (cf. **97**, **100–1**); but the present is by far the most ancient of them, being actually dated in the 5th year of 'the reign of Ptolemy,' by whom only Ptolemy Soter can be meant. As the contract is fortunately in duplicate the possibility of a mistake on the part of the scribe, such as the omission of 'the son of Ptolemy,' is very remote. The cursive handwriting however, though obviously of the earliest type, gives little indication of its extreme antiquity, and without the date could not have been judged to be appreciably older than other examples in this volume, e. g. **97**. Curiously enough, demotic papyri of Soter's reign are almost equally rare; not more than two are known to Mr. Griffith (*Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, p. 123).

The precise year in which Soter assumed kingly power is not certain. The Canon of Ptolemy assigns 20 years to his reign, and it has been generally supposed (cf. Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, pp. 189–91) that he became king in B. C. 304 before Nov. 7, and abdicated in the course of his 21st (revenue) year, i. e. between Nov. 2, B. C. 285 and Nov. 1, B. C. 284. The Rylands demotic contract to be published by Mr. Griffith was written in Phamenoth of his 21st year, and can easily be reconciled with the received chronology if the year in question was a revenue year; for the month in which Philadelphus' accession took place is unknown, and there is no difficulty in placing that event later than Phamenoth (May) B. C. 284, provided that it be not later than Nov. 1. But there is good reason to believe that in dating ordinary contracts the revenue

year was not employed (cf. App. ii. p. 362), and if the 21st year in the demotic papyrus is a regnal year, various difficulties arise. From other instances in the reigns of Philadelphus, Euergetes, and Philopator it appears that the regnal years of the sovereign were sometimes, perhaps always, one in arrear of the revenue years; and if the 21st regnal year of Soter corresponded in whole or part to his 22nd revenue year, the Canon of Ptolemy seems to be wrong in assigning him only 20 years, and his assumption of kingly power must, unless the date of Philadelphus' accession be altered, be put back a year or more, i.e. to B.C. 305 or earlier; cf. Mahaffy, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 44. In **84** (*a*), in which the months are Macedonian, the year, whether calculated by a Macedonian or Egyptian system, is not the least likely to be a revenue year (cf. p. 365); and owing to the prevailing uncertainty as to the methods of reckoning non-revenue years in the 3rd century B.C., the 5th year of Soter may fall within B.C. 301–0, 300–299, or even earlier than B.C. 301.

The most interesting point in the papyrus is the occurrence of ἐφ' ἱερέως κ.τ.λ. in the date-formula. This disposes of a much disputed question, for 'the priest' here can be no other than the priest of Alexander, and therefore the official cult of Alexander was already established in Egypt at this early period; cf. App. iii. p. 368. The delivery of the wheat sold by the contract was postponed until after the harvest (l. 5), so that many of the provisions of the document follow the formula of loans.

[Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίο]υ ἐφ' ἱερέως Μενελάου τοῦ Λαμ̣ά̣χ̣ο̣υ ε (ἔτους) μη-
[νὸς Δίο]υ. ἀπέδοτ[ο] Ἐπιμένης Ἀθηναῖος Τιμοκλεῖ Χαλκιδεῖ πυ-
[ρῶν ἀ]ρτάβας τριάκοντα, καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἀπέχει Ἐπιμένης πα-
[ρὰ Τι]μοκλέους ἅμ̣α̣ τῆι συγγραφῆι. ἀποδότω δὲ Ἐπιμένης τὸ[ν̣
5 [σῖ]τον Τιμοκλεῖ ἐγ̣{γ} νέ̣ω̣ν̣ τῶν ἐπιόντων ἀπ' ἅλω ἐν μηνὶ Πα-
νήμωι σῖτον καθαρὸν ἀπὸ πάντων μέτρωι τῶι χ̣ο̣ι τῶ̣ι̣ β[α]σιλικ[ῶι
ἐν κώμηι Περόηι, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶι ἀποτεισάτω Ἐπι[μέ-
νης Τιμοκλεῖ τιμὴν τῆς ἀρτάβης ἑκάστης δραχμὰς
[τέσ]σαρας, καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις ἔστω Τιμοκλεῖ ἐκ{κ} τῶν ὑπαρχόν-
10 [των τῶν Ἐπιμένο]υ̣ς̣ πράσσοντι τρόπωι ὧι ἂν βούληται.
ἡ δ̣[ὲ συνγραφὴ ἥδε κ]υρία ἔστω ὅταν ἐπιφέρηι Τιμοκλῆς
ἢ [ἄλλος τις ὑπὲρ Τιμοκλ]έ̣ο̣υ̣ς πράσσω̣ν̣ κατὰ ταῦτα.
μάρτυρες Ι̣[. . . . . Δ]ι̣[ο]ν̣ύ̣σιος [Ἀ]ριστόμαχος Μ̣ε̣λ̣[ι . -
ν̣ο̣ι̣ς̣ Στάσιπ̣π̣ο̣ς̣ Κ̣[. . . . .]ο̣ς. συγγραφοφύλαξ Διον[ύσιος
15 [Ἡ]ρ̣α̣κλέ̣ο̣υ̣ς̣.

[β]ασι[λ]εύοντος Πτολ[εμ]αίου ἐφ' ἱερέως Μενελάου τοῦ Λαμά-
[χο]υ ε (ἔτους) μην[ὸς Δίου.] ἀπέδοτο Ἐπιμένης Ἀθηναῖος Τιμο-
[κλε]ῖ Χαλκιδεῖ πυρ[ῶ]ν ἀρτάβας τριάκοντα καὶ τὴν τιμὴν
[ἀπέχ]ει Ἐπι[μέ]νης παρὰ Τιμοκλέο[υς] ἅμα τῆι συγγραφῆι.
20 [ἀποδότ]ω δὲ Ἐπιμένης τὸν σῖτον Τιμοκλεῖ [ἐγ νέ]ω[ν τῶν
[ἐπ]ιόντων ἀ[π' ἅλω ἐ]ν μηνὶ Πανήμωι σῖτον καθαρὸν [ἀ]πὸ
πά[ν]των [μ]έτ[ρω]ι τῶι χοι τῶι βασιλ[ικ]ῶι ἐν κ[ώ]μηι [Π]ερόηι,
ἐὰν δ[ὲ] μὴ ἀποδῶι ἀποτεισάτω Ἐ[πι]μένης Τιμοκλεῖ
[τιμὴν τῆς] ἀρτ[ά]βης ἑκάστης δραχμὰς τέσσαρας, καὶ ἡ
25 [πρᾶξι]ς ἔστ[ω Τιμ]οκλεῖ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῶν Ἐπι-
[μένους πράσσον]τι τρόπωι ὧι ἂν βούληται. ἡ δὲ συγγρα[φὴ
[ἥδε κυρία ἔστω ὅ]ταν [ἐπιφέ]ρῃ Τιμοκλῆς ἢ ἄλλος τ[ις
[ὑπὲρ Τιμοκλέους πράσσων κα]τὰ τ[α]ῦτα. μάρ[τυ-
[ρες

. . . .

On the verso

30	]	Μελι	Ἐπιμένο[υς
	ο]υ	Διονυ[σίο]υ	Τ[ιμο]κλέ[ους

5 and 21. l. ἀφ' ἅλω. 14. Above]ος a second ς?

'In the reign of Ptolemy, in the priesthood of Menelaus son of Lamachus, the 5th year, in the month Dius. Epimenes, Athenian, has sold to Timocles, Chalcidian, 30 artabae of wheat, and Epimenes has received the price from Timocles concurrently with this contract. Epimenes shall deliver the corn to Timocles out of the coming new crops from the threshing-floor in the month Panemus free from all adulteration by royal . . . measure at the village of Peroë; and if he fails to deliver it Epimenes shall forfeit to Timocles as the value of each artaba 4 drachmae, and Timocles shall have the right of execution upon the property of Epimenes and may enforce it in any manner he chooses. This contract shall be valid whenever produced by Timocles or any other person on Timocles' behalf, executing it as aforesaid. The witnesses are . . ., Dionysius, Aristomachus, Meli . . ., Stasippus, C . . . us. The keeper of the contract is Dionysius son of Heracles.'

2. Δίου is restored here and in l. 17 as best suited to the space.

4. ἀποδότω here refers to the delivery of the corn. The use of the same verb in two different senses within three lines is somewhat awkward.

5. Since the month Panemus coincided with the period of harvest, it must have partially or completely corresponded with one of the Egyptian months Pharmouthi, Pachon, or Pauni. For the significance of this equation cf. App. i. p. 339.

6. χοι: cf. 90. 11, where this obscure measure apparently occurs again, μέτρωι χοει τῶι . . . In the present passage χοιτου or χωιτου might be read and explained as a mis-

spelling for Κωίτου, but **90** shows that this is inadmissible. The form suggests a connexion with χοῦς, but since the χοῦς was a liquid measure, that explanation also is unsuitable.

8–9. 4 drachmae (cf. **65**. 24) represent twice the normal value of an artaba of wheat in Middle Egypt; cf. **100**. 6, **110**. 6, P. Petrie III. 80. 16, &c. In **99**. 14 the price is 2 dr. 1 obol, and in **90**. 15 the penalty value is fixed at 5 dr. For corn transported to and sold at Alexandria the high price of 4 dr. 5 ob. is found in **110**. 11.

12. ταῦτα: or ταὐτά?

14. The συγγραφοφύλαξ (cf. P. Tebt. 105. 53, note) here occupies the second position in the list of witnesses, as in **96**. 12. He is sometimes placed first, e.g. P. Tebt. 104. 34, 105. 53, but there was no regular order; in P. Petrie II. 47. 30–3 the συγγραφοφύλαξ comes fourth or fifth. The name Μελ[ι.]νοις (?) probably recurs on the verso l. 30, but the termination is not decipherable.

30–31. If Ἐπιμένο[υς and Τ[ιμο]κλέ[ους are rightly read, a fourth pair of names is lost at the beginning of these lines.

84 (*b*). Date by a Ptolemaic Era (?).

Mummy 5. 2·4 × 6·4 *cm*. B.C. 272–1 (?). Plate VII.

From the same cartonnage as 84 (*a*) comes a fragment bearing the following remarkable date from the commencement of a document.

(Ἔτους) μ μηνὸ[ς

. . . .

The writing is large and clear, and there is not the faintest doubt about the figure. But according to the accepted chronology, Philadelphus, to whom the Canon of Ptolemy assigns 38 years, died in his 39th year (cf. p. 364); and the only Ptolemy who reached his 40th year, Euergetes II, is of course quite out of the question here. Hence without disturbing to an unjustifiable extent the ordinary view of the length of Philadelphus' reign 84 (*b*) cannot be referred to the 40th year, whether revenue or regnal (cf. App. ii), of the second Ptolemy, so that apparently this date refers to some era. An era κατὰ Διονύσιον which started from the 1st year of Philadelphus is cited by Ptolemy (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Lagides*, I. p. 99); but from the company in which the fragment was found and the character of the hand a date in the first half of the reign of Philadelphus would be much more suitable. Such a date may perhaps be obtained by identifying this era with that found on a large series of coins struck in years ranging from the 42nd to the 117th. Svoronos (*Les Monnaies de Ptolémée II qui portent dates*, pp. 52 sqq., Τὰ νομίσματα τῶν Πτολεμαίων, pp. 195 sqq.) supposes that the starting-point is the year B.C. 311–10, in which

the death of Alexander IV left Soter practically the monarch of Egypt, and that the coins come from Cyprus or Palestine. Svoronos' classification of Ptolemaic coins marks a great advance upon that of Poole, but many of his proposed dates for different series are very uncertain (cf. G. Macdonald's criticisms in the footnotes to the section concerning Ptolemaic coins in *Catal. of the Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, vol. iii, and A. Willers' review of Svoronos in *Liter. Zentralbl.* 1905, nos. 17–8 and 19); and with regard to this series in particular several of the arguments which originally led Svoronos to fix upon B.C. 311 as the starting-point (*Les Monnaies, l. c.*) are tacitly (and quite rightly) abandoned in Τὰ *νομίσματα, l. c.* But an era starting from B.C. 311 is also attested by two inscriptions, one from Cyprus, the other from Tyre (C. I. Sem. I. 109, no. 93; 37, no. 7; cf. Strack, *Rhein. Museum*, liii, p. 417), and the commencement of the rule of Soter in Paros is dated in the year 311–10 in the recently discovered fragment of the Parian Chronicle (*Ath. Mittheil.* xxii. p. 188). The 40th year of this era brings us to the year B.C. 272–1, which is a thoroughly suitable date for the fragment; though the appearance in an Egyptian papyrus of a system of dating of which the other examples are all external to Egypt itself is certainly remarkable.

85. Loan of Seed-corn.

Mummy 13. 26·1 × 9 *cm.* B.C. 261 (260).

Contract for the loan of seed of different kinds from the government, as represented by the nomarch Harimouthes (cf. **40**, introd.), to the lessee of a *κλῆρος βασιλικός*, i.e. land which had been cleruchic but had reverted to the State, upon which see introd. to **39** and **52**. 26, note. The loan was to be repaid after the next harvest before the rent; cf. **87**, where an advance of seed is made without any such provision. The lacunae are supplied from **150**, a duplicate copy of the contract.

Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ
Πτολεμαίου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Πτο[λ]ε-
μαίου (ἔτους) κδ ἐφ' ἱερέως Ἀριστονί-
κου τοῦ Περιλάου Ἀλεξάνδρου
5 *καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν καν[η]φόρου Ἀρσι-*
νόης Φιλαδέλφου Χα[ρέας] τῆς Ἀπί-
ου μηνὸς Μεσορή. ἔχ[ει Π]ᾶσις Ṭ . . .

ἄπιος ἱερεὺς [. . . . . .] παρὰ Πάριτος
Σισυβαίου τοῦ παρ[ὰ] Ἁριμούθ[ο]υ τοῦ
10 νομάρχου ἐκ τῆς κάτω τοπαρχί-
[ας] τ̣ὸ̣ γρ̣[α]φ[ὲν λ]ῆμμ[α] καὶ ἀνά̣[λ]ω-
μα σπέρμα εἰς τὸ κε (ἔτος) εἰς τὸν
Φιλοξένου κλῆρον βασιλικὸν
τῶν Τελέστου (πυρῶν) μ, κριθ̣(ῶν) λη γ´
15 αἳ (πυρῶν) κγ, ὀλυρ(ῶν) ξζ (ἥμισυ) αἳ (πυρῶν) κζ, τοῦ πα̣[ντὸς
εἰς πυρῶν (ἀρτάβας) ϙ, σῖτον καθαρὸν
ἄδολον ἀπὸ πάντων μετρήσει
δικαίαι μέτρωι τῶι (ἐννεακαιεικοσι)χ(οι̣νίκωι) τῶι
πρὸ̣ς τὸ χαλκοῦν. ἀπομετρησά-
20 τω δὲ Πᾶσις εἰς τὰ βασιλι-
κὰ ἀποδόχια τοῦ κε (ἔτους) τὰ ἐκφό-
ρια τῆς γῆς εἰς ἣν εἴληφεν τὸ
σπέρμα κατὰ τὴν μίσθωσιν
ἐκ πλήρους μηθένα ὑπόλογον
25 ποιούμενος ἀβρόχου, καὶ τὸ σπέρ-
μα ὃ εἴληφεν πρότερον τῶν ἐκφορί-
ων ἐγ νέων.

2 lines of demotic.

18. κθ above χ Pap.

'In the reign of Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy, and his son Ptolemy, the 24th year, the priest of Alexander and the gods Adelphi being Aristonicus son of Perilaus, the canephorus of Arsinoë Philadelphus being Charea daughter of Apius, in the month of Mesore. Pasis, son of . . ., priest, has received from Paris son of Sisybaeus, agent of Harimouthes the nomarch from the lower toparchy, as seed for the 25th year, being included in the lists of receipts and expenditure, for the royal holding of Philoxenus in the (troop?) of Telestes 40 artabae of wheat, 38⅓ of barley which are equivalent to 23 of wheat, and 67½ of olyra which are equivalent to 27 of wheat, making a total of 90 artabae of wheat, in grain pure and unadulterated in any way, according to just measurement by the 29-choenix measure on the bronze standard. Pasis shall deliver at the royal granaries in the 25th year the rent of the land for which he has received the seed, in accordance with the terms of the lease, in full, making no deduction for unwatered land; and he shall return the seed, which he has received, before the rent, from the new crops.

'(Signed in demotic) I, P . . . son of . . . , have received the stock above written.'

2. τοῦ υἱοῦ Πτο[λ]εμαίου: the question who was this 'son of Ptolemy,' associated with Philadelphus from the 19th (cf. **100**, introd.) to the 27th years of his reign, has been much

disputed; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Lagides*, I. p. 183. We prefer the view of Wiedemann and Mahaffy that he was Ptolemy Euergetes I.

7. τοῦ Ἄπιος is unsatisfactory, especially as there is a lacuna after ἱερεύς, which may have contained the name of the god. . . . απιος is more probably the name of the father of Πᾶσις, but it is apparently not Ἀχοάπιος or Κομοάπιος.

8. Πάριτος: this is unlikely to be the Paris in **64–5**, which refer to the Arsinoite nome.

11. τὸ γρ[α]φ[ὲν κ.τ.λ.: the reading is assured by **150**. The meaning of the phrase seems to be that this loan of seed duly appeared in the official statement of accounts; cf. **48**. 4.

13. Φιλοξένου: cf. **75**. 5, note.

14. τῶν Τελέστου: if these words apply to Φιλοξένου (i.e. 'of Telestes' troop') they are out of place, though cf. **109**. 4–5, note. It is probable that they here qualify κλῆρον βασιλικόν and serve to indicate the locality in some way, though Telestes was in any case probably a military officer of high rank; cf. **99**. 7–8 ο]ἰκ[ο]νόμος Τελέστου and note *ad loc.* We refer Τελέστου to the common nominative Τελέστης, though the dative Τελέστωι apparently occurs in **58**. 4.

14–5. The ratio of the value of wheat to barley is the usual one of 5 : 3, to that of olyra 5 : 2, as in P. Tebt. 246 and 261, and approximately also in **119**. 16; cf. **102**. 2, note.

18. An artaba of 29 choenices occurs also in P. Grenf. I. 18. 20. The mention of πρὸς τὸ χαλκοῦν in the present passage suggests that this artaba may be identical with the artaba χαλκῷ in P. Brit. Mus. 265; cf. **74**. 2, note.

24. ὑπόλογος here is clearly a masculine substantive, as in **29**. 26; in the Tebtunis papyri of the next century the substantival form, wherever its gender can be distinguished, is τὸ ὑπόλογον. In P. Petrie II. 30 (*a*). 5 and 18 εἰς τοὺς ὑπολόγους the substantive ὑπόλογος may also be meant.

28–9. The demotic signature has been translated for us by Mr. Griffith. P . . . can hardly be other than Pasis, though that name is apparently not recognizable.

86. Loan of Corn.

Mummy A. Fr. (*a*) 13·5 × 7·4, (*b*) 4·8 × 4·6 *cm.* B.C. 248 (247).

Two acknowledgements with the same formula (or very likely one acknowledgement in duplicate) of loans of 15 artabae of olyra, another specimen belonging to the series being **129**, where the borrower is a Mysian of the Epigone; cf. also **124–6**. The lender in each case, Docimus, occupied an official position in connexion with the corn-revenue (cf. **76**); and it is not unlikely that the loans are for seed, though this is not stated as in **85** and **87**. Since repayment was to take place after the harvest of the 38th year (of Philadelphus), the papyrus was no doubt written in the 37th year or early in the 38th. Lines 14–26 are perhaps in a different hand.

Fr. (*a*) . . . . .

[ἀρτάβας δεκάπ]εντε,	Πατῆς Ἁρμιοῦτος Δ[ο]κί-
[ταύτας δέ σ]ο̣ι̣ ἀποδώσω	15 μωι χαίρειν. ἔχω παρὰ

ἐμ μηνὶ Δαισίωι τῶ̣ι̣ ἐν τῶι
ὀγδόωι καὶ τριακοστῶι
5 ἔτει σῖτον καθαρὸν καὶ
ἄδολον μέτρωι βασιλι-
κῶι καὶ ἀποκαταστήσω
ἐπὶ σκηνὴν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀ-
νηλώμασιν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ
10 ἀποδῶ ἀποτείσω σοι [[.]]
τ̣ειμὴν ἑκάστης ἀρτά-
βης δραχμὰς δύο.
ἔρρωσο.

σοῦ ὀλυρῶν ἀρτάβας δε-
κάπεντε, ταύτας δέ σοι
ἀποδώσω ἐμ μηνὶ Δαισίωι
τῶ̣ι̣ ἐν τῶι ὀγδόωι καὶ τρια-
20 κο[στῶ]ι ἔτει σεῖτον καθα̣-
[ρὸν μ]έτρωι βασιλικῶι ε . [.
. . . .

Fr. (*b*). ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λ[. . . . .
Δημήτριος Π[. . . . . . . Κυ-
ρηναῖος τῆς ἐπ[ιγονῆς,
25 ἐκέλευσέμ μ[ε ὁ Πατῆς
γράψαι τὴν ε̣[. . . . . .
. . . . .

1–13. '(. . . to Docimus, greeting. I have received from you) 15 artabae of olyra, and I will return it to you in the month Daisius of the 38th year in grain that is pure and unadulterated, measured by the royal measure, and I will restore it at the cabin at my own expense. If I fail to repay it, I will forfeit to you the value of each artaba, 2 drachmae. Good-bye.'

3. Δαισίωι: in the 38th year of Philadelphus this month probably corresponded approximately to Pauni, since in the 36th year it began on or about Pachon 29; cf. App. i.

τῶι: τοῦ could equally well be read both here and in l. 19, but would have no construction. τῶι is omitted in **129**.

8. σκηνήν: cf. a second century B.C. papyrus in the Louvre published by Revillout, *Mélanges*, p. 335, which is a receipt for 2 talents 2500 drachmae of copper paid by a banker εἰς τιμὴν οἴνου π[αλ]αιοῦ ὥστε ὑπὸ σκηνὴν οἴνου κεραμίων εἴκοσι πέντε. Revillout translates σκηνή there 'tent,' and supposes that the wine was destined for soldiers, whose pay is the subject of another receipt made out to the same bankers. This interpretation, however, is very doubtful, and in any case there is no indication that the olyra in **86** was required for military purposes. Judging by the use of σκηνή in **38**. 7, we prefer to translate it here also 'cabin,' and to suppose the phrase ἐπὶ σκηνήν to indicate that the grain was to be repaid on board a government corn-transport.

12. Two drachmae are the penalty value of an artaba of olyra also in **102**. 4 and **124**; cf. **90**. 15, where it seems to be 4 drachmae, and **102**. 2, note.

21. The letters following βασιλικῶι are certainly not καί (cf. l. 7). Perhaps ἐάν, sc. δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶι κ.τ.λ., should be read, but βα, sc. a repetition of βασιλικῶι, is possible.

25–6. This sentence differs from the usual formula ἔγραψα συντάξαντος (Πατῆτος) found at this period, e.g. in **124**. The word following τήν is apparently not σ[υγγραφήν or ἀ[ποχήν.

 87. ADVANCE OF SEED-CORN.

Mummy 126. $17 \times 9{\cdot}8$ *cm.* B.C. 256 (255).

An acknowledgement by several cleruchs, each of whose holdings contained 25 arourae, to a sitologus, of the receipt of 79¾ artabae of wheat and 33¼ artabae of barley for seed; cf. **85–6**. Nothing is said about repayment (cf. **85**. 25 and **86**. 2), and probably the seed was in this case a present rather than a loan from the government; cf. P. Tebt. I. pp. 226–7. Since it was required for the sowing of the 30th year (of Philadelphus), the papyrus was no doubt written late in the 29th or early in the 30th year.

. . . .
[. . .] . [. . . . . Ἡρα-
κλείδου καὶ Ἡ̣ρ[. . . . .
Μενίσκου καὶ Ζη̣[. . . . .
ριου (εἰκοσιπεντάρουροι) ἔχειν πα̣[ρὰ . . .
5 του σιτολόγου εἰς ο̣[ὓς ἔ]χ̣[ο-
μεν περὶ τὴν τῶν Πα[στο-
φόρων κλήρους σπέρμ[α
εἰς τὸ λ (ἔτος) πυρ[ο]ῦ̣ ἑβδο-
μήκ[ον]τα ἐννέα ἥμυσυ
10 τέταρτον καὶ κριθῆς τριά-
κοντα τρεῖς τέταρτον,
[σ]ῖ̣τον καθα[ρὸ]ν μέτροις
παραδ[ο]χικοῖς, καὶ ο̣[ὐθ]ὲν
ἐνκαλοῦμεν.

4. (εικοσιπενταρουροι) corr. from εχ.

'. . . son of Heraclides and Her . . . son of Meniscus and Ze . . . son of . . ., holders of 25 arourae, acknowledge that we have received from . . ., sitologus, for the holdings which we possess at the village of the Pastophori, as seed for the 30th year 79¾ artabae of wheat and 33¼ artabae of barley, in pure corn measured by the receiving measures, and we make no complaint.'

4. εἰκοσιπεντάρουροι are not mentioned elsewhere except in the name of the Arsinoite village Ἰβίων Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων.

6. τὴν τῶν Πα[στο]φόρων, sc. κώμην, does not occur apart from this passage (except perhaps in **118**. 6; cf. note *ad loc.*), and it is uncertain to which nome it belonged.

12. μέτροις παραδ[ο]χικοῖς: more usually called δοχικά; cf. **74**. [illegible], note.

88. Loan of Money.

Mummy A 17. 9·8 × 5·1 *cm.* B.C. 263–2 (262–1). Plate X.

This papyrus contains the ends of lines of a contract for the loan of 100 drachmae or more at interest to a military settler. No third century B.C. contract concerning a loan of money has yet been recovered in good condition, the only other specimens, **89** and P. Petrie III. 55 (*a*), being also very fragmentary; but the general construction of **88** can be restored by the aid of similar contracts in the later Ptolemaic period, e.g. P. Grenf. I. 20, and of the parallel contract for the loan of corn in **86**; cf. also **84** (*a*). The restorations of the lacunae in ll. 2–5 are derived from a fairly complete but much effaced agreement (unpublished) concerning a payment of rent, which belonged to the same piece of cartonnage and preserves nearly all the protocol. On reaching the word ἑκατόν in l. 8 the writer stopped, and resumed sometime afterwards in a slightly more cursive hand, leaving a blank space of a line between ll. 8 and 9. A noticeable feature of his handwriting is the occasional employment of a form of ω approximating to Ω, like that found in the Ῥητορικὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον (**26**).

[Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμ]αίου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ
[Πτολεμαίου ἔτους τρίτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἐ]φ' ἱερέως Κινέου
[τοῦ Ἀλκέτου Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελ]φῶν κανηφόρου Ἀρσι-
[νόης Φιλαδέλφου . . . . τῆς Πολεμοκρά]τους μηνὸς Λωίου
5 [. . . . . ἐν Φεβίχι τοῦ Κωίτου. ἐδάνε]ισεν Σώστρατος Νι-
[34 letters]αίωι τῶν Ζωΐλου
[33 "]υς ἅμα τῆι συγ-
[γραφῆι . . . . ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς] ἑκατὸν

[30 letters τῆ]ς μνᾶς ἑκάστου μηνὸς
10 [32 "]ṭ . [.] κατὰ μῆνα ἕκασ-
[τον τὸ δὲ δάνειον τοῦτο ἀποδότω Θευ . . . . . . Σ]ωστράτωι ἐν ἡ-
[μέραις δέκα ἀφ' οὗ ἂν προείπηι Σώστρατος, ἐὰν] δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶι
[ἀποτεισάτω διπλοῦν καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις ἔστω Σωσ]τράτωι ἐκ τῶν Θευ-
[. . . . . ὑπαρχόντων 13 letters πράσσον]ṭι κα̣[τὰ τὸ] διά-
15 [γραμμα]

. . . .

4. Λωίου: the day of the month was very likely not given (cf. e. g. **84** (*a*) and **85**), in which case there was probably a blank space before ἐδάνεισεν. Loius probably corresponded approximately to Pauni in the 23rd year; cf. App. i.

6.]αίωι: probably Κυρην]αίωι (cf. **89**. 6, &c.) or perhaps Ἰουδ]αίωι (cf. **96**. 4).

7. For ἅμα τῆι συγ[γραφῆι cf. **84** (*a*). 4. καὶ ἀπέχει probably occurred earlier in the line.

9. This line refers to the interest, and τόκου is to be restored somewhere in the lacuna. κατὰ μῆνα ἕκασ[τον in l. 10 also seems to refer to interest, and on the analogy of e. g. P. Grenf. II. 18. 16 we might restore καὶ τοῦ ὑπερπεσόντος χρόνου at the beginning of l. 10 (cf. P. Petrie III. 55 (*a*). 13–4); but a mention of the contingency of failure to repay the loan before ἐὰν] δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶι in l. 12 would be a curious inversion.

11. ἐν ἡ[μέραις κ.τ.λ.: cf. **89**. 14.

13. ἡμιόλιον might be restored after ἀποτεισάτω on the analogy of later loans, e. g. P. Grenf. I. 18; but in the third century B.C. the penalties for failure to repay a loan were often on a higher scale; cf. **84** (*a*). 9 and **90**. 15, where the penalty value of wheat is twice its ordinary price, and **30**. 19–20, note. Hence both here and in P. Petrie III. 55 (*a*). 13, where the editors supply ἡμιόλιον, διπλοῦν is more likely.

89. Loan of Money.

Mummy 83. Height 17·5 *cm.* B.C. 239 (238).

A contract for the loan of 500 drachmae of silver from a woman, Theodote, to Zenion; cf. **88**. The loan was without interest, probably on account of the special conditions attached, which the mutilation of the papyrus renders obscure. Several insertions have been made in the text, and a blank space has been left in l. 17.

The restoration of ll. 2–5 is based on two other fragmentary contracts not yet published. The only name concerning which there is any doubt is Ὀνόμαστος. Ὀνομα[is confirmed by one of the other contracts, but Ὀνομάκριτος is a possible alternative. The traces in l. 2 would suit κ rather better than σ, but there seems to be insufficient space for ρι.

Βασιλεύοντ[ος Πτολεμ]αίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου
καὶ Ἀρσινόης θε[ῶν Ἀδελφῶν] (ἔτους) η ἐφ᾽ [ἱε]ρέως Ὀν̣ο̣[μ]ά̣σ̣-
του τοῦ Πύργ[ωνος Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ] θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν καὶ θε-
ῶν Εὐεργετ[ῶν κανηφόρου Ἀρσιν]όης Φιλαδέλφου Ἀρχε-
5 *στράτ[ης τῆς Κτησικλέους] μηνὸς Περιτίου ἐν Θώλ-*
θε[ι] το[ῦ Ὀξυρυ]γχ̣ί̣τ[ου. ἐδάνεισε] Θεοδότη Λέοντος Κυρηναία
τῶ]ν Ζωίλου ἰδιώτου
μετὰ κυρίου Λέοντος [. . . . . .]ου τοῦ αὐτῆς πατρὸς Ζηνίωνι
Δεινίο̣[υ] τ̣ῶν Α . [.] . . [. . ἰδιώτ]ηι̣ ἄτοκον ἀργυρίου ὀφθαλμο-

φα[νο]ῦ̣ς̣ ἐναντ̣[ίον τῶν ὑπογε]γραμμένων μαρτύρων (δραχμὰς) φ,
10 [. . . . . .] . . [. . . . .] . ωνω̣ν τοῦ ἐπιβληθέντος αὐ-
[τῆι 20 letters] τόπ̣ου ἀντὶ τῶν πεντακο-
[σίων δραχμῶν ἃς εἴληφε] παρὰ Θεοδότης ἐπὶ τοῦ
[ἐν 21 letters]ιου ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐν{εν} Ὀξυρύγ-
Θεοδότ]η̣ Ζηνίωνι
[χων πόλει . . . . ἀφ' ~~οὗ~~ ἂν] προείπ̣η ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα,
15 [ἐὰν δὲ μὴ . . . . . . μετὰ τ]ὰ̣ς προγεγραμμένας ἡμέρας
[ἀποτεισάτω Ζηνίων Θεοδό]τηι τὸ δάνειον τὰς φ (δραχμὰς)
[διπλοῦν καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις ἔστω] παρὰ Ζηνίωνος̣
[πρασσο . . . κατὰ τὸ διάγρα]μ̣μα. ἡ δὲ συγγραφὴ ἥδε
[κυρία ἔστω οὗ ἂν ἐπιφέρηται.] μάρτυρες Εὐρυ̣μ̣έ[δ]ω̣ν . . . .
. . . .

On the verso

20 σ̣υγγρα̣φ̣ὴ . . δ̣η̣
. . ο̣υ̣γιω̣ν

3. The second του added above the line. 4. ν of ευεργετ[ων corr. from ι?

'In the reign of Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy and Arsinoë, gods Adelphi, the 8th year, Onomastus son of Pyrgon being priest of Alexander and the gods Adelphi and the gods Euergetae, Archestrate daughter of Ctesicles being canephorus of Arsinoë Philadelphus, in the month Peritius, at Tholthis in the Oxyrhynchite nome. Theodote, Cyrenean, daughter of Leon, with her guardian her father Leon son of . . ., private of Zoilus' troop, has lent to Zenion son of Dinias, private of A . . .'s troop, 500 drachmae of silver produced to view in the presence of the witnesses below written, without interest. In lieu of the 500 drachmae which he has received from Theodote (Zenion shall pay on account) of the sum imposed upon her . . ., either at the (collecting office?) at . . . or at Oxyrhynchus within 10 days from the date on which Theodote gives Zenion notice to do so. If he does not (pay) after the period aforesaid, Zenion shall forfeit to Theodote twice the amount of the loan of 500 drachmae, and shall have the right of execution upon Zenion in accordance with the edict. This contract shall be valid wheresoever produced. The witnesses are Eurymedon . . .'

5. Περιτίου: this month probably corresponded in the 8th year of Euergetes to parts of Mecheir and Phamenoth; cf. App. i.

8. ἄτοκα is the usual adverb in the later contracts. It is not possible to have a ν before ἄτοκον, which therefore cannot be used adjectivally here.

10–2. ἐπιβληθέντος αὐ[τῆι (?) and ἀντὶ τῶν πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν appear to indicate that Zenion was undertaking to perform some service for Theodote in consideration of the loan, and this would well account for the absence not only of interest, but of a provision for repayment; cf. the next note.

12–4. These lines do not seem to contain provisions for the repayment of the loan (cf. **88**. 11), for it is very difficult to see where ἀποδότω κ.τ.λ. can be brought in. Probably, therefore, the word lost in l. 15 after μή is not ἀποδῶι but the verb which occurred in l. 10.

13. Perhaps λογευτηρ]ίου: cf. **106**, introd.

17. For διπλοῦν cf. **30**. 19–20 and **88**. 13, notes. A space is left for the name of the person to whom right of execution was reserved. Perhaps there was some doubt as to whether it should be Theodote herself or her κύριος.

18. κατὰ τὸ διάγρα]μμα: cf. **90**. 16, **91**. 13, and **34**, introd.

19. For the supplement cf. **90**. 20, &c.

20–1. This endorsement looks like the title of the document, but we have failed to find a suitable reading of the latter part of it. It would perhaps be just possible to read συγγραφο(φύλαξ) Ἡρώδης with Σαραπίων below, and suppose that these are the names of two of the witnesses, but such an abbreviation of συγγραφοφύλαξ is not satisfactory, nor is the word itself likely in this position. On the back of the fragment which contains the beginnings of ll. 1–10 there are also traces of ink, which may represent names.

90. Lease of Land.

Mummy 10. 11·1 × 16·6 *cm.* B.C. 222 (221).

A contract for the lease for one year of an island, which formed part of a cleruchic holding in the Oxyrhynchite nome. The rent is fixed at 4 artabae of olyra in addition, apparently, to a quarter of the wheat grown; but whether wheat constituted the whole or only a portion of the crop is not stated, neither is the acreage of the land specified. The lease was drawn up in the 25th year of Euergetes, the latest certain date in this volume; cf. note on l. 2. The papyrus is in parts much discoloured and worn, and the small cursive hand is in consequence sometimes very difficult to read. The verso is covered with plaster, which, owing to the extremely brittle condition of the document, we have not ventured to remove.

[Βασιλεύοντος Πτο]λεμαίου [τ]οῦ Πτολεμαίου κ[αὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶ]ν Ἀδελφῶν
[(ἔτους)] π̣έ[μπτου καὶ] εἰκοστοῦ ἐφ' ἱερέως Δωσιθέου τοῦ [Δριμύλου Ἀλ]εξάνδρου
καὶ θεῶν Ἀ[δελφῶ]ν καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν κανηφόρου [Ἀρσινόης Φιλα]δέλφου Βερενί-
κης τῆς Πυθ[αγγέ]λου μηνὸς Γορπιαίου ἐν Θώλθι τ[οῦ Ὀξυρυγχί]του. ἐμίσθωσεν
5 εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν [ἕνα σ]πόρον [[ενα]] καὶ θερισμὸν ἕνα ἀπὸ τοῦ σ̣[πόρου τοῦ ἐν τ]ῶ̣ι ἕκτωι καὶ εἰ-

κοστῶι ἔτει Δ[ιόδωρο]ς̣ Μ̣α̣κ̣ε̣[δὼ]ν̣ τ[ῶ]ν Φίλ̣ω̣ν̣ο̣ς̣ δεκανικὸς Εὐκ[ράτει
. . . .] . ῳ̣ι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς
ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου κλήρου τὴν νῆσον τὴν ἐμ Μένα̣ τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ [Ὀξυρυγχίτου νο]μ̣ο̣ῦ̣
π̣ᾶ̣σαν

. . . . . [ ]
πλὴν τῆς χέρσου ὅσ̣ω̣ν̣ ἂμ [β]ρέχωσιν ἐγ γ̣ε̣ω̣μ̣ε̣[τ]ρ̣ί̣α̣ς ἐκφ̣[ορίου . . . .] .
ὀ̣λ̣υρῶν
ἀρταβῶν τεσσάρ[ω]ν̣, [τὰ δὲ ἐκ]φόρια τὰ συγγεγραμμέν[α ἀποδώσει Εὐ]-
κράτης Διοδώ-
10 ρωι ἐμ μηνὶ Ξαν[δ]ικῶι τοῦ ἑβδόμου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτου[ς σῖτον καθαρὸ]ν̣
κ̣α̣ὶ̣ ἄ̣δ̣ο̣λ̣ο̣ν̣

τωι σ̣α̣ . . τ̣ι̣ο̣υ̣ [ ]
τὸν γενόμενον [ἐ]ν̣ τῆι γ̣[ῆ]ι̣ μέτρωι χ̣οει δι̣κ̣α̣ί̣ω̣ι̣ μ̣ε̣[τρήσει δι]κ̣α̣ί̣α̣ι̣, παρα-
στησ[ά-
τω ⟨δὲ⟩ εἰς τὰ Δι[οδώ]ρου ἰδίω[ι] ἀναλώματι, δότω δὲ κα̣ὶ [τοῦ πυροῦ] τ̣ὸ̣
τ̣έ̣τ̣αρτομ
μέρος κ[αὶ τοῦτο παρ]α̣σ̣τησάτω εἰς τὰ Διοδώρου ἰδίω[ι ἀναλώμα]τι. ἐὰν
δὲ μὴ ἀ-
ποδῶι [κατὰ τὰ γε]γ̣[ρα]μμένα ἀποτισάτω Εὐκράτ[ης Δ]ι̣ο̣[δώ]ρ̣[ω]ι̣ τ̣ι̣μ̣ὴ̣ν̣
τῆς ἀρτά-
15 βης ἑκάσ[της τῶν ὀ]λ̣υρῶν δραχμὰς τέσσαρες τοῦ δὲ πυροῦ δ̣ρ̣α̣[χμ]ὰ̣ς
π̣έ̣ν̣τ̣[ε,] κ̣α̣ὶ̣
ἡ πρᾶξ[ις ἔσ]τω Διοδώρωι παρὰ Εὐκράτους πράσ⟨σ⟩οντι κατὰ τὸ δ[ι]ά-
γραμμα.
ἡ δὲ καλάμη ἔ̣στω Διοδώρου. βεβαιούτω δὲ Διό{ι}δωρος καὶ τοὺς
κατ . . . .
καρποὺς καὶ ἃ μεμίσθωκεν, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ βεβαιώσηι κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα
ἀ̣π̣[οτεισάτω
Διόδωρος Εὐκράτε̣[ι ἐπί]τιμον ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας, ἐὰμ μή [τι βα-
20 σιλικὸν κώλυμα γ̣[ένηται.] ἡ δὲ συγγραφὴ ἥδε κυρία ἔστω ο̣ὗ̣ ἂ̣ν̣ ἐ̣π̣ι̣-
φ̣έ̣ρ̣η̣τ̣α̣ι̣.
μάρτυρες Εὔπα̣[. . . . . . κ]α̣ὶ̣ Κόλλας Κυρηναῖοι οἱ δ̣[ύο] ἰδιῶται Παμ̣ .
[. . . . . .
Χαλκι̣[δ]εὺς Χι . . . . . Πέ]ρ̣σ̣ης τῶν Φίλωνος Κτήσιππος Καλλικράτ̣ο̣υ̣ς̣
. . . . [. .

ταṣ Στ̣[ρά]των [. . . . .]ς Θρᾶιξ Εὐκλείων Ἀ̣μ̣μ̣ωνίου Κ̣υ̣ρ̣η̣ν̣α̣ῖ̣ο̣ς

τῆς [ἐπι]γ̣ο̣ν̣ῆ̣[ς.]

'In the reign of Ptolemy son of Ptolemy and Arsinoë, gods Adelphi, the 25th year, the priest of Alexander and the gods Adelphi and the gods Euergetae being Dositheus son of Drimylus, the canephorus of Arsinoë Philadelphus being Berenice daughter of Pythangelus, in the month Gorpiaeus, at Tholthis in the Oxyrhynchite nome. Diodorus, Macedonian and decurion of the troop of Philon, has leased for one year, for one seed-time and harvest, from the seed-time in the 26th year to Eucrates, . . . of the Epigone, out of his own holding the island at Mena in the Oxyrhynchite nome all except any parts of the dry land which may be irrigated according to the survey, at a rent . . . of 4 artabae of olyra. The rent agreed upon Eucrates shall pay to Diodorus in the month Xandicus of the 27th year in pure and unadulterated grain grown upon the land by true . . . measure according to just measurement, and shall deliver it at the house of Diodorus at his own expense. He shall further give the fourth part of the wheat, which he shall also deliver at Diodorus' house at his own expense. If he do not pay as aforesaid Eucrates shall forfeit to Diodorus for the value of each artaba of olyra 4 drachmae, and for the wheat 5 drachmae, and Diodorus shall have the right of execution upon Eucrates in accordance with the edict. The straw shall belong to Diodorus. Diodorus shall guarantee the . . . crops and what he has leased, or if he fail to do so Diodorus shall forfeit to Eucrates a penalty of 500 drachmae of silver, if there be no obstacle on the part of the State. This contract is valid wherever produced. The witnesses are Eupa . . . and Collas, Cyreneans, both privates, Pam . . . , Chalcidian, Chi . . . , Persian of Philon's troop, Ctesippus son of Callicrates . . . , Straton son of . . . , Thracian, Euclion son of Ammonius, Cyrenean of the Epigone.'

2. The names of the priest and canephorus coincide with those of the 25th year, as known from an unpublished Tebtunis papyrus and a demotic contract; cf. p. 376. The period of the lease commenced from the sowing of the 26th year (l. 5), i. e. the autumn; so the present document being dated in Gorpiaeus which probably = Choiak-Tubi (cf. App. i), i. e. about February, of the 25th year, must have been drawn at some time in advance. If, as seems to be not improbable, the 25th and the other years mentioned by the papyrus are Macedonian years beginning on Dius 1, which at this period fell near the end of Mecheir, Gorpiaeus fell near the end of the 25th year, and the interval between the date of **90** and the sowing of the 26th year was at least 7 months. On the analogy of P. Tebt. 71, which shows that the sowing of crops in the Fayûm had just commenced on Nov. 9, B.C. 114, the *σπόρος* in l. 5 probably means November, which at the end of Euergetes' reign began on Thoth 15 and approximately coincided with Daisius. On this view the interval between the date of **90** and the sowing of the 26th year is 9 months, and the harvest would be completed by Xandicus (equivalent to Epeiph–Mesore, i. e. about September) of the 27th year (l. 10). We forbear to enter on a discussion of the complications which would ensue if the 25th and other years in **90** do not begin on Dius 1, or if *ἕκτου* be read in place of *πέμπτου* in l. 2. The very slight traces at the beginning of the line can be reconciled with either; and if **90** be assigned to the 26th year instead of the 25th, Dositheus and Berenice may be supposed to have held office in both these years. There is a parallel for this in the case of the priests of the 9th and 10th years, but *τὸ β*, which would then be expected after Πυθ[αγγέ]λου in l. 4, is absent; cf. p. 374. It is, moreover, very doubtful whether Euergetes actually reached a 26th year except on the revenue system of calculating the king's years, which is not at all likely to have been employed in a contract mentioning only Macedonian months; cf. App. ii.

In the Tebtunis papyrus the name of Dositheus' father may be read as either Δριμύλου or Δριπύλου. According to Spiegelberg's decipherment the demotic has Tripirus, which is in favour of Δριπύλου. On the other hand that name is unknown, whereas Δριμύλος is attested (Luc. *Gall.* 14).

7. ἴδιος as an epithet of κλῆρος does not imply full proprietary rights, as Meyer, *Heerwesen*, p. 42, assumes. All that need be meant here is that Diodorus was letting his own land, not sub-letting some one else's. Other instances, e. g. **105**. 5, are capable of a similar explanation.

8. Above ἐκφ[ορίου an insertion has been made, but the letters are too indistinct to be read.

11. μέτρωι χοεῖ: cf. **84**. 6, note. The letters after τῶι are very small and illegible, but do not suit βασιλικῶι (**84**. 6) or θησαυροῦ. An erasure below is not likely, though the writing is somewhat blurred. με[τρήσει δι]καίαι is not very satisfactory, for the supplement hardly fills the lacuna, and a conjunction is missing. The final αι of δι]καίαι is more like a π, but to read ἃς] καί and suppose that the π of παραστησ[ά]τω was written twice is not an attractive solution, although the scribe makes other mistakes, e. g. πράσοντι in l. 16.

15. ὀ]λυρῶν: cf. l. 8, though there too the reading is doubtful. πυρῶν is possible in both places, but would be very unsuitable in l. 15 with τοῦ δὲ πυροῦ immediately following. 4 drachmae an artaba is twice the ordinary penalty price of olyra; cf. **102**. 2, note.

17. κατ . . . may be a participle like καταγινομένους or some adjectival phrase with κατά. The remains of the letters are too faint for recognition.

19. δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας: cf. P. Petrie III. 74 (*a*). 14–5, which is to be restored on the analogy of the present passage. The 500 drachmae for failure in the βεβαίωσις was no doubt a conventional penalty, and this suggests a new explanation of P. Amh. 43. 12, where it is stipulated that if the borrower did not repay a loan of 10 artabae of wheat he should forfeit τιμὴν δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας. The largeness of the sum is no longer a valid reason for supposing that the drachmae are not silver, but copper, and represent the price of a single artaba. On the other hand, if the 500 drachmae in P. Amh. 43. 12 is a conventional penalty, it is somewhat remarkable that they are not stated to be silver and that τιμήν, not ἐπίτιμον, is used.

For the clause ἐὰμ μή [τι κ.τ.λ. cf. **91**. 5 sqq., where the same phrase occurs, also in reference to an ἐπίτιμον. Similarly in P. Petrie II. 44, which is rather a contract of partnership than an ordinary lease, ll. 13 sqq. may now be restored ἐὰν δὲ μὴ [βεβαιώσωσι κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα] ἀποτεισάτωσα[ν Μη]τροδώρωι καὶ Ἐπικούρωι [δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας καὶ ἔστω ἡ κα]τοχὴ Μητροδώ[ρωι κα]ὶ Ἐπικούρωι ἐὰμ μή τ[ι] βασιλ[ικὸν κώλυμα γένηται,] τῶν δὲ καρπ[ῶν κυριευέτωσαν . . . In **91**. 8–10 a further provision is made in case the κώλυμα did occur; according to **90** and P. Petrie II. 44, if the βεβαίωσις was prevented by any action of the government, the penalty was simply foregone.

22. If Χι . [is a proper name, the number of witnesses is seven, as in **96**. 12 sqq. But since Πέ]ρσης is uncertain, it is possible that χι[. . . Φίλωνος is all part of the description of Pam . . . the Chalcidian;]ρτης, e.g. τετά]ρτης might be read. A less probable method of reducing the number from seven to six would be to treat παμ . . . in l. 21 as part of the description of the two preceding witnesses and Χαλκ[ι]δεύς as a personal name.

23–4. Κυρηναῖος and [ἐπι]γονῆς are both very doubtful. There would be room for about six letters at the end of the line after Κυρηναῖος.

91. Lease of Land.

Mummy A. 11·2 × 14·5. B.C. 244–3 (243–2) or 219–8 (218–7).

Conclusion of a contract for a lease of land from Eupolis to Cleopatra at a rent of 30 artabae of corn, with the names of the witnesses, who were six or seven in number, and part of the protocol of what was probably a duplicate copy on the same papyrus; cf. **90**. The handwriting, which is extremely cursive, resembles that of P. Petrie I. 18 (1), and the 4th year in l. 19 no doubt refers to either Euergetes or Philopator, more probably the former.

. . . .

[34 letters] . [. Εὐπ]ọ̣λ̣ε̣ι̣
[18 „ ἄδ]ọλον μετρή̣σ̣ε̣ι̣ δ̣ικα̣[ίαι] κ̣[. .
[16 „ ἀποδ]ώ̣σει Κ[λεοπ]άτρα Εὐπό[λε]ι [. .] .
[11 „] . . [. .] . [. . . .] . [.] . . σ̣ας καρποὺς εἰς το . [.
5 [. . . . . . .]μ̣ο̣ . [.] . ν . [.]ε̣ . . . ν κ̣α̣ὶ̣ ἃ̣ μεμίσθωκεν. ἐὰν δ[ὲ μὴ
[βεβαιώσηι κ]ατὰ [τὰ] γεγραμμένα ἀποτεισάτω Κλ[εο-
[πάτρ]α Εὐ[πό]λει ἐπίτιμον ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν
[ἐὰν] μή τι βασιλικὸν κώλυμα γένηται. ἐὰν δέ τι βασιλικὸν
[κώ]λυμα γένηται ἀποδότω Κλε[οπά]τρα Εὐπόλει τὰς τριά-
10 [κο]ντα ἀρτάβας τῶν πυρῶν, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶι [ἀποτεισάτω
[τιμ]ὴν τῆς ἀρτάβης ἑκάστης τῶν πυρῶν ἀργ[υρίου δραχμὰς . ,
[κα]ὶ̣ ἡ πρᾶξις ἔστω Εὐπόλει παρὰ Κλεοπάτρας [πράσσοντι
[κα]τὰ τὸ διάγραμμα. ἡ δὲ συγγραφὴ ἥδε κυρί[α οὗ ἂν ἐπιφέρη-
[τ]α̣ι. μάρτυρες Πολύαινος Κυρηναῖος ἰδιώτης, Θ[18 letters
15 [δ]εκανικός, οἱ δύο τῶν Ζωίλου, Διοκλῆς Ἱππολύ̣σ̣ο̣υ̣ [18 letters
[Ἀπ]ολλωνίου Ἑσπερίτης, Νικάνωρ Εὐαγόρου Βα̣[ρκαῖος 12 letters
[. . . . .]α̣τ̣ . [.] . α̣ . τ̣ω̣ν̣α̣ . . . . [. . . .] . π̣εως Αρ̣ . [18 letters

[βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίο]υ τοῦ Πτολ[εμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινό-
[ης θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν (?) ἔτους τ]ετάρτου ἐ[φ' ἱερέως

. . . .

15. διο of διοκλης corr.

'. . . If she fail to guarantee the lease in accordance with the aforesaid provisions, Cleopatra shall forfeit to Eupolis a fine of 100 drachmae of silver, unless some hindrance

occur on the part of the State. If any hindrance occur on the part of the State, Cleopatra shall pay Eupolis the 30 artabae of wheat, or if she fail to pay she shall forfeit as the value of each artaba of the wheat . drachmae; and Eupolis shall have a right of execution against Cleopatra, exercising it in accordance with the edict. This contract is valid wheresoever it be produced. The witnesses are Polyaenus, Cyrenean, private, and Th . . . . , decurion, both members of Zoilus' troop, Diocles son of Hippolysus . . . , ... son of Apollonius from Hesperis, Nicanor son of Evagoras from Barca, . . .'

2. Perhaps δικα[ίαι] κ[αὶ | σκυτάλῃι; cf. **98**. 19 and note.
8. Cf. **90**. 19, note.
11. Probably δραχμὰς δ, i.e. double the ordinary price (cf. notes on **84** (*a*). 9 and **88**. 13); or perhaps δραχμὰς ε; cf. **90**. 15.
13. οὗ ἂν ἐπιφέρη]ται: cf. **90**. 20, &c.
16. Ἑσπερίτης: i.e. from Ἑσπερίς (= Βερενίκη) in the Cyrenaica.

92. Contract of Surety.

Mummy 97. 11·3 × 9·3 *cm.* B.C. 263 (262).

Both this and the following papyrus are contracts of surety for the appearance of a person in court, and are of much interest as being by far the oldest examples of such agreements yet recovered; so far as we are aware, the only other specimen anterior to the Roman period is P. Brit. Mus. 220. ii, of the reign of Euergetes II, which is misunderstood by the editor. In their general purport and even in phraseology **92** and **93** show striking points of agreement with the later specimens, which have been discussed at length by L. Wenger in his *Rechtshistorische Papyrusstudien*. His view that the cases concerned are civil rather than criminal is supported by **92**, where the suit is an action for debt. The sum involved was altogether 400 drachmae; and the two sureties bound themselves either to produce the defendant Timocles for trial before the strategus, or to pay the plaintiff Apollonius the amount of his claim. The agreement is made directly with the plaintiff, contrasting in this respect with the later examples in which an executive official is addressed.

Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολε-
μαίου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἔτους
δευτέρου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἐφ' ἱερέως Πέλοπος τοῦ
Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀλε[ξ]άνδρου καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν
5 καν[η]φόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέ[λ]φου Μ[ν]ησιστρά-
της τῆς Τεισάρχου μηνὸς Ξανδικ[ο]ῦ Αἰγυπτί-
ων μ̣η̣[νὸ]ς̣ Μ̣ε̣χ̣[ὶρ] τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτηι [[α̣ι̣]]

ἐμ Μουχιναροῶ τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχίτου. ἔγγυοι
Τιμοκλέους τοῦ Σίμου Θραικὸς τῆς ἐπιγονῆς
10 Μνάσων Σ̣ίμ̣[ου] Θρᾶιξ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς Ἡγέ-
[μων . . .]ιμου Κ̣ρ̣[ή]ς̣ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ἐφ' ὧι πα-
[ραδ]ώ̣σ̣[ονται αὐ]τὸ̣ν̣ ἐ̣ν̣ [Ἡρακ]λέους πόλει ἐπὶ
Κρ̣ι̣σ̣[ίππου]
το̣ῦ̣ [σ]τ̣[ρ]α̣τ̣η̣γ[ο]ῦ̣ ἕως γνώσεως περὶ τῆς
δίκης ἧ̣ς̣ {εγ}ἐ̣νεγύησεν αὐτὸν Ἀπολλώνιος
15 κ̣α̣τ̣ὰ̣ σ̣υ̣ν̣γ̣ρ̣α̣[φή]ν πρὸς τὸ ἀρχαῖον δρα-
χμὰς τριακοσίας καὶ τόκον δραχμὰς
ἑκατόν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ παραδῶνται κατὰ
τὰ γεγραμμένα ἀποτεισάτωσαν τάς τε
τρι[α]κοσ[ί]ας δραχμὰς καὶ τὰ ἐπιδ̣έ̣κ̣ατα κ̣[α]ὶ̣
20 τ̣[ὰ] γινόμενα, καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις ἔ[σ]τω [Ἀπο]λ̣λ̣ω̣ν̣[ίωι
ἢ̣ ἄλλωι τῶν [Κρ]ι̣σίππο̣υ̣ [ἢ το]ῦ πράκτο-
[ρ]ος ὑπηρετῶν κατὰ τὸ [διάγραμ]μα.

14. σ of ενεγυησεν inserted later.

'In the 22nd year of the reign of Ptolemy son of Ptolemy and his son Ptolemy, the priest of Alexander and the gods Adelphi being Pelops son of Alexander, the canephorus of Arsinoë Philadelphus being Mnesistrate daughter of Tisarchus, on the 14th of the month Xandicus which is Mecheir of the Egyptians, at Mouchinaroö in the Oxyrhynchite nome. Mnason son of Simus Thracian of the Epigone and Hegemon son of . . . imus, Cretan of the Epigone, are sureties for Timocles son of Simus, Thracian of the Epigone, on the condition that they shall deliver him up at Heracleopolis before Crisippus the strategus until the decision of the suit in which Apollonius placed him on bail according to the contract for a principal of 300 drachmae and interest of 100 drachmae; and if they do not deliver him up as above written, they shall forfeit the 300 drachmae and the extra tenths and other charges, and Apollonius or any one besides of the attendants of Crisippus or of the collector shall have the right of execution in accordance with the decree.'

3–6. Cf. P. Petrie III. 52 (*a*), where the names of the priest and canephorus can now be correctly restored.

7. Unfortunately at this critical point the papyrus is much rubbed and stained, and the correctness of the reading μη[νὸ]ς Μεχ[ίρ] is open to grave doubts, for the vestiges of the supposed μ of μεχ, which is the clearest of the letters, suggest rather η or κ. The traces of the other letters are very slight, and palaeographically Με[σο]ρὴ τ[ῆι] would be possible, though τ is less suitable than εχ; but τῆι is not necessary (though cf. **93**. 6), and, since the equation of Gorpiaeus to Mesore only five years later is certain from Rev. Laws lvii. 4–5, to read Μεσορή here would produce a most serious inconsistency; cf. App. i. pp. 339–40. For the spelling Μεχίρ at this period cf. **34**. 2, **51**. 6, &c.

8. The name of this village is spelled Μουχιναρυώ in **53**. The Μουχινώρ of P. Oxy. 491. 3 may be identical.

10. Mnason was most probably the brother of Timocles.

12. It is noteworthy that although the agreement was drawn up in a village of the Oxyrhynchite nome, the case was to be tried at Heracleopolis, as also in **30**. 14 and **93**. 3. The two latter papyri are not known to be Oxyrhynchite, but **93** was probably written in that nome like the other documents from Mummy A 9. The fact that in all three instances Heracleopolis is specified as the scene of the trial may be a mere chance, but it suggests the possibility that for judicial purposes the two nomes were combined under a single administration. There is evidence that in the time of Psammetichus Heracleopolis was the centre of government for Upper and Middle Egypt (Griffith, *Demotic Papyri of the John Rylands Library*, pp. 75 sqq.); and the city may well have still retained some of its pre-eminence in the early Ptolemaic period.

13. Κρισ[ίππου: cf. l. 21, where it seems more natural that the name of the strategus should be given than that of a πράκτωρ, and something more than [Κρ]ισίππου [το]ῦ is necessary to fill the space. Moreover, there are very few possible names ending in -ισιππος, and that the first letters of one of them should occur in the name added above l. 13 seems to be more than a mere coincidence. In **93** also the judge was to be the strategus, and it is to that official that the earlier Roman examples of similar undertakings are addressed.

14. For the active ἐνεγύησεν cf. the use of διεγγυᾶν in **41**. 4, &c. The superfluous εγ is apparently due to a confusion on the part of the scribe, who also originally omitted the σ. ἐξενεγύησεν can hardly be read, and besides gives a wrong sense.

15. The meaning probably is that the debt was κατὰ συγγραφήν (cf. **30**. 5, 15). Clearness has been rather sacrificed to compression.

19. ἐπιδέκατα: cf. **32**. 9, note. For τὰ γινόμενα cf. **111**. 33–4, where they amount to 30 drachmae $1\frac{1}{2}$ obols on a principal sum of 50 dr.

21. Cf. note on l. 13. ἄλλωι, of course, does not imply that Apollonius was himself a ὑπηρέτης, but is an example of a common idiom.

93. CONTRACT OF SURETY.

Mummy A 9. 9·5 × 11 *cm*. About B.C. 250.

Conclusion of a contract of surety similar in character to **92**, but following a different formula. By its terms Diodorus, the surety, undertook to produce his friend on a given date before the strategus, but the nature of the case at issue is not stated as in **92**. Some kind of inquiry was evidently to be held; but that any civil action had been instituted is doubtful, and the agreement is perhaps more likely to have been made with an official than with the plaintiff in a suit. The person for whom security is given may have been in a similar situation to that of the δοκιμαστής in **41**, or of the prisoner released on bail in P. Oxy. 259. The papyrus most probably belongs to the reign of Philadelphus, and is likely to have been written in the Oxyrhynchite nome; cf. **92**. 12, note.

. . . .

σ̣ο̣χ̣ω̣ι̣ς̣ Δ̣ιοδώρωι Στράτωνος Πέρσηι τῆς

ἐπιγονῆς ἐγγύωι μονῆς ἐφ' ὧι παρέ-
ξεται αὐτὸν ἐν Ἡρακλέους πόλ[ει ἐν
τῶι ἐμφανεῖ ἔξω ἱεροῦ κα[ὶ πάσης
5 σκέπης ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατ[ηγοῦ μηνὸς]
Φαρμοῦθι τῆι ιγ τοῦ α̣[ὐτοῦ ἔτους
ἐὰν δὲ. ἀποκατ̣αστή[σηι . . . .
Διονύσιον ἄκυρο[ς ἔστω . . . .
λ̣ω̣ι̣, ἐ[ὰ]ν̣ δ̣ὲ μ̣ὴ [ἀποκαταστήσηι εἰς ἔκ-
10 τεισιν ἡ διάγ̣[νωσις περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔσ-
τω πρὸς βασ[ιλικά.

'. . . to Diodorus son of Straton, Persian of the Epigone, who is surety for appearance on condition that he shall produce him at Heracleopolis openly, outside of a temple or any other shelter, before the strategus on the 13th of the month Pharmouthi of the same year. If he cause Dionysius to appear (?), proceedings against him shall be invalid; but if he fail to cause him to appear for payment, decision about his case shall be made with reference to the royal decrees.'

1. The first letters of the line suggest only a proper name. How the dative Διοδώρωι was governed is doubtful; perhaps ἐνεγύησεν or παρέδωκεν preceded.

2. ἐγγύωι μονῆς: cf. **41**. 5 διεγγυήσας . . . παραμονῆς.

3–5. Cf. P. Tebt. 210, which may now be read ἔξω ἱεροῦ βωμοῦ τεμένους σκέπης πάσης (with probably ἐ[πὶ τῶν τό]πων preceding), and P. Oxy. 785 παρέξομαι ἐν τῶι ἐμφανεῖ ἐκτὸς ἱεροῦ βωμοῦ κ.τ.λ. These instances offer a good example of the persistence of such formulae. The elaborate explanation of ἀκίνδυνον παντὸς κινδύνου in B. G. U. 1053. ii. 4 sqq. is couched in somewhat similar language.

7–9. The restoration of these lines depends upon the identity of Dionysius, who may have been either the person admitted to bail or the person permitting bail to be given. In the former case Διόδωρος or εἰς ἔκτεισιν (cf. l. 9), in the latter αὐτὸν πρός may be read. ἡ ἔφοδος or some equivalent word is required with ἄκυρο[ς ἔστω, but this cannot be put into l. 7, since πρὸς Διόδωρον not Διονύσιον would be expected. The syllable at the beginning of l. 9 may be the termination of a name in the dative, but it does not seem to be the same as that in l. 1. For ἀποκαταστή[σηι cf. P. Oxy. 259. 7.

10–1. Cf. the common phrase ὁ βασιλεὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ (&c.) διαγνώσεται, e.g. P. Amh. 29. 18. πρὸς βασιλικά, which is found also in **94**. 3 and 15, **95**. 14, and **124–6** in connexion with πρᾶξις or πράσσειν, is apparently only a rather more general equivalent of κατὰ τὸ διάγραμμα.

94. Contract of Surety.

Mummy 18. 19 × 8 *cm*. B.C. 258–7 (257–6).

The two following texts are also contracts of surety, but of a kind of which examples belonging to this period are extant. The persons for whom surety is here given were contractors for the collection of taxes, as in P. Petrie III. 57

(*a*), (*b*), 58 (*c*), (*d*). The name of the tax in the present instance is unfortunately lost. The contractor was Semphtheus, a brewer, but since the amount involved is only 10 drachmae for a whole year, the tax is not likely to have been the ζυτηρά at a considerable village such as Tholthis, unless Semphtheus was one of a large company, of which there is no indication. In P. Petrie III. 58 (*d*) the sum is also small, 20 drachmae. The sureties, two in number, were military settlers. Prefixed to the agreement is what appears to be an abstract of the contents, as in some other early Ptolemaic papyri (cf. **98**, P. Petrie III. 58 (*d*), &c.), and in many of the later period.

. . . .

[. . . . .] (δραχμῶν ?) ι ἀν̣[αντ]ι̣λ̣[έκτων ἐπὶ πᾶσι
[τοῖς ὑπάρ]χ̣ουσιν α̣ὐ̣τ̣ῶ̣ι̣, κ̣α̣[ὶ ἡ πρᾶξις
[πρὸς βασιλι]κά.

[βασιλεύοντ]ος Πτολεμαίου [τοῦ Πτο-
5 [λεμαίου Σω]τῆρος (ἔτους) κη ἐφ' ἱε[ρ]έ[ως
[. . . . . . . τ]οῦ Λ̣υ̣κί̣νου Ἀλεξάνδ[ρου
[καὶ θεῶν Ἀ]δελφῶν κανηφ[ό]ρου Ἀρσ[ινό-
[ης Φιλαδέ]λφου Νύμφης τῆς Μάγονος
[. . . . .] κζ ἐν Θώλθει. ἔγγυος ε̣[ἰς
10 [ἔκτεισιν] Σεμφθέως Ὥρου ζυτοποιοῦ
[κώμης Θώ]λθεως καθὰ ἐξέ[λ]αβεν πα-
[ρὰ . . . . . .]ς̣ οἰκονόμου ξ̣ο̣ιδ[.] . . [.]β̣ο̣ . [. . .
[. . . . .] εἰς̣ τὸ κη (ἔτο̣ς) Πο[λ]υκλῆς Θρᾶιξ
[τῶν Ζ̣ωίλο]υ [(δραχμῶν)] δέκα ἀνα̣ν̣[τιλέ]κ̣τ̣ω̣ν̣, κ̣α̣ὶ̣
15 [ἡ πρᾶξις πρὸ]ς̣ βασιλικὰ ἐπ̣ὶ̣ πᾶσ[ι] τοῖς ὑπάρχου-
[σι. (2nd hand) . . . . . Κυρη]ναῖος ἰδιώτης τῶν Ζ[ω]ίλου συνε-
[γγυῶμαι. Πολ]υκλῆς Θρᾶιξ ἰδιώτης τῶν Ζωίλου χειρο-
[γραφῶ ὑπὲρ αὐ]τοῦ ὅτι ἐγγυᾶται εἰς ἔκτεισιν Σεμθέ-
[α Ὥρου ἐκ Θ]ῶ̣λτιος δραχμῶν δέκα κατὰ τὸ σύμ-
20 [βολον τοῦτο.]

4–20. 'In the 28th year of the reign of Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy Soter, the priest of Alexander and the gods Adelphi being . . . son of Lucinus, the canephorus of Arsinoë Philadelphus being Nymphe daughter of Magon, . . . 27th, at Tholthis. Polycles, Thracian of the troop of Zoilus, is surety on behalf of Semphtheus son of Horus, brewer of the village of Tholthis, in accordance with his contract made with . . . , oeconomus, for the . . . in

the 28th year, for payment of 10 drachmae, about which there is no dispute; and execution shall be made with reference to the royal decrees, at the risk of all his property. (Signed) I . . . , Cyrenean, private of the troop of Zoilus, am surety together with him. I, Polycles, Thracian, private of the troop of Zoilus, attest on his behalf that he is surety for Semphtheus son of Horus, of Tholthis, for payment of 10 drachmae, in accordance with this deed.'

1. ἀν[αντ]ιλ[έκτων: cf. l. 14 and **95**. 13.

3. [πρὸς βασιλι]κά: cf. l. 15 and note on **93**. 10–1.

4–5. Πτολεμαίου [τοῦ Πτολεμαίου Σω]τῆρος: this formula replaced Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Πτολεμαίου (cf. e.g. **85**) in the 27th year (Rev. Laws i. 1 and introd. pp. xix sqq.); the formula in the early part of the reign was Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου simply (cf. **97** and **99**), and of this the latest extant example is of **100**. 8, written in the 19th year, in which the change to the second formula took place; cf. **100**, introd.

12. The word following οἰκονόμου might be a place-name, but the name of the tax would be expected. Neither ζυτηρᾶς nor Ὀξυρυγχίτου can be read.

19. Θ]ώλτιος: cf. **62**. 9 Θώλτει. Elsewhere (e.g. **55**. 2) this village is spelled Θῶλθις.

20. Below this line are some marks in fainter ink which could be read] / α / κ; but they are more likely to be either part of a line in demotic or blottings from another document.

95. Contract of Surety.

Mummy A 6. Breadth 11·1 *cm.* B.C. 256 (255).

An agreement of surety for a tax-farmer similar to **94** (cf. introd.), but with some peculiar features. The person for whom security was given was not himself the principal contractor, but apparently occupied a secondary position by an arrangement with the principal. The tax was the '24th upon four-footed animals at Oxyrhynchus,' which is not known from other sources. Perhaps this was an export duty, which in the case of wine at any rate, as is shown by **80**, was at the rate of $\frac{1}{24}$ of the value. But the name is hardly a natural one for a customs duty, although such duties, in the Roman period at least, are now shown by P. Brit. Mus. 929 and 1107 to have been computed upon the number of laden animals, not the quantity which each carried. An alternative is to make this 24th a general impost on property in four-footed animals, the φόρος προβάτων, which is known from an unpublished Tebtunis papyrus to have existed in the third century B.C., being perhaps a branch of it. A tax of $\frac{1}{24}$ without further qualification occurs in **112** and **132**; cf. **112**. 38, note.

The papyrus is broken into two pieces, and two or three lines are missing in the middle, besides minor defects.

Βασιλεύ[ο]ντος Π[τολεμ]αίου τ[οῦ Πτολεμαίου Σωτῆρος
ἔτ[ο]υς κθ ἐφ' ἱερέως Ἀντιόχου [τοῦ . .] . ε . . . Ἀλεξάν-

δ[ρο]υ κ[αὶ] θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης
Φιλ[α]δέλφ[ο]υ Δημονίκης τῆς Φίλωνος μηνὸς
5 Παῦν[ι] κδ ἐν Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει τῆι ὕπερθε
Μέμ[φ]εως. ἔγγυος ε[ἰς ἔκτεισιν . . . .
. . . .
Ὀξυρυγχίτου τεταρτονεικοστῆς
τετραπόδων Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως ὥσπ[ερ
[[ἐξέλαβεν]] συνετάξατο πρὸς σκέπην
10 τοῦ τὴν κ´δ´ [ἐγ]λαβόντος παρ' Ἀπολλωνίου
. . τας
τοῦ διοικη[το]ῦ εἰς τὸ κθ (ἔτος) Πασ . . . ωνιος
λεο . . . [. . .]ε[.] . . ε . . [. .] ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπάρ-
[χου]σιν ἀναντιλέκτων δ[ρ]αχ[μῶν . . . .
[κα]ὶ ἡ πρᾶξις πρὸς βασιλικά.

'In the 29th year of the reign of Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy Soter, the priest of Alexander and the gods Adelphi being Antiochus son of . . . , the canephorus of Arsinoë Philadelphus being Demonice daughter of Philon, on the 24th of the month Pauni, at Oxyrhynchus above Memphis. Pas . . . son of . . . onis . . . is surety on behalf of . . . of the Oxyrhynchite nome, for the 24th upon four-footed animals at the city of Oxyrhynchus, in accordance with . . .'s agreement for the security of the person who contracted for the 24th in the 29th year with Apollonius the dioecetes, at the risk of all his property, for the payment of . . . drachmae about which there is no dispute, and the execution shall be made with reference to the royal decrees.'

2. The name of the priest in dem. P. Leyden 379 is read by Revillout as 'Antimachus son of Cebes,' which our papyrus shows to be inaccurate. The first name is Ἀντίοχος, and we cannot reconcile the vestiges of the second with Κεβῆτος. The last letter is, however, probably ς rather than υ, and the termination may be -τ[ο]ς or -ι[ο]ς.

5. ὕπερθε Μέμ[φ]εως: the Heracleopolite nome is similarly described as being ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν in papyri of the Roman period, e.g. C. P. R. 6. 4; cf. p. 8.

7. τεταρτονεικοστῆς: τετρακαιεικοστῆς would be the normal form at this period; cf. e.g. P. Petrie I. 25 (2) 2.

9. The fact that ἐξέλαβεν was first written (cf. **94**. 11) shows that the subject of συνετάξατο is the person whose name is lost between ll. 6 and 7, and for whom security was given. σκέπην at the end of the line is extremely doubtful; επ may be αμ, and three letters instead of two may precede.

10. Ἀπολλωνίου: cf. **44**. 3, note.

11–2. Πασ . . . may be either the name of the surety, whose description is then continued in the next line, or the name of the ἐγλαβόντος, in which case that of the surety would come in l. 12, Λε . . . The addition above l. 11 looks more like an intentional insertion than ink which has blotted off from another papyrus. If it were ignored Πᾶσ[ι]ς Θοώνιος would be a possible reading.

14. Cf. note on **93**. 10–1.

96. Renunciation of Claims.

Mummy A 17. Fr. (*a*) 10 × 11·7 *cm.* B.C. 259 (258).

An agreement in duplicate between two military settlers at Phebichis, one of whom at least was a Jew, for the settlement of a dispute between them, the nature of which is not specified. Each of the two parties withdraws his claims against the other; and the bulk of the contract is the earliest Greek example of the stereotyped formula found in P. Tor. 4, an agreement of a similar character (ὁμολογεῖ συνλελύσθαι), and in cessions of land and repayments of loans, e.g. P. Grenf. II. 25, 26, 28, 30. The title of the agreement is συγγραφὴ ἀποστασίου, which throws some light on the meaning of the latter term; cf. l. 3, note. At the end are the signatures of the witnesses, whose names are also given on the verso and who seem to have been seven in number; cf. note on l. 13. The papyrus is in three fragments which do not join, and both copies of the contract are very imperfectly preserved; but by combining them the body of the document emerges nearly complete. The writing is across the fibres.

[Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κ]αὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Πτολεμαί[ου] ἔτους ἕκτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ
[ἐφ' ἱερέως 22 letters Ἀλεξά]νδρου καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφ[ῶ]ν κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλα-
[δέλφου 22 letters μηνὸς Δ]ύστρου ἐμ Φεβ[ί]χι τοῦ Κωίτ[ου.] συγγραφὴ ἀποστασίου
[Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ 15 letters τῆς ἐπιγονῆ]ς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀνδρονίκου Ἰουδαίου μετὰ
5 [20 letters τῶν Ζωίλου δεκανι]κοῦ. ὁμολογοῦσιν διαλελύσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους πάν-
[τα τὰ ἐγκλήματα περὶ ὧν ἐνεκάλεσαν ἀλλήλοι]ς τῶν ἐπάνω χρόνων, μὴ ἐ[ξέ]σ[τω] δὲ Ἀνδρονίκωι
[ἐπελθεῖν ἐπ' Ἀλέξανδρον μηδ' Ἀλεξάνδρωι ἐ]π' Ἀνδρόνικον μηδ' ἄλλωι ὑ[π]ὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπιφέ[ρ]οντάς [τι ἔγ]κλημα παρευ-
[ρέσει μηδεμιᾶι περὶ μηθενὸς τῶν προγεγο]νότων αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐ[γ]κλημάτων ἕως
[ἔτους ἕκτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ καὶ μηνὸς Δύστρου.] ἐὰ[ν] δὲ ἐπέλθηι ὁπό[τ]ερος [. .] . [.]ερ[.] . ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτε-

10 [ρον ἢ τ' ἔφοδος τῶι ἐπιπορευομένωι ἄκυρος . .]ṭ . ἔσṭ[ω, ἐ]κ̣τεισάτω [δ' ὁ
ἐπι]πορευόμεν[ο]ς ὧι ἐὰν
[ἐπέλθηι 33 letters ἡ συ]γ[γρ]αφὴ ἥδε κ̣υ̣[ρία ἔστω πα]νταχοῦ οὗ ἂν ἐπι-
[φέρηται. 24 letters μά]ρ̣τ̣υ̣ρ̣[ες] Ν̣ι̣κόβιο̣[ς Χαλκιδεύς, Διον]υσόδωρος
Κρωμνί-
[της? 32 letters] . ο̣ὑτοι τῶν Ζ̣[ωίλου, Στράτων . . . .]κλεους Ἐρ̣υ-
[θρίτης? 28 letters ω]της τῆς ἐπιγον[ῆς λειτουργός, ...]κρ̣[. .] . [.]υ̣ς
15 [35 letters] Διωξάνδρου Βοιώτ[ιος τῆς ἐπιγονῆς λ]ε̣ι̣[τουρ]γ̣ός.
[10 „ συγγραφοφύλαξ Διονυσόδωρος.]

[βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Πτολεμαίο]υ ἔτου[ς
ἕ]κτου καὶ εἰκοσ-
[τοῦ ἐφ' ἱερέως 22 letters Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Ἀ]δελφῶν κανηφόρου Ἀρσι-
[νόης Φιλαδέλφου 22 letters μηνὸς Δύστρου ἐ]μ Φεβίχι τοῦ Κ[ω]ίτου.
20 [συγγραφὴ ἀποστασίου Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ 15 letters τῆ]ς ἐπιγονῆς καὶ Ἀλεξ-
άνδρου
τοῦ Ἀνδρον[ίκου Ἰ]ουδαίου με[τὰ 20 letters τῶν] Ζ̣ω̣ί̣λ̣ου δεκανικοῦ. ὁμολο-
γοῦσιν διαλελύσθαι πρὸς ἀλ[λήλους πάντα τὰ ἐγκλήματα πε]ρ̣[ὶ] ὧ̣ν ἐν̣ε-
κάλεσαν ἀλλήλοις
τῶν ἐπάνω χρόνων, μὴ ἐξ[έστω δὲ Ἀνδρον]ίκωι ἐπελ[θεῖν ἐπ' Ἀλέ]ξαν[δρο]ν
μηδ' Ἀλεξάν-
δρωι ἐπ' [Ἀ]νδρόνικον μηδ' ἄλλ[ωι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν] ἐπιφέρο[ντάς τι ἔγκλη]μα
παρευ[ρέσει μηδεμ]ι̣[ᾶι] περὶ μηθενὸς
25 τῶν π̣[ρογεγ]ονότων αὐτ[οῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους] ἐγκ[λημάτων ἕως ἔτους ἕ]κτου
καὶ εἰκοστοῦ
κα[ὶ μηνὸς Δ]ύστρου. ἐὰν δ[ὲ ἐπέλθηι ὁπότερος . . . .] ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἢ
τ' ἔφοδος τῶι
ἐ[πιπορευομ]ένωι ἄκυρος [. . . . ἔστω, ἐκτεισάτω δ' ὁ ἐ]πιπορευόμενος ὧι ἐὰν
ἐπέλ-
[θηι 33 letters ἡ συγγραφὴ ἥδε] κυρία ἔστω πανταχοῦ οὗ ἂν ἐπι-
[φέρηται. 24 letters μάρτυρες Νι]κόβιος Χαλκιδεύς, Διονυσόδωρος
30 [Κρωμνίτης 34 letters]ο̣ὑτοι τῶν Ζωίλου, Στράτω̣ν̣
[. . . . κλεους Ἐρυθρίτης 28 letters]ωτης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς λειτουργός,
[48 letters] Διωξάνδρου Βοιώτιος τῆς ἐπιγονῆς
[λειτουργός. 30 letters συγγρα]φοφύλαξ Διονυσόδωρος.

On the verso

[Ἀνδρον[ίκου]	. . . . ετι . . . [	Δ]ιονυσίου
35 Ἀλεξάνδρου]	Φίλωνος	[Νικοβίου]
Διονυσοδώρου]	Στράτωνος	[Τι]μοστράτου

7. μηδ . . . αυτων above the line. 10. ωι εαν corr. 24. μηδ . . . αυτων above the line. 27. ωι above εαν erased.

'In the 26th year of the reign of Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy and his son Ptolemy, . . . being priest of Alexander and the gods Adelphi, the canephorus of Arsinoë Philadelphus being . . . , in the month Dystrus, at Phebichis in the Koite district. Contract of renunciation between Andronicus . . . of the Epigone, and Alexander son of Andronicus, Jew, with . . . of Zoilus' troop, decurion. They agree that they have settled all the claims which they made against each other in former times; and Andronicus has no right to proceed against Alexander nor Alexander against Andronicus, nor may any other party on their behalf bring any claim on any pretext with respect to any of the claims which they made against each other up to the 26th year and the month Dystrus. If either of the two parties proceed against the other, both the act of aggression shall be invalid for the person making it, and the aggressor shall forfeit to the injured party a fine of . . . drachmae. This contract is valid wheresoever it be produced . . . The witnesses are Nicobius, Chalcidian, Dionysodorus, Cromnian, . . . , all three . . . of Zoilus' troop, Straton son of . . . . cles, Erythrian (?), . . . of the Epigone, on special duty, . . . son of Dioxander, Boeotian of the Epigone, on special duty. The keeper of the contract is Dionysodorus.'

3. συγγραφὴ ἀποστασίου: this expression has hitherto always been found in connexion with the translations of demotic deeds concerning the renunciation of rights of ownership, the (συγγραφὴ) ἀποστασίου being contrasted with the πρᾶσις, the contract concerning the receipt of the purchase-price; cf. Wilcken, *Archiv*, II. p. 143 and pp. 388–9. The close similarity between the formula of **96** and that of cessions of land (e. g. P. Grenf. II. 25) fully supports Wilcken's explanation of the distinction.

3. Δ]ύστρου: this month corresponded approximately to Mecheir in the year after that in which **96** was written; cf. App. i.

4. Probably Ἰουδαίου τῆς ἐπιγονῆ]ς, even if this Andronicus is not identical with the father of Alexander.

9. The word following ὁπό[τ]ερος is not αὐτῶν, and in l. 26 there is certainly not room for 8 letters between ὁπότερος and ἐπί, the restoration being in fact there sufficient without supposing the loss of any word after ὁπότερος. It is quite possible that in l. 9 ὁπότερος was written twice over by mistake. P. Tor. 4 has ἕτερός τις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ at this point.

10. ἄκυρος ἔστω would be expected on the analogy of e.g. P. Grenf. II. 25. 20; but the traces at the beginning of the line are inconsistent with ος, and the initial lacuna should contain about 40 letters. Either, therefore, a word was inserted between ἄκυρος and ἔστω, or a longer verb than ἔστω was employed. The supposed ε of ἔστ[ω is not very satisfactory.

11–2. ἐπι[φέρηται would be expected to end the body of the contract; cf. **90**. 20, **91**. 13. Perhaps a blank space was left after it both here and in l. 29; or possibly καὶ παντὶ τῶι ἐπιφέροντι was added, as in papyri of a later period, e.g. P. Oxy. 269. 13. The reading μά]ρτυρ[ες] is, however, very doubtful, and it is not quite certain that Νικόβιο[ς is nominative. In two instances at least (ll. 13 and 15) the fathers' names are given; but on the other hand Κρωμνι[suggests an adjective meaning 'from Kromna' (in Paphlagonia) rather than

a personal name, and cf. **91**. 14–6, where the father's name is omitted in the case of the first witness, but not in that of the 3rd, 4th, and 5th.

13.]. ουτοι is the termination of some military title not found elsewhere in these papyri. οἱ τρεῖς probably preceded, if the name of a third witness occurred in the lacuna, as its length suggests. That the witnesses to this contract were seven—not, as usual, six—in number, is further indicated by the list of them on the verso, where the συγγραφοφύλαξ Dionysodorus does not occur among the six mentioned. Probably his name followed next after that of the two principals of the contract, as is the case with the συγγραφοφύλαξ in the lists of names on the verso of P. Tebt. 104 and 105. Seven witnesses are apparently found in **90** also; cf. **90**. 22, note.

Ἐρυ[θρίτης, if correct, probably means a settler from Ἐρυθρὰ ἄκρα in the Cyrenaica.

14. λειτουργός, which at this period can mean simply a 'workman' (e.g. P. Petrie III. 46 (3). 5), is a novel title of a military settler. Probably λειτουργός has no definitely military significance, but this settler had some special duties assigned to him. The tax called λειτουργικόν which was paid by Ptolemaic cleruchs (P. Petrie III. 110, P. Tebt. 102. 3) may have been in lieu of performing these duties; cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 382. For λειτουργίαι imposed on Greek settlers cf. **78**.

16. There was very likely a blank space before συγγραφοφύλαξ both here and in l. 33.

IX. RECEIPTS

97. Receipt.

Mummy 5. 8 × 7·8 *cm*. B.C. 279–8 (278–7) or 282–1 (281–0). Plate X.

Commencement of an acknowledgement of receipt, dated either in the 4th or the 7th year (cf. note on l. 2) of Philadelphus. In either case this is the earliest date in that reign yet found in a Greek papyrus, and ranks next in antiquity to that of **84** (*a*), which came from the same mummy. There is much similarity in the handwriting of the two documents. On the verso is an impression of Δαισίου from another papyrus.

Βασιλεύοντος Π[τολεμα]ίου
τοῦ Πτο[λεμαί]ου (ἔτους) ζ ἐφ' ἱε-
ρέως Α̣[ιμ]ναί[ο]υ τοῦ Ἀπ[ο]λ-
λῶ μην[ὸ]ς Ἀπελλαίου κς.
5 [ὁ]μολογεῖ ἀπέχειν Κ . . [.
[. . . .]ο̣ς τ̣[ῶν Ἀ-

[λεξά]νδρου ἰδιώτης π̣[αρὰ
[. . . . .] τ̣[ο]ῦ̣ Μ̣νασέου [. . .

. . . . . .

2. The figure is broken and may be read either as δ or ζ, according as some traces of ink to the left of the diagonal stroke are regarded as accidental or not.

3. Λ[ιμ]ναί[ο]υ: cf. **30.** 16, P. Petrie III. 14. 9, &c. But the initial letter may equally well be Α, e. g. Ἀ[θη]ναί[ο]υ.

4. Apellaeus probably corresponded approximately to Mesore or Thoth at this period cf. App. i. p. 339.

6. Ạ blank space is left for Κ . . .'s nationality.

98. Receipt of a Captain.

Mummy 117. 22·3 × 9·8 *cm.* B.C. 251 (250).

Acknowledgement by a captain of a transport that he had received 4800 artabae of barley to be delivered at Alexandria; cf. **39, 100, 156** (which was found with **98**), and P. Petrie II. 48. The contract is preceded by a short abstract of its contents, as in **94**.

[. . . . . (ἔτους)] λ̣δ̣ Μεσορὴ [κδ. ὁμολο-
γε̣ῖ̣ [Διονύσιος] ν[αύ]κληρος ἐμ[β]εβ[λῆσ-
[θαι διὰ Νεχ]θε[μ]βέους τοῦ παρὰ τῶν βα[σιλι-
[κῶν γραμ]μ̣[α]τέων ε̣ἰ̣ς̣ κ̣έρ̣(κουρον) Ξενοδόκου [καὶ
5 Ἀ̣[λεξάνδρου] κριθ[ῶ]ν (ἀρτάβας) ʼΔω.

[βασι]λεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαί[ου
[Σω]τῆρος (ἔτους) λδ ἐφ' ἱερέως Νεοπτολέμου
τοῦ Φ̣ρ̣ι̣ξ̣ίου Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν
[Ἀδελ]φῶν κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλ-
10 [φο]υ Ἀρσινόης τῆς Νικολάου μηνὸς
Μεσορὴ κδ. [ὁ]μολογεῖ Διονύσ[ιος
ναύκληρος ἐμβεβλῆσθα[ι εἰς] κ̣έρ̣(κουρον)
Ξενοδόκου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφ̣' [οὗ] κ̣[υ(βερνήτης)
Ἐ̣κτεῦρις Πάσιτος Μεμφίτης διὰ
15 Νεχθεμβέους τοῦ παρὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν
γραμματέων ὥστε εἰς Ἀλ[εξ]άνδρειαν
εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν σ̣ὺν δείγματ̣ι [κριθῶν

ἀρτάβας τετρακισχιλίας ὀκτ[ακοσίας
σῖτον κα[θαρὸν ἄ]δ[ο]λον κεκοσκιν[ευμένον] μέτρωι [καὶ σκυτά-
20 λῃι οἷς α[ὐτὸς ἠ]νέγκατο ἐξ Ἀλεξ[ανδρείας
μετρήσε[ι δικαίαι,] καὶ οὐθ[ὲν ἐγκαλῶ.

19 ~~14~~. κεκοσκιν[ευμενον added above the line.

'The 34th year, Mesore 24. Dionysius, captain, acknowledges that he has embarked through Nechthembes the agent of the basilicogrammateis on the boat of Xenodocus and Alexander 4800 artabae of barley.

'In the 34th year of the reign of Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy Soter, the priest of Alexander and the gods Adelphi being Neoptolemus son of Phrixius, the canephorus of Arsinoë Philadelphus being Arsinoë daughter of Nicolaus, the 24th of the month Mesore. Dionysius, captain, acknowledges that he has embarked upon the boat of Xenodocus and Alexander, the pilot on which is Ecteuris son of Pasis, of Memphis, through Nechthembes the agent of the basilicogrammateis, for transport to the royal granary at Alexandria, with a sample, 4800 artabae of barley, being pure, unadulterated and sifted grain, by the measure and smoothing-rod which he himself brought from Alexandria, with just measurement, and I make no complaint.'

1. Even if (ἔτους) was written out, the space at the beginning of the line would not be filled. Perhaps ἀντίγραφον preceded.

4. For κέρ(κουρον) cf. **82**. 6. The abbreviation consists of a tall stroke slightly thickened at the top and joined to an ε, and might be read ιε( ); but this suggests nothing, and the first stroke is really too large for an ι. Moreover, the abbreviation κερ( ), more plainly written, occurs in some unpublished similar documents from Tebtunis. The same compendium is apparently repeated in l. 12 below, with a larger curve for the ρ.

13. ἐφ' [οὗ] κ[υ(βερνήτης): the reading of the last word is very doubtful, but cf. **39**. 5–6, P. Petrie III. 107 (*c*). 4, &c. Xenodocus and Alexander were the owners of the boat, and Dionysius the acting principal. A similar distinction between ναύκληρος and owner occurs in the Tebtunis papyri referred to in the note on l. 4, and P. Magd. 37. 1–2.

16. P. Petrie II. 48. 4–5 may now be restored on this analogy ὥστε [εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν εἰς τὸ βασι]λικόν, ἐμβεβλῆσθαι having preceded at the end of the previous line.

17. σὺν δείγματι: cf. **39**. 15–6.

19–20. Cf. **156** and P. Cairo 10250. 10 sqq. (*Archiv*, I. p. 80) μέτρωι ὧι αὐτ[ὸς] ἐκόμισα ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας. Probably something similar is to be restored in P. Petrie II. 48. 9. For the σκυτάλη cf. P. Cairo 10250. 13 and P. Amh. 43. 10.

21. οὐθ[ὲν ἐγκαλῶ: cf. **87**. 13–4 and P. Petrie II. 48. 10. The same phrase also occurs at the end of some of the Tebtunis receipts referred to above.

99. RECEIPT FOR RENT.

Mummy A 17. 14·5 × 9 *cm*. B.C. 270 (269). PLATE X.

An acknowledgement of the payment of rent, partly in olyra partly in a money equivalent of wheat, by two γεωργοί; cf. **100**. The land in question seems to have belonged to one of the βασιλικοὶ κλῆροι (**85**. 13; cf. **52**. 26, note),

i. e. to be really βασιλικὴ γῆ; cf. note on l. 8. The protocol contains the earliest extant mention of the association of the gods Adelphi with Alexander in the Alexandrian cult, and the latest instance of the absence of the canephorus of Arsinoë. A comparison of this passage with **110**. 40 and 44 shows that the association of the gods Adelphi took place between the 13th and 15th years of Philadelphus; cf. App. iii. p. 368. The canephorus first appears in a papyrus of the 19th year; cf. App. iii. p. 369. **128** is perhaps part of a duplicate of **99**.

Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαί-
ου τοῦ Πτολεμαί[ο]υ (ἔτους) ιε
ἐφ' ἱερέως Πατρ[ό]κλου τοῦ
Πάτρωνος Ἀλεξάνδ[ρου
5 καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν μηνὸς
Δαισίου κ. ὁμ[ολο]γεῖ
Παραμένης Κυρην[α]ῖ[ος ο]ἰκ[ο-
νόμος Τελέστου ἔχε[ιν
παρὰ Διονυσίας ὑπὲρ [. .
10 δρου ἐς τὰ ἐκφόρια τ[ο]ῦ Πρ[ω-
τογένους κλήρου ὀλυ(ρῶν) ἀρτ(άβας) υ
καὶ παρὰ Καλλισθένου
ὀλυρ(ῶν) (ἀρτάβας) ρν καὶ τιμὴν
πυρῶν (ἀρταβῶν) ο ἐκ β (ὀβολοῦ) τῆι
15 (ἀρτάβηι) (δραχμὰς) ρνα (τετρώβολον).

13. This line inserted later.

'In the reign of Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy, the 15th year, Patroclus son of Patron being priest of Alexander and the gods Adelphi, the 20th of the month Daisius. Paramenes, Cyrenean, oeconomus of Telestes, agrees that he has received from Dionysia on behalf of . . drus, for the rent of Protogenes' holding, 400 artabae of olyra, and from Callisthenes 120 artabae of olyra and the value of 70 artabae of wheat at 2 drachmae 1 obol for the artaba, 151 drachmae 4 obols.'

6. Δαισίου: this month probably corresponded in the 15th year of Philadelphus to parts of Phamenoth and Pharmouthi; cf. App. i. p. 339.

8. Τελέστου: cf. **85**. 13–4 Φιλοξένου κλῆρον βασιλικὸν τῶν Τελέστου, and note. Telestes was probably captain of a troop, but what position this οἰκονόμος Τελέστου occupied is not clear. If he was an ordinary οἰκονόμος, Τελέστου would on the analogy of e. g. **169** be expected to refer to the district under his control, and it is possible that Τελέστου here and τῶν Τελέστου in **85**. 14 means the district which was or had been governed by a military official called Telestes; cf. the use of the military term ἄγημα as the name of a toparchy in

101. 3. On the other hand, the mention of Paramenes' nationality suggests that he was not an ordinary *οἰκονόμος*, but a military settler acting as agent for his captain, Telestes. If so, however, the rent of Protogenes' *κλῆρος* would seem to be paid not to the State, but to the leader of a troop of military settlers, whereas it is more satisfactory to regard Protogenes' *κλῆρος* as one of the *κλῆροι βασιλικοί* which are so often met with in the volume (cf. **52**. 26, note). We prefer, therefore, to suppose that Paramenes was a government official.

10. The supposed *ο* of *δρου* is very doubtful, and *δρυ* (or *αρυ*) can equally well be read, and might be combined with the following *ες* as one name; but cf. **100**. 11 *εἰς τὰ ἐκφόρια.*

14. 2 drachmae 1 obol for an artaba of wheat is slightly higher than the ordinary rate (2 dr.) found at this period; cf. **84** (*a*). 8–9, note.

100. Account. Receipt for Rent.

Mummy 5. 14 × 7·9 *cm.* B.C. 267 (266). Plate X (recto).

On one side of this papyrus is a short account in drachmae, on the other an acknowledgement by an agent of Xanthus that he had received from Euphranor some barley which was the rent of a *κλῆρος*, and was being forwarded by river; cf. introd. to **39**, where the same persons are also concerned, and **98**. It is not quite certain which side is recto and which verso; but the smoother side seems to be that occupied by the account, which will then be earlier than B.C. 267 (266). In any case, however, the interval between the two documents is small, since they were almost certainly written by the same person, whose hand is a characteristic example of the more cursive writing of this period (see Plate X). The receipt on the verso was not completed, and blank spaces were left for some of the details. The writing on both sides is across the fibres.

The most interesting point in the papyrus is the date in ll. 8–9, where the absence of *καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Πτολεμαίου* shows that Euergetes (if he is meant by *τοῦ υἱοῦ* in that formula) was still not generally known to have been associated in the sovereignty on Phaophi 11 of the 19th year (Dec. 6, B.C. 267 if it was a revenue year, probably B.C. 266 if it was regnal; cf. p. 367). On the other hand, according to a Louvre demotic papyrus (Revillout, *Chrest. dém.* pp. 231–40), the association had taken place before Athur 30 (Jan. 24) in the 19th year (B.C. 266 or 265). Hence, assuming that our papyrus may be trusted—and in the absence of other evidence there is no ground for doubting its accuracy—the date of the association can now be more narrowly determined than previously. If the 19th year in **100** and the demotic papyrus is in both cases a revenue year, the limits are Dec. 6, 267, and Jan. 24, 266; if it is in both cases a regnal year, they are

Dec. 6, 266, and Jan. 24, 265; if the 19th year in **100** is a revenue year and that in the demotic a regnal (which is the most likely hypothesis), the limits are Dec. 6, 267, and Jan. 24, 265; the converse hypothesis would produce an inconsistency between the two papyri and need not be considered. Bouché-Leclercq (*Hist. des Lagides*, I. p. 184) rather arbitrarily adopts the year B.C. 268 as the *terminus ante quem* for the date of the association, a view which is no longer tenable.

Recto.

[ὑπ]ερανήλωκας [κη,
[εἰς] τοῦτο κομίζει
[πα]ρὰ τῶν τὰ ἀωίλια ε,
[κ]αὶ παρὰ τὴν καταλ-
5 [λα]γὴν γ,
[τι]μὴν (ἀρταβῶν) ϛ ιβ,
[/] κ̣, λ(οιπαὶ) η.

Verso.

Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαί[ου
(ἔτους) ιθ μηνὸς Παῶφι ια. ἔχει Παούτης
10 ὁ̣ σιτομέτρης Ξάνθου παρ' Εὐφρά[ν]ορος
δι' Ἀντιπάτρου εἰς τὰ ἐκφόρια τοῦ Ἀλε-
ξάνδρου κλήρου εἰς τὸ ιθ (ἔτος) ἐξ Ἀνατ̣ιεὺ
κριθῶ(ν) (ἀρτάβας ?) λ̣ πρ̣( ) εἰς βᾶριν ἐφ' ἧς κυ-
βερνήτης ναύκληρος

1. [ὑπ]ερανήλωκας: τὸ ὑπεραν(ήλωμα) occurs in the account on the verso of **112**.

3. An ἀωίλιον is shown by Smyly in P. Petrie III. pp. 345 sqq. to have been a volume equal to the cube of which the side was a royal double cubit. Following the letter ε at the end of the line is a circular mark resembling that used as an abbreviation of π, and it would be possible to regard επ( ) as a participle governing τὰ ἀωίλια. But a 5 is much wanted here for the arithmetic, and the mark in question is somewhat indistinct and may be accidental. With the reading adopted in the text a participle must be supplied.

4. καταλλαγή seems here to have much the same sense as ἐπαλλαγή, a use of the word found also in classical writers.

6. (ἀρταβῶν): sc. πυροῦ probably, 2 drachmae being the normal price of an artaba of wheat at this period; cf. note on **84** (*a*). 8–9.

8–14. 'In the 19th year of the reign of Ptolemy son of Ptolemy, the 11th of the month Phaophi. Paoutes the corn-measurer of Xanthus has received from Euphranor

through Antipater for the rent of the holding of Alexander for the 19th year, from Anatieu (?), 30 artabae of barley, which have been embarked (?) upon the boat whose pilot is and whose captain is .'

10. The space before σιτομέτρης was intended for a further specification of Paoutes, e.g. ἐν with a place-name.

11–2. The Ἀλεξάνδρου κλῆρος recurs in **39**. 9. Ἀνατιεύ is apparently the name of a place, probably in the Κωίτης τόπος; cf. **39**, introd.

13. The meaning of the abbreviation is obscure; the ρ (or ι) is written through the π, which may also be read as μ. A participle would suit the sense.

14. This line was probably the last, but the margin below is not broad enough to be quite decisive.

101. Receipt for Rent.

Mummy 5. 13·7 × 9·9 *cm.* B.C. 261 (260).

A receipt, similar to **100**, for a large quantity of barley delivered by Euphranor to a superior official as rent of cleruchic land; cf. introd. to **39**.

Ἔτους κδ μηνὸς Τῦβι. ἔχει
Λίβανος ὁ παρὰ Σέμνου σιτο-
λόγος τοῦ Ἀγήματος παρὰ
Εὐφράνορος ὑπὲρ Πλάτωνο[ς
5 εἰς οὓς γεωργεῖ κλήρους βα̣σ̣[ιλ(ικοὺς)
Ἁ[ρ]εν[δώ]τ̣ης ἐν Σισίνηι ὑπὲ[ρ
[. . . . .]ο̣υ̣ εἰς τοὺς αμασ̣[. .
μέτρωι ἀνηλωτικῶι κριθῶν ἀρτάβας ἑπτακοσίας
ὀγδοήκοντα τέτταρας
10 ἥμυσυ τέταρτον ὄγδοον.

8. μετρωι ανηλωτικωι above the line.

'The 24th year, in the month of Tubi. Libanus, agent of Semnus and sitologus of the *Agema*, has received from Euphranor on behalf of Platon for the royal holdings cultivated by Harendotes, at Sisine on account of . . . for the . . . 784⅞ artabae of barley by the spending measure.'

2–3. σιτολόγος τοῦ Ἀγήματος: apart from the present passage ἄγημα only occurs among papyri of this period in P. Petrie III. 11 and 12 in personal descriptions, e.g. 12. 16 Μ]ακεδὼν τῶν Πάτρωνος σύνταγμα τοῦ ἀγήματος. On that analogy τοῦ ἀγήματος here might be dissociated from σιτολόγος and explained as a description of Libanus. But this seems a strange addition after the specification of his office, and another explanation is suggested by a passage in C. P. R. 6. 3–4 δι' ἐπιτη[ρητῶν] ἀγορανομίας μερῶν τοπαρχίας Ἀγήμ[ατος τοῦ ὑπὲ]ρ

Μέμφιν Ἡρακλεοπολίτου. Ἀγήματος there clearly designates a locality; and it is significant that the nome is, most probably, the same as in our receipt (cf. **39**, introd.). We are accordingly disposed to regard τοῦ Ἀγήματος as a geographical term (with τόπος understood) defining the sphere of Libanus, which would be a perfectly natural addition. The origin of the term remains obscure; perhaps a large grant had been made in this neighbourhood to members of the bodyguard.

5. κλήρους βασ[ιλ(ικούς): cf. **85**. 13 and **52**. 26, note.

7. The word lost at the beginning of the line is most probably the name of the place near which the κλῆροι were situated, and at which the payment would be expected, whereas it was actually made at Sisine; cf. P. Petrie III. 78. 2 ἐν Ἀπίαδι ὑπὲρ Λυσιμαχίδος, &c. αμασ[after τούς is puzzling. The last is the only doubtful letter, and not more than two or three more are lost after it, if indeed there is anything missing at all. There may, however, have been an abbreviation, as in l. 5. A break occurs in the papyrus below this line, and it is possible that we are wrong in supposing the second fragment to join it directly, in which case l. 7 might end with αμα]; but there is a stroke in the lower fragment which just suits the tail of the υ before εἰς. Perhaps εἰς τοὺς Ἀμάσ[ιος (sc. κλήρους) should be read; cf. **117**. 8 and **118**. 2.

8. μέτρωι ἀνηλωτικῶι: cf. **74**. 2, note.

102. Payment of Physician-Tax.

Mummy A. 12·3 × 16·5 *cm.* B.C. 248 (247).

An undertaking, addressed in duplicate to a physician by a military settler, to pay 10 artabae of olyra or 4 drachmae for the ἰατρικόν of the 38th year of Philadelphus. This impost for the maintenance of public physicians occurs amongst other taxes levied by the State upon military settlers in P. Petrie III. 110 and 111, where 2 artabae of wheat are paid for it, and in **103**. 9, where the charge is 5 artabae of olyra; but **102** is the only instance of the ἰατρικόν being paid direct to the physician, though payments to ἰατροί occur in private accounts of the Ptolemaic period, e. g. P. Tebt. 112. The note on the verso probably refers to the same transaction, in which a loan of some kind seems to have been involved. The writing is across the fibres.

[. . . . . Κυρη]ν̣[α]ῖο̣ς̣ τῶν Ζωΐλου ἰδιώτης Εὐκάρ[π]ωι ἰατρῶι χαίρειν.
[τέτακται (?) σ]οὶ ἀποδώσειν ὀλυρ(ῶν) (ἀρτάβας) ι ἢ δραχμὰς τέσσαρας τὸ ἰατρι-
[κὸν τοῦ λη (ἔτους),] ταύτας δέ σοι ἀ(ποδώσω) ἐμ μηνὶ Δαισίωι· ἐὰν δέ σ[ο]ι μὴ ἀ-
[ποδῶ ἀποτείσω] σ̣[ο]ι̣ τιμὴν τῆς ἀρτάβης ἑκάστης (δραχμὰς) β. ἔρρωσο.
5 [(ἔτους) λ]ζ Παῦνι ϛ.

[. . . . . Κυρηναῖο]ς τῶν Ζωίλου ἰδιώτης Εὐκάρπωι ἰατρῶι
[χαίρειν. τέτα]κ̣ται σοὶ ἀποδώσειν ὀλυρῶν ἀρτάβας δέκα ἢ δρα-
[χμὰς τέσσαρα]ς τὸ ἰατρικὸν τοῦ λη (ἔτους), ταύτας δέ σοι ἀπο-
[δώσω ἐμ μηνὶ Δ]αισίωι· ἐὰν δέ σοι μὴ ἀποδῶ ἀποτείσω σ̣[ο]ι
10 [τιμὴν τῆς ἀρτά]βης ἑκάσ(της) (δραχμὰς) β. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λζ Παῦνι ς.

On the verso

ἐχρήσατο παρ̣ὰ̣ . α̣π̣α̣υ̣τ̣ος.

'. . . Cyrenean, of Zoilus' troop, private, to Eucarpus, physician, greeting. It has been ordered that I shall pay you 10 artabae of olyra or 4 drachmae as the physician-tax for the 38th year. These I will pay you in the month Daisius; and if I fail to pay you, I will forfeit to you as the value of each artaba 2 drachmae. Good-bye. The 37th year, Pauni 6.'

2. That 4 drachmae should be the alternative (and therefore presumably the equivalent) of 10 artabae of olyra gives rise to some difficulty. In **85**. 15 and **119**. 16 olyra is converted into wheat at the ratio of about $2\frac{1}{2}:1$; but 4 drachmae would be expected to be equivalent at this period to 2 artabae of wheat (cf. **84** (*a*). 8–9, note), especially as 2 artabae of wheat are the charge for ἰατρικόν in P. Petrie III. 110 and 111; and this makes the ratio of olyra to wheat indicated by **102** not $2\frac{1}{2}:1$ but $5:1$. **103**. 9, on the other hand, where 5 artabae of olyra are paid for ἰατρικόν, will be in agreement with P. Petrie III. 110 if the ratio between olyra and wheat was $2\frac{1}{2}:1$ as found in **85** and **119**; and since the same ratio is also found in P. Tebt. 246 and 261 the circumstances in which 10 artabae of olyra were in **102** equivalent to only 4 drachmae were no doubt exceptional. That an artaba of olyra was really worth much more than $\frac{2}{5}$ drachma is also indicated by the fact that its penalty value (l. 4) is 2 drachmae an artaba. This, which agrees with the penalty value of an artaba of olyra in **86**. 12, **124**, and P. Tor. 13 (second century B. C.), would, if olyra was normally worth nearly a drachma per artaba, not be exceptionally high, since the penalty value of grain is in the third century B. C. often twice its normal price; cf. **88**. 13, note. In **90**. 15 the penalty value of olyra is apparently as high as 4 drachmae the artaba.

3. Δαισίωι: this month probably corresponded in the main to Pauni at this period; cf. App. i. Since the document was written in Pauni of the 37th year, Daisius no doubt refers to the 38th.

103. Receipt for Physician-Tax and Police-Tax.

Mummy 10. 12·4 × 7·3 *cm*. B.C. 231 (230).

Receipt for the payment, on behalf of a military settler, probably in the Κωίτης τόπος, of 5 artabae of olyra for the ἰατρικόν, or tax for the maintenance of physicians, and 9 artabae for φυλακιτικόν, the police-tax; cf. introd. to **102**

and **105**, and **165**, a similar receipt issued to the same person. The reign is no doubt that of Euergetes; cf. **66–70** (*b*), which came from the same mummy.

(Ἔτους) ιζ Φαῶφι β, ὀλ(υρῶν) ιδ.

Ἀπολλοφάνης Θε-
οφίλωι χαίρειν. με-
μετρήμεθα παρὰ
5 Σ̣τ̣ρ̣ατίου ὑπὲρ
Διοδώρου Κεφάλλω-
νος δε(κανικοῦ) τῶν Ζωίλου
διὰ κωμο(γραμματέως) Εὐπόλεως
(ἔτους) ιζ ἰατρικὸν ὀλ(υρῶν) ε,
10 φυ(λακιτικὸν) ὀλυρῶν ἐννέα, / ὀλ(υρῶν) ιδ.
ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) ιζ
Φ[α]ῶφι β.

'The 17th year, Phaophi 2: 14 artabae of olyra.

'Apollophanes to Theophilus, greeting. We have had measured out to us by Stratius on behalf of Diodorus son of Cephallon, decurion of Zoilus' troop, through the comogrammateus Eupolis for the 17th year, 5 artabae of olyra as the physician-tax and 9 artabae of olyra as the police-tax; total 14 artabae of olyra. Good-bye. The 17th year, Phaophi 2.'

1. The abbreviation of ὀλ(υρῶν) here and in ll. 9–10 is a rounded λ surmounted by a small ο.

6–8. Diodorus and Eupolis reappear in **104** and **165**. For the abbreviation of δεκανικός cf. **81**. 16, note.

104. Receipt for various Taxes.

Mummy 10. 8·9 × 7·3 *cm.* B.C. 225 (224).

A receipt in duplicate issued by Eupolis the comogrammateus to Diodorus (cf. **103**) for the imposts called τριηράρχημα and διάχωμα, the police-tax (on which see **105**, introd.), and the tax on horses. These four taxes are found together with some others in P. Petrie II. 39 (*e*). The horse-tax is there mentioned but once under the name φόρος ἵππων, the amount paid being lost. Here it is simply called ἵππων, and 1 drachma 5 obols are entered under that head. It belonged to the category of taxes on property, and was no doubt paid by

Diodorus on the horse which his military duties obliged him to keep. The meaning of *τριηράρχημα* and *διάχωμα* is unknown. Smyly is probably right (P. Petrie III. p. 277) in doubting whether the former has any naval signification, and in connecting it rather with the use of *τριήραρχος* in e. g. P. Petrie III. 43 (3). 21, where the word apparently means an overseer of workmen. In P. Petrie II. 39 (*e*) the sums paid for these two taxes are 5 drachmae and 4 drachmae 1 obol respectively. The corresponding amounts in **104** are 6 drachmae 4½ obols and 6 drachmae.

(Ἔτους) βκ Παῦνι λ. ἔχει Εὔ-
π[ολις παρὰ Δ]ιοδώρου
εἰς τὸ βκ (ἔτος) τριηράρχημα
[(δραχμὰς)] ς (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον), διάχωμα (δραχμὰς) ς,
5 φυ(λακιτικὸν) (δραχμὰς) ς, ἵππων (δραχμὴν) α (πεντώβολον).

(ἔτους) κβ Παῦνι λ. ἔχει Εὔ-
πολις παρὰ [Διοδ]ώρου
Κεφάλλωνο[ς εἰς] τὸ βκ [(ἔτος)
τριη[ρ]άρχ[ημα (δραχμὰς) ς (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον),
10 [διά]χ[ωμα (δραχμὰς) ς, φυ(λακιτικὸν) (δραχμὰς) ς,
[ἵππων (δραχμὴν) α (πεντώβολον).]

'The 22nd year, Pauni 30. Eupolis has received from Diodorus for the 22nd year for *τριηράρχημα* 6 drachmae 4½ obols, for *διάχωμα* 6 drachmae, for police-tax 6 drachmae, for horse-tax 1 drachma 5 obols.'

1. βκ: other examples of this order are found e. g. in **110**. 37, P. Petrie II. 13 (17). 3, P. Magd. 3. 3.
2. The omission of Κεφάλλωνος (cf. l. 8) was an oversight.

105. Receipt for Police-Tax.

Mummy A 15. 7·1 × 7 *cm*. B.C. 228 (227).

A receipt for 2 artabae of wheat paid by a military settler belonging to the troop of Zoilus, probably at Phebichis, for the maintenance of the police. This impost is frequently mentioned in the Petrie papyri, where, besides the tax on land called *φυλακιτικὸν γῆς* (III. 112 (*h*). 3–8) or simply *φυλακιτικόν* which

corresponds to the φυλ. τοῦ ἰδίου κλήρου here, we hear of a φυλακιτικόν levied upon sheep (λείας προβάτων, III. 111. 8), animals for sacrifice (ἱερείων, III. 109 (*a*). iv. 13), associations and workshops (ἐθνῶν καὶ ἐργαστηρίων, III. 32 (*f*). 2), and geese (χηνῶν, III. 112 (*a*). ii. 5). When levied upon land it was sometimes paid in money, 1 drachma per aroura being the rate found in III. 70 (*a*). i. 4, but more often in corn, as here, the annual amounts ranging from $1\frac{2}{3}$ artabae of wheat (III. 54 (*b*). *d*, verso 3) to 3 artabae (II. 39 (*e*). 2). Cf. **143**, another receipt with the same formula, **103**. 10, where the charge is 9 artabae of olyra (equivalent to nearly 4 artabae of wheat; cf. **85**. 15), and **104**, where 6 drachmae are paid for φυλακιτικόν. The 19th year in l. 1 refers more probably to Euergetes than to Philadelphus.

(Ἔτους) ιθ Παῦνι κη. ὁμολογεῖ Θεό-
δωρος μεμετρῆσθαι παρὰ
Ἑρκ̣ά̣μ̣ι̣ο̣ς τοῦ Χ . ρ̣ι̣ου ἰλ(άρχου) τῶν
Ζωίλου τὸ γινόμενον φυλα-
5 κιτικὸν τοῦ ἰδίου κλ(ήρου) πυρ(ῶν) δύο.

'The 19th year, Pauni 28. Theodorus agrees that he has had measured to him by Herkamis son of Ch . . ., captain of Zoilus' troop, the due amount of the police-tax upon his own holding, two artabae of wheat.'

1. Θεόδωρος is perhaps identical with the Theodorus in **75**. 1, though the Theodorus here would be expected to be an official of the θησαυρός, a position which does not suit the Theodorus in **75**.

3. ἰλ(άρχου): this abbreviation consists of a large λ with a small ι underneath, and recurs in **143**; cf. P. Petrie III. 54 (*a*). (4) ii. 5, where it appears to mean ἰλ(άρχης). The circumstance that in **103**. 7 the payer of ἰατρικόν and φυλακιτικόν is a δε(κανικός) makes ἰλ(άρχου) much more probable here than e.g. Λί(βυος).

5. ἰδίου: cf. **90**. 7, note.

106. Receipt for Beer-Tax.

Mummy A 15. 10·2 × 7 *cm.* B.C. 246 (245).

This and the following papyrus together with **136–142** form a series of receipts for the payment of ζυτηρά in the second and third years of a king who is no doubt Euergetes. The payments are made into the λογευτήριον at Phebichis, which village seems to have been a kind of centre of the finance administration of the Κωίτης. The λογευτήριον, a term hitherto known only from

Rev. Laws xi. 13, in these receipts (cf. **108**. 2, **114**. 7) occupies the place of the royal bank, and seems to be hardly distinguishable from it, since the recipient of the tax is the τραπεζίτης, with whom is coupled the δοκιμαστής. The close association of these two officials (cf. **108**. 4, where the δοκιμαστής is apparently found acting for the τραπεζίτης, and **41**, a letter concerning a δοκιμαστής) casts a new light on the functions of the δοκιμαστής, who up to now has only been mentioned in P. Leyden Q and P. Petrie III. 50. 2. From the Leyden papyrus, a receipt for 20 drachmae on account of ἀπόμοιρα (cf. **109**) paid over by a δοκιμαστής to a πράκτωρ in circumstances which are rather obscure, it has been supposed that the δοκιμαστής was particularly concerned with the ἀπόμοιρα, especially with conversions of payments in kind into money (Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 361–2). The Hibeh texts, however, indicate that his functions were much wider, and that he acted as a check on the τραπεζίτης in the same way as the ἀντιγραφεύς controlled the οἰκονόμος, thus affording another illustration of a favourite Ptolemaic practice. In **41** the collection of arrears of taxation and the selling of oil manufactured by the government appear among the duties of a δοκιμαστής, and δοκιμασταί are mentioned in **29**. 19 in an obscure context. An impost called δοκιμαστικόν, apparently a charge for the maintenance of δοκιμασταί, occurs in **110**. 44 and perhaps in **29**. 24.

Besides the τραπεζίτης and δοκιμαστής who issue this series of receipts, other officials were generally present; in one instance (**107**. 5) the οἰκονόμος, but in most cases Dorion, whose title where it occurred in **107**. 4 is lost (but may have been ἐπιστάτης if he is identical with the Dorion in **72**. 4), and whose signature has usually been appended at the end of the receipts. The payments are made by different persons who are all agents of an inhabitant of Talaë called Taëmbes. Whether he was the tax-collector or the tax-payer is not clear; but from **108**, in which the general formula is similar and the person in l. 5 corresponding to the agents of Taëmbes here is the tax-payer's representative, not the tax-collector, we prefer to suppose that Taëmbes is the person upon whom the ζυτηρά is levied, and to make these payments parallel to those mentioned in P. Petrie III. 37 (*b*). verso iv. 15 sqq., where καὶ παρὰ τῶν ζυτοποιῶν πέπτωκ[εν] παρὰ Παμάτιος . . . χαλ(κοῦ) ρν κ.τ.λ. is found in an account of, probably, a royal bank. This interpretation will fit in very well with the generally-received view of the ζυτηρά (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 369–73), that it was a tax on the profits of beer-manufacture, but a good many points connected with the taxes upon that important industry are still in doubt. The sums paid by Taëmbes' agents consist of monthly instalments ranging from 8 drachmae (**138**) to 20 (**106**. 8) in copper, the rate of which is three times (**106**. 8, **107**. 7, and **138**; in **137** the figures are obliterated) given as apparently 24¼ obols for a stater. This

extremely small addition to the rate of 24 obols for a stater found in the case of those taxes in which the government accepted copper at par is in accordance with the evidence of P. Par. 62. v. 19, that in the second century B.C. the *ζυτηρά* was an *ὠνὴ πρὸς χαλκὸν ἰσόνομον.* The extra $\frac{1}{4}$ obol per stater or approximately 1 per cent., which is levied in the Hibeh texts, probably corresponds to the extra charges of 1 per cent. for *ἐπισκευή* and 2 per cent. for transport which are mentioned in connexion with the *ζυτηρά* in the Paris papyrus. Above each receipt is a brief summary, and at the end of each are a few words of demotic. The writing is in most cases, including **106**, across the fibres.

(Ἔτους) β Ἀθὺ[ρ λ, (δραχμαὶ)] κ.

(ἔτους) β Ἀθὺρ λ. πέπτωκεν
ἐπὶ τὸ ἐμ Φεβίχι λογευτήριον
τοῦ Κωίτου Πάσωνι τραπε-
5 ζίτηι καὶ Στοτοήτι δοκι-
μαστῆι παρὰ Ἁρενδώτου το(ῦ) παρὰ Ταεμβέους
ἐκ Ταλάη ζυτηρᾶς εἰς τὸν
Ἀθὺρ χα(λκοῦ) εἰς κδ̣ (τέταρτον ?) (δραχμὰς) εἴκοσι, / κ.
2nd hand [πα]ρόντ[ο]ς Δωρίωνος.

1 line of demotic.

6. αρενδωτου το(υ) παρα above the line.

'The 2nd year, Athur 30: 20 dr. The 2nd year, Athur 30. Harendotes, agent of Taëmbes from Talaë, has paid into the collecting office of the Koite toparchy at Phebichis, to Pason, banker, and Stotoëtis, controller, for the beer-tax on account of Athur twenty drachmae of copper at 24$\frac{1}{4}$ obols (for a stater), total 20. In the presence of Dorion.'

8. κδ (τέταρτον): very little of the δ is left; but the traces are inconsistent with ε or ϛ, and cf. **107**. 7, where δ is certain. There is more doubt about the fraction; all that remains is a piece of a horizontal stroke joining the sign for drachmae. If it represents $\frac{1}{4}$ obol, which is usually written ⅂, the writer must on reaching the end of the horizontal stroke have drawn his pen back a little way before making the down stroke, just as he usually does in writing τ. The only alternative is to read (ἡμιωβέλιον), but we hesitate to introduce a rate which would be necessarily different from those found in **107**. 7 (cf. note) and **138**; and if, as is likely, the rate is the same in all three cases, 24$\frac{1}{4}$ is the only suitable number.

107 Receipt for Beer-Tax.

Mummy A 15. 6·5 × 7·2 *cm.* B.C. 244 (243).

Another receipt for beer-tax similar to **106**, but mentioning in ll. 3–4 the presence of two officials; cf. **106**, introd. The writing is across the fibres.

[(Ἔτους) γ Παῦνι λ, (δραχμαὶ) .]

(ἔτους) γ Παῦνι λ. πέπτ[ω]κε[ν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐν
Φεβίχει λο(γευτήριον) Νικολάωι τρ(απεζίτηι) [καὶ Στοτοήτει
δο(κιμαστῆι) παρόντος Δωρίωνος [. . . . . καὶ
5 Ζηνοδώρου οἰκονόμου πα[ρὰ . . . .
στιος το(ῦ) παρὰ Ταεμβέους ἐκ [Ταλάη ζυτηρᾶς
εἰς τὸν Παῦνι εἰς κδ (τέταρτον) (δραχμὰς) ε̣[. . . . . . .
2nd hand (ἔτους) γ Παῦνι λ, παρόντος Δ̣[ωρίωνος.
1 line of demotic.

4. The missing title is perhaps ἐπιστάτου; cf. **106**, introd. In **108**. 3 the βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς is associated with the οἰκονόμος in a similar context, but is named second.

7. The supposed sign for ¼ obol has the horizontal portion longer and more curved than usual; but it is certainly not the symbol for ½ obol, nor can it be satisfactorily regarded as a combination of the two, especially since ¼ is certainly the only fraction found in **138** where the preceding δ is doubtful, and in **106**. 8 the doubtful symbol may represent ½ or ¼ obol, but not both; cf. note *ad loc.*

108. Receipt for Bath-Tax.

Mummy A 16. 8·2 × 6·3 *cm.* B.C. 258 (257) or 248 (247).

A receipt with a formula very similar to that of **106–7**, issued by a λογευτήριον for the payment of 10 drachmae on account of the bath-tax, probably a general impost levied for the construction and maintenance of public baths; cf. note on l. 7. The papyrus comes from the same piece of cartonnage as the correspondence of Leodamas (**45–50**), and the date is probably the 27th or 37th year of Philadelphus.

(Ἔτους) [.]ζ Φαρμ[οῦθι . . πέπτωκεν ἐπὶ τὸ
ἐν Φῦς λογευτήριον δι' οἰκον[όμου
Διοδώρου καὶ βασιλικοῦ γρ(αμματέως) [. . . .
[Θε]ο̣δώρωι τραπεζί[τηι] διὰ [δοκι-
5 [μ]α̣σ̣τ̣οῦ Ὥρου παρὰ Πυ̣[. . . . . .
ὑ̣πὲρ Δημοφῶντος [. . . . .
βαλανείου το(ῦ) πεντεκ[αι . . . . (ἔτους)
[(δραχμὰς) δ]έ̣κα.

'[.]7th year, Pharmouthi . . P . . . has paid on behalf of Demophon into the collecting office at Phus through Diodorus, oeconomus, and . . ., basilicogrammateus, to Theodorus, banker, through Horus, controller, for the bath-tax of the [.]5th year 10 drachmae.'

2. Φῦς: a village of the Heracleopolite nome, probably in the Κωίτης; cf. C. P. R. 64. 12.
4. [δοκιμ]αστοῦ: cf. **106**, introd.
7. βαλανείου: cf. **112**. 96 and βαλανείων as the title of a tax in P. Petrie III. 37 (*b*). verso 7, 119 (*a*). 2, and 121 (*a*). 14. On the bath-tax, which was in Roman times called βαλανικόν, see Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 165–70. His argument from the silence of the ostraca, that this impost was introduced by Augustus, is now shown to be incorrect. Wilcken hesitates between two interpretations, (1) a general tax for the maintenance by the State of public baths, (2) a charge for the use of public baths levied in the form of a tax upon only those persons who used them. The former view seems to us much more likely, especially as small charges for the use of baths (generally $\frac{1}{4}$ obol) are common in private accounts of the earlier Ptolemaic period, e.g. P. Petrie III. 132–42, and are clearly distinct from the tax called βαλανείων. That public baths were not in all cases owned by the government appears from **116**, where the tax τρίτη βαλανείων occurs. This, on the analogy of e.g. τρίτη περιστερώνων, seems to be an impost of $\frac{1}{3}$ upon the profits of privately owned baths. The supply of bathing-establishments in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt must have been surprisingly large.

109. Receipt for ἀπόμοιρα.

Mummy 83. 4·5 × 10·9 *cm.* B.C. 247–6.

Two receipts for payments of 10 and 5 drachmae respectively on account of the tax of $\frac{1}{6}$ on the produce of vineyards and gardens, otherwise called the ἀπόμοιρα. For the history of this impost, the benefit of which was transferred in the 23rd year of Philadelphus from the temples to the deified Arsinoë (whence the name ἕκτη Φιλαδέλφωι, e.g. in **132**), cf. Rev. Laws pp. 119 sqq., Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 157 sqq. and 615, P. Tebt. 5. 51, note, and Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, I. pp. 340–56. In the present case the tax was levied upon a palm-garden, and therefore in money, and the two payments were for a single year.

Col. i.

. . . .

[. . οἰκονό]μου Ἀριστογέ̣ν[ης] κ̣[αὶ

[. . . . . τὸ] παρ' αὐτῶν κα[ὶ τ]ῶν

[μετόχω]ν εἰς τὴν ϛ τοῦ Τεισάν-

[δρου φοι]νικῶνος τοῦ πρὸς τῆι

5 [διοικήσει] εἰς τὸ λθ (ἔτος) χαλκοῦ

[πρὸς ἀργ]ύριον (δραχμὰς) δέκα, / (δραχμαὶ) ι.

Col. ii.

. . . .

τραπ[εζίτηι καὶ . . . . δοκι-

μα[σ]τῆι Ἀριστογένη[ς καὶ . . . . .

τὸ παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν μ̣ε̣τ̣[όχων

10 εἰς τὴν ϛ τοῦ Τεισάνδρου φοινικ[ῶ-

νος τοῦ π[ρὸ]ς [τῆι διο]ικήσει εἰς τὸ λθ [(ἔτος)

χαλκοῦ πρὸς ἀργύριον (δραχμὰς) πέντε, / (δραχμαὶ) ε.

ll. 7–12. 'Aristogenes and . . . (have paid to) . . ., banker and . . ., controller, the amount due from them and their partners for the tax of $\frac{1}{6}$ upon the palm-garden of Teisander, the finance official, for the 39th year, in copper on the silver standard five drachmae, total 5 drachmae.'

1. Either διὰ . . . οἰκονό]μου or παρόντος . . . οἰκονό]μου may be restored; cf. **107**. 5–6, **108**. 2.

4–5. τοῦ πρὸς τῆι [διοικήσει] may refer to φοινικῶνος, but is more easily explained if connected with Τεισάνδρου: this use of πρός in describing officials is extremely common; cf. e.g. P. Tebt. 30. 18 τῶν δὲ πρὸς ταῖς γραμματείαις. ὁ πρὸς τῆι διοικήσει may well be, like ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως in Rev. Laws, a periphrasis for διοικητής. Aristogenes and his partners were probably lessees of Tisander.

5. λθ (ἔτος): the last (revenue) year of Philadelphus; cf. **53**. 4, note and App. ii. p. 364.

5–6. χαλκοῦ [πρὸς ἀργ]ύριον: cf. **70** (*a*). 9, note. Down to the reign of Epiphanes the money payments for ἀπόμοιρα had to be made either in silver or in copper at a discount. Later in the second century B.C., as is shown by Wilcken, *Ost.* no. 1518, copper was accepted at par.

7–8. On the association of τραπεζίτης and δοκιμαστής cf. **106**, introd.

X. ACCOUNTS

110. Accounts: Postal Register.

Mummy 18. 19·4 × 30·5 *cm.* Recto about B.C. 270; Verso about B.C. 255.

The recto of this papyrus contains a long account apparently of a private or semi-private character, but kept by some person in the government service, since the document on the verso is clearly official. The account is in three columns; but of the first only ends of lines remain, and these are almost all occupied with a list of σώματα which are reckoned at sums varying from 1 obol to 2½ obols, e. g. σώματα ι] ἀν(ὰ) (δυόβολους) / (δραχμαὶ) γ (δυόβολοι), ἄλλα δ (δραχμὴ) α | . . .]τιος σώματα κη ἀν(ὰ) (δυοβόλους) (ἡμιωβέλιον) / (δραχμαὶ) ια (τετρώβολον),—no doubt a wages account. Near the top of the column occurs]ορου κλήρωι and at the bottom a mention of . . . ἵππων (δραχμαὶ) κ and φοινίκων. Col. ii and the upper part of Col. iii are occupied with an account of corn, some of which was transported to Alexandria, and interesting details are given of expenses *en route.* The lower portion of the third column contains a few short money accounts, and concludes with three lines which belong to the document on the verso.

This is of a more novel and important character. It is a record of the arrival at and departure from some intermediate station of letters and other documents sent to or from the king or high officials, and affords a most interesting glimpse into the management and nature of the State postal-service. Careful note is made of the day and hour of the arrival of each messenger, his name and that of the clerk who received and issued letters at the office, the number and addresses of the packets, and the names of the messengers to whom they were handed on. The day-book in the registered letter department of a modern post-office can hardly be more methodical and precise. The documents forwarded are mostly described as κυλιστοί (usually abbreviated κ̆, but written out in ll. 51, 73, and 110), i.e. 'rolls,' which are apparently distinguished from ἐπιστολαί, 'letters' (ll. 57, 98, 107); but the difference was perhaps one of size rather than of contents. That the register on the verso was not separated by any wide interval of time from the account on the recto, which was drawn up soon after the 14th year, is shown by the mention of

Apollonius, the well-known dioecetes in the 27th–32nd years; cf. **44**. 3, note. The locality of the postal bureau is not clearly defined. The writer of the recto had business concerns at Hiera Nesus in the south of the Fayûm, and Plutarchus and Criton, who are mentioned in Col. ii, are known from other papyri to have been connected with that neighbourhood; cf. introd. to **63**. But Phebichis in the Κωίτης τόπος is referred to in l. 36; and that is a much more suitable scene for the composition of the official register, which points decidedly to some town in the Nile valley as its provenance. Preceding the two columns of the verso which we print there remain the ends of a few lines of another much effaced column, but they add no information.

Recto. Col. ii.

ἔχω παρὰ Πολέμωνος (πυρῶν) (ἀρτάβας) ϙ̣,
καὶ παρ' Ἀγάθ̣ωνος [ρ]ϙ[δ,]
παρὰ Σ̣ίμου κζ̣,
καὶ ὑπὲρ Εὐβούλου κ,
5 / τλα̣. / εἰς τὸ Ἡρ̣α̣κ̣[λ]εῖον α,
καὶ εἰς τὸ ναῦλον ι (δραχμῶν) κ̣[ ]
Πλουτάρχωι κ, λοι[παὶ τ.
τούτων ἐγένοντο δ̣ . . [. .] . [. . . . .]ω̣ν̣
ἐγβολὴν [.]ουχ . μ̣ωνος . [. . .]ν̣[.] . . ε̣ο̣υ̣ α,
10 Φιλοκλεῖ εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδ[ε]ι̣α̣ [ε,] / σϙδ.
ἐπράθησαν ἀν(ὰ) (δραχμὰς) δ (πεντώβολον), / (δραχμαὶ) Ἀυκα.
ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ κριθὴν παρ' Ἀγ[ά]θ̣ωνος ρι·
τούτων Πλουτάρχωι κ, λοιπαὶ ϙ.
τούτων διάμετρα α∠ σιτομετρικὸν [∠,]
15 λοιπαὶ πη. ἐπράθησαν ἀν(ὰ) [(δραχμὴν)] α (τριώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον),
/ (δραχμαὶ) ρλθ (δυόβολοι).
εἶχον δὲ καὶ Κρίτωνι τῶν κ (ἀρταβῶν) τῶν (πυρῶν) (δραχμὰς) μ,
καὶ ναῦλον ⟦των⟧ τῶν πυρῶν καὶ κριθῶν ἔχω (δραχμὰς) ιε.
εἰς ταῦτα ἔχει Κρίτων χρυσίου ϡν,
20 ἀργυρίου (δραχμὰς) υμη.
ἀνήλωμα τοῦ σίτ[ο]υ ἐφ' Ἱερᾶι Νήσωι σάκκους β (τετρώβολον),
φυλακιτικὰ ἀφ' Ἱερᾶς Νήσου ἕως Ἀλεξανδρείας (δραχμαὶ) ιδ,

ἐπὶ φυλακῆς γρ[α]μματικὸν (δραχμαὶ) δ, τῶι παρερ . . ηριο[.] (δραχμὴ ?) α,·
ἐμ Μέμφει γραμματικὸν (δραχμὴ) α . , ἐπὶ τῆς κάτω φυ[λα]κ(ῆς)
25 [ἐν] Σχεδίαι (δραχμαὶ) δ, [. .]λα . [. .]ν (δραχμαὶ) ι, ἐν Ἀ[λεξ]αν[δρείαι]
Τεισά[ρχ]ωι (δραχμαὶ) ε, γραμματικὸν (δραχμαὶ) [. . . . . . .] (πυρῶν)
τὴν (ἀρτάβην) (ἡμιωβέλιον ?), / (δραχμαὶ) κδ (τριώβολον), [.] . νετ . . α
κρ(ιθῆς) (δραχμαὶ) ς [(δυόβολοι),

14. διαμετρα: Pap.

Col. iii.

τέλος (δραχμαὶ) ος, ναῦλ[ον (δραχμαὶ) . . , ἀντι-
γραφεῖ τοῦ Φιλοκλέου[ς . . . .
30 τραπεζίτηι δοκιμαστικο[ῦ . . . .
ἀπὸ Σχεδίας ναῦλον εἰς πόλιν [(δραχμαὶ) . . ,
ἀναπλέοντες ναῦλον (δραχμαὶ) β[
εἰς τοῦτο εἶχον παρὰ Κρίτω[νος (δραχμὰς) . .
(ἔτους) ιδ Ἐπεὶπ β.
35 λόγου γενομένου Πλουτάρχ[ωι
ἐμ Φεβίχι. προσωφείλησα σὺν [ἀνηλώμα-
σιν καὶ φυλακιτικοῖς τοῦ γι [(ἔτους) . . . .
καὶ Ἀριστάρχου τὸ πᾶν (δραχμὰς) λ[. . καὶ
κριθῶν (ἀρτάβας) ιε.
40 (ἔτους) ιβ ἐφ' ἱερέως [[εφ ιερεω[ς]] . . . . τοῦ Καλ-
λιμήδους μηνὸς Δύστρο[υ ἔχει . . . .
παρὰ Πλουτάρχ[ο]υ δ κα[τέβαλε . . . .
καὶ Μνησιστράτωι (δραχμὰς) ξ τόκ[ο]υ τ[ὸμ μῆνα (δραχμῶν) .
ἄλλας ἔχει (ἔτους) ιγ ἐφ' ἱερέως Νεα[. . . . τοῦ . . .
45 οκλέους μη(νὸς) Λωίου ἃς ἔδωκεν Ἀπ[ολλωνίωι
(δραχμὰς) ξ τόκου τὸμ μῆνα (δραχμῶν) δ. [
ἄλλας τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους) μηνὸς Ὑπε[ρβε-
ρεταίου [εἶχ]εν (δραχμὰς) ξ ἃς κατέβαλεν [Ἀπολ-
[λ]ωνίωι τῶι φυλακίτηι τόκου τ[ὸμ
50 μῆνα (δραχμῶν) ε.

2nd hand *κυλιστοὶ ϛ, ℓ βασιλῖ γ κα[ὶ ἐπισ-*
τολήν, Θ̣ε̣υ̣γ̣έ̣νι̣ χρηματαγωγ[ῶι . ,
Ἀπολλωνίω̣[ι] [δ]ι̣ο̣ι̣[κ]η̣[τῆ]ι̣ [. . . . . . .

48. (δραχμὰς) ξ above the line.

Verso. Col. ii.

. . . .

[ι]ϛ. [. .] . ν̣[. . . . . . .] . [. . .] . . . [. . . . .] . [.
55 [Ἀλ]εξάνδρωι ϛ, τ[ο]ύ̣τ̣ω̣ν̣ [βασι]λ̣ε̣ῖ̣
Πτο[λ]εμαίω̣ι̣ κυ(λιστὸς) α, Ἀπολ[λ]ων[ί]ωι δ[ιοι-
[κη]τῆι κυ(λιστὸς) α̣, ἐπιστολαὶ δύο πρὸς τῶι
[κυλ]ι̣σ̣τ̣ῶι προσδεδεγμ̣(έναι), Ἀντιόχωι Κρητὶ κ̣υ̣(λιστὸς) α̣, Μ̣η̣ν̣[ο-
δ̣]ώρω[ι] κυ(λιστὸς) α, Χελ[.]ω . [. .]αι ἐν ἄλλω̣ι κυ(λιστὸς) α,
60 Ἀ[λ]έξανδρος δὲ παρέδωκ[εν Ν]ικοδήμωι.
ιζ. ὥρας ἑωθινῆς παρέδωκεν Φοῖνιξ Ἡρα-
κλεί̣τ̣ου ὁ νεώτερος Μακεδὼν
(ἑκατοντάρουρος) Ἀμίν̣(ον)ι κυ(λιστὸν) α καὶ τὸ ἄξιον Φανία[ι,]
Ἀμ̣[ί]ν̣[ω]ν
δὲ παρέδωκεν Θευχρήστωι.
65 ιη. ὥρας πρώτης παρέδωκεν Θεύχρ[η]σ-
τος ἄνοθεν Διvίαι κυ(λιστοὺς) γ, ℓ βασιλῖ
Πτολεμαίωι κυ(λιστοὶ) β, Ἀπολλωνίωι
διοικητῆι κυ(λιστὸς) α, Διvίας δὲ παρέ-
δωκεν Ἱππολύσωι.
70 ιη. παρέδωκεν ὥρας ϛ Φοῖνιξ Ἡρακλείτ̣ο̣υ̣
ὁ πρεσβύτερος Μακεδὼν (ἑκατοντάρουρος)
Ἡρακλεοπολίτου τῶν πρώτων Εσ̣ο̣π̣[.] . [. .
κυλιστὸν α Φανίαι, Ἀμίνων [δ]ὲ παρέ[δ]ω̣κ̣(ε)
Τιμοκράτηι.
75 ιθ. ὥρας ια πα[ρ]έδ[ω]κ[ε Νι]κ̣όδημο̣ς̣
κάτοθεν Ἀλεξάνδρωι κ̣υ̣(λιστοὺς) . , παρ[ὰ
βασιλέως Πτολε(μαί)ου Ἀντιόχωι εἰς
Ἡρακλεοπολίτην κυ(λιστὸν) α, Δημητρίω[ι]

τῶι πρὸς τῆι χορηγία[ι τ]ῶν ἐλεφάντω[ν
80 εἰς τὴν Θηβαίδα κυ(λιστὸν) α, Ἱπποτέλ[η]ι
τῶι παρ' Ἀντιόχου κατὰ Ἀνδρον[ί]κου
ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος πόλι τῆι μεγάληι
κυ(λιστὸν) α, / παρὰ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίο[υ
Θευγένηι χρηματα[γω]γῶι κυ(λιστὸν) α,
85 Ἡρακλεοδώρωι εἰς τὴ[ν] Θηβαίδα [κυ(λιστὸν) α,]
Ζωίλωι τραπεζίτηι Ἑρμοπολίτ[ου] κυ(λιστὸν) [α,
Διονυσίωι οἰκον(όμ)ωι εἰς τὸν Ἀρσινοίτη[ν κυ(λιστὸν)] α,

58. προσδεδεγμ(εναι) added above the line. 60. This line inserted later. 61. ιτ of ηρακλειτου corr. 66. l. ἄνωθεν: so in ll. 107, 109. 71. κ of μακεδων corr. from δ. 75. ωρα over an erasure. 76. l. κάτωθεν: so in l. 98.

Col. iii.

. . . .

Vestiges of three lines.

91 κ. ὥρας [.] παρέ[δω]κ[εν Λ]υκοκλῆς Ἀμ[ίνονι
κυ(λιστοὺς) γ, / [β]α[σι]λῖ [Πτο]λεμ[αί]ωι [. . .] τῶν ἐλεφά[ντων
τῶν κα[τ]ὰ Θα[. .] . σσου κυ(λιστὸς) α, Ἀπολλω[νίωι
δι[ο]ικητῆι κυ(λιστὸς) α, Ἑ[ρ]μίππω[ι] τῶι ἀπ[ὸ τοῦ
95 πληρώματος κυ(λιστὸς) α, Ἀμίνων δὲ π[αρέδω-
κεν Ἱππολύσωι.
κα. ὥρας ϛ παρέδωκεν [.]εναλε . [. . . . . .
κάτοθεν Φανίαι ἐπιστο[λὰ]ς δύο [. . . . . . . ,
Ὧρος δὲ παρέδωκεν Διον[υ]σίωι . . [. . . . . . .
100 κβ. ὥρας πρώτης πα[ρ]έδωκεν Α[. .]ων [Δινίαι
κυ(λιστοὺς) ιϛ, / βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαί[ω]ι κ[υ(λιστοὶ) .
παρὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων τῶν κατὰ Θα[. . . σσου,
Ἀπολλωνίωι διοικητῆι κυ(λιστοὶ) δ . [. . . . . . . ,
Ἀντιόχωι Κρητὶ κυ(λιστοὶ) δ, Δινίας δὲ [παρέδω-
105 κεν Νικοδήμωι.
κβ. ὥρας ιβ παρέδωκεν Λέων Ἀ[μίνονι
ἄνοθεν βασιλῖ Πτολεμαίωι [κυ(λιστοὺς) . ,
Ἀμίνων δὲ παρέδωκεν [Ἱ]ππ[ολύσωι.

κγ. ἑωθινῆς ἄνοθεν πα[ρέ]δω[κεν . . . . .

110 Τιμοκράτης κυλιστοῦ[ς . Ἀλεξάνδρωι,

ι βασιλῖ Πτολεμαίωι κ[υ(λιστοὶ) . . , Ἀπολλωνίωι

διοικητῆι κυ(λιστὸς) α, Π[. . . . . χρηματα-

γωγῶι κυ(λιστὸς) α, Παρικ[. . . . . κυ(λιστὸς) . . ,

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ πα[ρέδωκεν . . . . . .

97. κ of παρεδωκεν above a θ.

1–50. 'I have received from Polemon 90 artabae of wheat, and from Agathon 194, from Simus 27, and on behalf of Eubulus 20, total 331; of which 1 was paid to the temple of Heracles, 10 for freightage at 20 drachmae, and 20 to Plutarchus, remainder 300. Of these were expended for . . . 1, to Philocles for necessaries 5, total 294. They were sold at 4 dr. 5 ob., making 1421 dr. I also received barley from Agathon to the amount of 110 artabae, of which Plutarchus had 20, remainder 90. Out of these were expended for difference on measure $1\frac{1}{2}$, measuring fee $\frac{1}{2}$, remainder 88. They were sold at 1 dr. $3\frac{1}{2}$ ob., total 139 dr. 2 ob. I also had for Criton, for the 20 artabae of wheat, 40 dr., and I have as freightage of the wheat and barley 15 dr. For this Criton has 950 dr. in gold and 448 dr. in silver. Expense of the corn at Hiera Nesus, 2 sacks 4 ob., guards' fees from Hiera Nesus to Alexandria 14 dr., at the guard-house for scribes' fees 4 dr., to . . . 1 dr., at Memphis scribes' fees 1 dr. [.] ob., at the lower guard-house at Schedia 4 dr., . . . 10 dr., at Alexandria to Tisarchus 5 dr., scribes' fees . . dr., . . . on the wheat at $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. the artaba 24 dr. 3 ob., . . . on the barley 7 dr. 2 ob., tax 76 dr., freightage . . dr., to the antigrapheus of Philocles . . ., to the banker for controller's fees . . ., freightage from Schedia to the city . . drachmae, sailing up, freightage 2 dr.; for this I had from Criton . . dr.

'The 14th year, Epeiph 2. Account taken with Plutarchus at Phebichis. I owed an additional sum, with expenses and guards' fees for the 13th year . . . and Aristarchus, of altogether 3[.] drachmae and 15 artabae of barley.

'The 12th year, in the priesthood of . . . son of Callimedes, in the month Dystrus. . . . has from Plutarchus 60 drachmae at the interest of [.] dr. a month, which sum he paid to . . . and Mnesistratus. He also has in the 13th year in the priesthood of Nea . . . son of . . . ocles, in the month Loius, 60 dr. more, at the interest of 4 dr. a month, which he gave to Apollonius. He also had in the same year in the month Hyperberetaeus 60 drachmae more, which he paid to Apollonius the guard, at the interest of 5 dr. a month.'

6. If there is nothing lost after κ the price will be the common one of 2 dr. the artaba; cf. l. 17.

9. Perhaps [τ]οῦ χιμῶνος, but the ι is not satisfactory and the meaning quite obscure.

11. The high price, more than double the usual rate (cf. note on l. 6), is presumably due to the fact that the sale took place in Alexandria. The price of the barley in l. 15 is also rather higher than usual (it is normally about 1 dr. 1 ob., i.e. $\frac{3}{5}$ of 2 dr.; cf. notes on **84** (*a*). 8–9, **85**. 14–5), but the difference is not nearly so marked as in the case of the wheat.

14. διάμετρον is used of soldiers' allowances, 'rations' in Plut. *Vit. Dem.* 40, and some such sense would not be inappropriate here. But διάμετρα may well be equivalent to διάφορα μέτρου; cf. e.g. P. Petrie III. 129. 3 διάφορον ἀνηλωτικῶι. The σιτομετρικόν was no doubt a payment for the services of the σιτομέτρης, and thus analogous to the φυλακιτικά and

γραμματικόν which follow; cf. P. Tebt. II. 520, where 3 art. of wheat are paid σιτωμέτρου, and P. Oxy. 740. 25.

17–20. The meaning of the dative Κρίτωνι and the connexion of these entries with what precedes are not clear. If χρυσίου 950 means the value in gold of 950 dr. of silver, the two sums named in ll. 19–20 together go far to make up the total price of the wheat and barley in ll. 11 and 16. They may therefore perhaps represent the balance left after deducting the expenses enumerated in the next section, ll. 21 sqq.; but as the items are imperfectly preserved verification is not possible.

21. σάκκους β: these may be either empty sacks which were bought for 4 obols, or full sacks which together with the 4 ob. had to be expended. 4 ob. could not represent the price of two full sacks.

22. The context shows that φυλακιτικά here do not mean the tax so-called (cf. **105**, introd.), but payments for the services of φυλακῖται in charge of the boat; cf. **54**. 30.

23. γραμματικόν: this impost is found in a variety of contexts, and is to be explained as a charge for the benefit of the numerous γραμματεῖς; cf. P. Tebt. I. 61 (*b*). 342–5, note, and 97, introd. The word before (δραχμή) may be a proper name preceded by παρ' or παρά.

25. Σχεδία was a place of some importance on the canal connecting Alexandria with the Canopic branch of the Nile, and had a custom-station in Strabo's time; cf. Strabo, xvii. 800. In P. Fay. 104. 21, an account somewhat similar to this, Σχεδίας should also be read. The word before (δραχμαὶ) ι is possibly ναῦ[λο]ν, but if so the space after the preceding numeral is broader than usual.

26. Τεισά[ρχ]ωι: a proper name seems likely, but the reading is doubtful. The first letter if not τ may be π or σ, and the termination may be αι.

27. A charge of $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. on the artaba reckoned on 294 art. (l. 10) and 88 art. (l. 15) produces 24 dr. 3 ob. and 7 dr. 2 ob. The name of this impost was given in the lacuna before (πυρῶν) in l. 26, and probably coincided with the mutilated word before κρ(ιθῆς) in l. 27. The abbreviation for κρ(ιθῆς) is written as a κ with a loop at the top of the vertical stroke.

30. δοκιμαστικο[ῦ]: a charge for the δοκιμαστής, on whom cf. **106**, introd. The δοκιμαστικόν is also found in **29**. 24 and P. Leyden Q. 12; cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 361–2.

36. ἀνηλώμα]σιν: cf. l. 21.

37. γι [(ἔτους): cf. for the order of the numerals **104**. 1, note.

42. For κα[τέβαλε cf. l. 48, but ὅ is awkward with (δραχμάς) following.

44. Νεά[ρχου τοῦ Νε]οκλέους would be about the right length. γ in the number of the year is rather tall, but to suppose that some other figure, e. g. α, was written with a stroke above it, is less satisfactory.

45. Ἀπ[ολλωνίωι: cf. l. 48.

51–3. These lines form part of the register on the verso, but there is no date or other indication of their intended position. We restore κα[ὶ ἐπισ]τολήν on the analogy of l. 57, but the construction requires ἐπιστολή. Θευγένης the χρηματαγωγός recurs in l. 84; the title appears to be new.

55–114. '. . . delivered to Alexander 6 rolls; of these 1 roll was for king Ptolemy, 1 roll for Apollonius the dioecetes and two letters which were received in addition to the roll, 1 roll for Antiochus the Cretan, 1 roll for Menodorus, 1 roll contained in another (?) for Chel . . ., and Alexander delivered them to Nicodemus. The 17th, morning hour, Phoenix the younger, son of Heraclitus, Macedonian owning 100 arourae, delivered to Aminon 1 roll and the price for Phanias; and Aminon delivered it to Theochrestus. The 18th, 1st hour, Theochrestus delivered to Dinias 3 rolls from the upper country, of which 2 rolls were for king Ptolemy and 1 for Apollonius the dioecetes, and Dinias delivered them

to Hippolysus. The 18th, 6th hour, Phoenix the elder, son of Heraclitus, Macedonian owning 100 arourae in the Heracleopolite nome, one of the first company of E . . ., delivered 1 roll for Phanias, and Aminon delivered it to Timocrates. The 19th, 11th hour, Nicodemus delivered from the lower country to Alexander [.] rolls, from king Ptolemy for Antiochus in the Heracleopolite nome 1 roll, for Demetrius, the officer in charge of supplies for the elephants, in the Thebaid 1 roll, for Hippoteles the agent of Antiochus accusing Andronicus (?) at Apollonopolis the Great 1 roll, from king Ptolemy to Theogenes the money-carrier 1 roll, for Heracleodorus in the Thebaid 1 roll, for Zoilus, banker of the Hermopolite nome, 1 roll, for Dionysius, oeconomus in the Arsinoite nome, 1 roll. The 20th, . . hour, Lycocles delivered to Aminon 3 rolls, of which 1 roll was for king Ptolemy from the elephant-country below Th . . ., 1 roll for Apollonius the dioecetes, 1 roll for Hermippus, member of the staff of workmen (?), and Aminon delivered them to Hippolysus. The 21st, 6th hour, . . . delivered two letters from the lower country for Phanias, and Horus delivered them to Dionysius . . . . The 22nd, 1st hour, A . . . delivered to Dinias 16 rolls, of which [.] rolls were for king Ptolemy from the elephant-country below Th . . ., 4 rolls for Apollonius the dioecetes, 4 rolls for Antiochus the Cretan, and Dinias delivered them to Nicodemus. The 22nd, 12th hour, Leon delivered to Aminon from the upper country [.] rolls for king Ptolemy, and Aminon delivered them to Hippolysus. The 23rd, morning hour, Timocrates delivered to Alexander [.] rolls, of which [.] rolls were for king Ptolemy, 1 roll for Apollonius the dioecetes, 1 roll for P . . . the money-carrier, [.] roll for Par . . ., and Alexander delivered them to . . .'

54. The traces at the beginning of the line do not suit ὥρας or παρέδωκεν. ἄνωθεν probably occurred somewhere in the line, since one of the letters was for the king; cf. ll. 66 and 107.

55. Possibly κυ(λιστούς) stood as usual before the numeral, but there is no trace of it and the space is somewhat narrow. Alexander, Aminon, Dinias, and Horus occupy an intermediate position in the transmission of letters, as contrasted e.g. with Hippolysus and Nicodemus, who only bring in letters or take them away. Probably the former were officials at the postal-station.

59. ἐν ἄλλωι appears to mean 'contained in a second roll,' and if this packet is counted as 2 rolls the number 6 in l. 55 is correct.

63. τὸ ἄξιον apparently means the sum paid by Phoenix at the office for postage. Such payments do not occur elsewhere in the document, and high officials would naturally have had the services of State messengers gratis. The sender of this particular letter may therefore be supposed to have been some unauthorized person, who would have to pay for the privilege of utilizing the messenger's services. There is, however, no mention of a payment in connexion with a letter sent by the brother of Phoenix (ll. 70–4).

72. τῶν πρώτων Εσοπ . . .: a similar military title is found in an unpublished Tebtunis papyrus of the third century B.C. τῶν Μενελάου πρώτων ἐκ τοῦ Ἑρμοπολίτου καὶ (ἑκατοντάρουρος).

79. Cf. ll. 91–2 and 102, P. Petrie II. 20. iv. 8 ἐν Μέμφει ἐλέφασιν, 40 (*a*). 22 ἡ ἐλεφαντηγὸ[ς] ἡ ἐν Βερενίκηι, III. 114. 16 τῆς θή(ρας) τῶν ἐλεφάντων. An inscription found at Edfu is dedicated to Philopator by the στρατηγὸς ἀποσταλεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τῶν ἐλεφάντων; cf. Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* I. 82, with his note *ad loc.*, and I. 86.

81. Ἀνδρον[ί]κου is doubtful, especially the termination. δρ may be αι and the second ν could well be μ.

83. Between α and παρά is a diagonal stroke with a rounded top, the meaning of which is obscure.

84. χρηματα[γω]γῶι: cf. ll. 51–3, note.

92–3. [παρὰ] τῶν ἐλεφάντων would be expected; cf. l. 102 and παρὰ βασιλέως in l. 83. But there is not room for παρά in the lacuna, the size of which requires πα(ρά) or ἀπό. Θα[. .] . σσου, which recurs in l. 102, seems to be a geographical name; the second letter may be η.

95. πλήρωμα is used in several of the Petrie papyri for a company of workmen, e. g. III. 43 (3). 12; but whether the term has a similar sense here is doubtful.

97. The κ of παρέδωκεν is a correction; possibly the syllable κεν was written twice and the name of the messenger was Ἀλέξ[ανδρος. He would, however, be different from the Ἀλέξανδρος in ll. 55 and 114, who was one of the clerks at the office. Ὥρωι may have occurred at the end of the line; cf. l. 99. To read ἐν Ἀλεξ[ανδρείαι, which at first sight looks attractive, is inadmissible on several grounds: (1) it would imply that this register was kept in the immediate neighbourhood of that city, which is a most unlikely hypothesis; (2) there is no part of Egypt which could be described as κάτωθεν (l. 98) relatively to Alexandria; (3) παρέδωκεν requires a subject.

100. Λ[έ]ων might be read after πα[ρ]έδωκεν, but Leon could hardly have arrived from the south twice on the same day (cf. l. 106).

111. List of Cases and Fines.

Mummy 69. Breadth 15·3 *cm.* About B.C. 250.

This is a record, kept by some official connected with the judicial administration, of cases which had come up for decision, with the addition in some cases of particulars concerning amounts due to or from the different parties. These sums are sometimes followed by the word πρᾶξαι, signifying that they were still to be paid; and it is likely that the keeper of the account was the πράκτωρ who had to collect them. The items are arranged under the three villages of Takona, Tholthis, and Sephtha, all in the Oxyrhynchite nome. The document appears not to have extended beyond the two columns of which parts are preserved; it belongs to the close of Philadelphus' reign or the first few years of his successor.

Col. i.

Ἐν Τακόναι·
τὰ πρὸς Μελάνθιον
περὶ τῆς βίας ἐπὶ
Δημητρίαν ζ (δυόβολοι) (ἡμιω-
βέλιον),
5 καὶ Ξενο(κράτηι) ις,
Ἀνδρομά(χωι) θ.
Ξενοκράτηι τὰ πρὸς

Col. ii.

Θῶλθις·
τὰ πρὸς Ζηνόδοτον καὶ
30 Καρνεάδην.
Ἀρίστω̣νο̣ς̣ μονῆς Καλλι-
δρό̣μ̣ο̣υ̣ [Θη]ρ̣αμένου δ.
Δημήτριον (δραχμαὶ) ν καὶ τὰ
γινόμενα λ (ὀβολὸς) (ἡμιωβέ-
λιον).

Πτολεμαῖον επι . . .
. . . . . .
[. . . . .]ικ . . [. . .
10 κον οἰ[κονο(μ),] πρᾶξα[ι.
Πολιάνθην τὰ πρὸς Πό-
λωνα (δραχμαὶ) β, πρᾶξαι.
Πάτρωνι πρὸς τοὺς
λοιποὺς μεταγράψαι
15 πρὸς Πολύαρχον καὶ
Σωσιφάνην ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ.
Ἀπολλωνίωι πρὸς Ἀπ[ο]λ-
λώνιον (δραχμαὶ) κ, πρᾶξαι.
Κοννάρου (δραχμαὶ) β, πρᾶξαι.
20 τὰ πρὸς Νικόλαον καὶ
Ἀμφίλοχον οἰκονό(μ).
Σέφθας·
τὰ πρὸς Τίμαιον (δραχμαὶ) κ.
Ἄπει εἰς π[ό]λιν καὶ
25 περὶ Θεοφίλου καὶ Με-
λανθίου Φίλωνος γ (τριώβολον ?) (τέταρτον ?).
[[Θωλ[θ]ις]]

35 Δόκιμος πρὸς Μυρτοῦν
. βιωρξ . . ου . [
. . . . . .
Δημήτριον π[ερὶ . . . . .
ὄνου (δραχμαὶ) ϛ.
Λεοντᾶ περὶ τοῦ [Νεχθε-
40 νίβιος προβάτου (δραχμὴ) α [

On the verso

] . δωρου ὄνου.

11. π (or μ?) of πολωνα corr. from λ.

'At Takona: the case against Melanthius for violence to Demetria, 7 drachmae 2½ obols, and to Xenocrates 16 dr., to Andromachus 9 dr. To Xenocrates in the case against Ptolemaeus . . . to the oeconomus (?), to be collected. Polianthes in the case against Polon 2 dr., to be collected. To Patron against the rest, to be transferred to Polyarchus and Sosiphanes out of the number. To Apollonius against Apollonius 20 drachmae, to be collected. Connarus 2 drachmae, to be collected. In the case against Nicolaus and Amphilochus, to the oeconomus (?). At Sephtha: the case against Timaeus, 20 drachmae. For Apis to the city and concerning Theophilus and Melanthius son of Philon 3 dr. 3¼ ob. At Tholthis: the case against Zenodotus and Carneades. Ariston for the appearance of Callidromus son of Theramenes 4 dr. Demetrius 50 dr. and costs 30 dr. 1½ ob. Docimus against Myrtous daughter of . . . Demetrius concerning the donkey of . . . 6 dr. Leontas concerning the sheep of Nechthenibis, 1 dr.'

5. Ξενο(κράτηι): the first name may be either in the nom., acc., gen., or dat. case, but probably these varieties do not all imply a corresponding distinction of meaning. Where the dative occurs, payment was presumably to be made to the person; the acc. and

gen. on the other hand might both be used of the persons who paid. The nom. is also more likely to represent the payer than the recipient.

10. οἰ[κονο(μ)]: cf. l. 21. The meaning possibly is that the fine was to be paid to the oeconomus. In both cases there is a short space before οἰκονο(μ).

13–6. The sense seems to be improved by connecting ll. 15–6 with the two preceding lines, notwithstanding the fact that πρός projects somewhat to the left like the other lines which commence a new sentence. None of the other entries begins with πρός, and ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ is more intelligible if constructed with μεταγράψαι than if l. 15 begins a new entry, in which case a verb has to be supplied.

21. Cf. note on l. 10.

24. [π]όλιν: sc. Ὀξυρύγχων.

27. The name Θῶλθις, which is repeated at the top of the next column, is faint, and was probably partly erased.

34. γινόμενα: cf. **92**. 20. The large amount of these 'costs' as compared with the first sum is remarkable; the ἐπιδέκατα were perhaps included.

41. This line, which is written in large letters across the fibres, looks like a regular endorsement, but its relation to the contents of the recto is not clear. An ὄνος is mentioned in l. 38.

112. Taxing-List.

Mummy A. Fr. (*a*) 22·2 × 19, Fr. (*b*) 9·2 × 14·1 *cm.* About B.C. 260.

Three fragments of a long taxing-list, perhaps written at the λογευτήριον of Phebichis (cf. **106**, introd.), recording money payments for various taxes at different villages of the Κωίτης by individuals who are in most if not all cases the tax-payers, not the tax-collectors. Among the imposts are (1) a tax on pigeon-houses (l. 1, note); (2) payments for oil sold by the government (l. 2, note); (3) a new tax called δωδεκαχαλκία, which was apparently a charge of 12 chalci per aroura on cleruchic and temple land (l. 8, note); (4) a tax upon green-stuffs (l. 9, note); (5) the beer-tax (ll. 11, 25, &c.; cf. **106**, introd.); (6) the ἐπαρούριον, a charge on certain kinds of land, with which is coupled (7) the tax on embankments, amounting to about $\frac{1}{8}$ of it (l. 13, note); (8) the tax on sales (l. 22, note); (9) a tax of $\frac{1}{24}$, which can be explained in several ways (l. 38, note); (10) a tax of $\frac{1}{4}$, probably that levied upon the salting and milling industries (l. 45, note); (11) a new tax connected with carpet-weaving (l. 76, note); (12) a new tax called φακῆς (l. 77), the nature of which is obscure; (13) a tax on gardens, perhaps the ἀπόμοιρα (l. 92, note); (14) the bath-tax (l. 96; cf. **108**. 7, note). The villages mentioned (in several instances for the first time) are generally in the nominative, but sometimes in the accusative or genitive; they include Κερκέσης, Φεβῖχις, Ἀσσύα, Ψῦχις, Περόη, Ψεβθου(έμβη ?) (l. 25, note), Χοιβνῶτμις, Μοῦχις (l. 27, note), Ψελεμάχις, Θμοιτόθις, Τοενέγους

(?; cf. l. 43, note), Περχύφις, Θμοιοῦθις and Ἀγκυρῶν πόλις. The papyrus probably belongs to the latter part of Philadelphus' reign. In some places the ink of another document to which it had been gummed has come off, and occasionally there is a difficulty in distinguishing this from the writing of **112**. On the verso are parts of another account, mentioning large sums of money but without indicating the nature of the payments. We omit Fr. (*c*), which contains only the beginnings of lines, and Col. i of Fr. (*a*), of which only a few figures from the ends of lines are preserved.

Fr. (*a*). Col. ii.

. . . .

[. . .]α̣υ[. . .] περιστε̣[ρῶ]ν̣ος η.
[Κε]ρκέσης Θοτορ̣[ταῖο]ς̣ ἐλαί(ου) λ,
ὁ αὐτὸς ἁλικῆς ξ.
Φεβῖχις Διογένης [. . . . . .] ιϛ.
5 [Ἀ]σσύας Πετοσῖρι̣[ς . . . . . .] λ̣.
Κερκέσης Ἡρακλε̣[ίδη]ς [. . . .]. [(δω]δεκα)[χ(αλκίαν)
τοῦ Πολεμάρχου [ι, χα(λκοῦ)] ι̣.
Διοκλῆς (δωδεκα)χ(αλκίαν) τ[οῦ] Ἡροδότου (τριώβολον), χα(λκοῦ) (τριώβολον).
Σωσίπατρο[ς χλ]ω̣ρῶν τοῦ Πο-
10 λεμάρχου η̣.
Ψῦχις Ἀμεννεὺς ζυτηρᾶς ϛ (τετρώβολον).
Ἀσσύας ὁ αὐτὸς κϛ (τετρώβολον).
Φεβῖχις Δίφιλος ἐπαρού(ριον) δ (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον), χω(ματικὸν) (τριώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον).
Περόην Θαγομβῆς (δυοβόλους) (τέταρτον), χω(ματικὸν) (τέταρτον),
15 [. .]χωνσις Θοτορταίου α (τριώβολον), χω(ματικὸν) (ἡμιωβέλιον) (τέταρτον),
[Θοτορ]τ̣αῖος καὶ Δημόστρατος α, χω(ματικὸν) (ἡμιωβέλιον) (τέταρτον),
]ν̣ μ̣[. . .]υ
[. . . . .]ι̣ο[.] . . . . (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον), χω(ματικὸν) (ἡμιωβέλιον),
[. . . . .]τριος . . (δυοβόλους) (τέταρτον), χω(ματικὸν) (τέταρτον),
[. . . . .] Μ̣ιύ[σιο]ς (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον), [χω(ματικὸν) (ἡμιωβέλιον).

2 lines lost.

22 [18 letters]ς̣ βοὸς
Τ̣αμάν̣ιος ἧς ἐπρίατο παρὰ
Εἰρήνης δ (ὀβολόν).

25 Ψεβθον(έμβη ?) Πενοῦπις Ἀ̣ῦγχ̣ις ζ̣υ̣(τηρᾶς) ια (τετρώβολον).
Χοιβνῶτμις Πετωῦς ζ̣υ̣(τηρᾶς) ξ̣γ (δυοβόλους).
Μοῦχιν Πᾶσις Τετοβάστις ἐπα-
ρούριον (δυοβόλους) (τέταρτον), χωμα(τικὸν) (τέταρτον),
καὶ Τεῶς (τριώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον) (τέταρτον), χω(ματικὸν) (ἡμιωβέλιον).
30 Φεβῖχις Τεῶ[ς (δωδεκα)χ(αλκίαν) τοῦ Δ]ημητρίου (τετρώβολον) (τέταρτον),
χα(λκοῦ) (τετρώβολον) (τέταρτον).
[.] . λ̣υ̣ις Ὧρο̣ς [. . . . . .]ε̣ν̣ κζ (ὀβολόν),
Μυ̣[. . .]ς̣ . [. . . . .]νουβιος (δυοβόλους) (τέταρτον),
[18 letters]σις (δωδεκα)χ(αλκίαν) τοῦ
[20 „] ια, χα(λκοῦ) ια.
. . . .

16. τος of δημοστρατος above the line.

Col. iii.

. . . .

35 κλήρωι βασιλικῶι περὶ κώμη[ν
Ψελεμάχιν εἰς τὴν καθήκουσαν
αὐτῶι ἀναφορὰν ἕως τοῦ Π̣α̣[ῦ]ν̣(ι ?) κη.
Φεβῖχις Διογένης κ́δ́ ιε (ὀβολόν).
Θμοιτόθις Θᾶσις ἐλαίου ιβ.
40 Φεβῖχις Ἀντιγένης Πέρσης ὑπὲρ
Ποσειδωνίου δωδεκαχαλκίαν οὗ γεωργεῖ κλήρου
τῶν πρὸς ἀργύριον ιγ, [χα(λκοῦ) (?) ιγ.
Τοενέγο̣υς Θοτορταῖο[ς . . . . ,
Θηῶς ἐπαρούριον δ (τριώβολον), [χω(ματικὸν) .
45 Μοῦχιν Ἐμγῆς Ἁρυώτης δ́ [. .
Περχύφις Κολλούθης κ́δ́ [.
καὶ τετάρτης β (τριώβολον) [
Φεβῖχις Ψεγχῶνσις (δωδεκα)χ(αλκίαν) τοῦ Κόμω̣[-
νος καὶ Ξενοφάντου ε, χα(λκοῦ) ε,
50 Σενῦρις ἐπαρούριον (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον), χω(ματικὸν) (ἡμιωβέλιον). [
Ἐτφεῦς Εἰσιγήου (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον), χω(ματικὸν) [(ἡμιωβέλιον).

Ἀσσύας Διογένης τὸ παρὰ π̣[. . . .
Ἁρπ̣ώτνιος (δωδεκα)χ(αλκίαν) τοῦ Κλέωνος γ, [χα(λκοῦ) γ.
Φεβῖχις Πετοβάστις κλήρων τ̣[ῶν
55 πρὸς ἀργύριον τοῦ Φιλ̣ησίου [. . .
Θμοιοῦθις . [.] . οσιρις η[. . . . .
Ψῦχις Πάις εἰ̣ς̣ τ̣ὴν Διον̣[υσίου ἐγ- ?
γύην κ΄δ΄ [. .
Πετοσῖρις δ΄ [. .
60 Φεβῖχις Στοτοῆτις Σεν̣[. . . . .
ἐπαρούριον φοινίκων . [. .
Ἀπολλώνιος χω(ματικὸν) τοῦ α̣[
Στοτοῆτις (δωδεκα)χ(αλκίαν) το[ῦ . . . . .
κλήρου [
65 . [
καὶ τοῦ . . . [
Ὧρος Μιύσιος τη . [
. [.]υ̣[.]τ̣ι̣τ̣[
. . . .

41. δωδεκαχαλκιαν above the line. 60. στοτοητις above πετοσιρις erased.

Fr. (*b*). Col. i.

Parts of four lines.

73 [. . . . . .]ι̣ς̣ Ἀγατίτιτος ε.
[Ἀγκ]υρῶν π[όλ]ις Ὧρος ἐλαί(ου) ρξ.
75 [. .]κλης Φαμῆς κ΄δ΄ ν,
καὶ ταπιδυφαντῶν ε,
καὶ φακῆς δ,
καὶ δ΄ ὁ αὐτὸς ι.
Φεβῖχις Θανῶς Φα . [.]α̣κουτου
80 εἰς Ψιντάην β.
Κερκέση[ς Σ]τέφανος Σατόκου
[.]π̣[.]ρ̣τ̣[. . . Ἀπ]ολλοδώρ̣ου κδ,
. [.] . . [. . . . . Σα]τόκου κδ.

Φ̣[ε]β̣ῖχις Π̣[τολεμ]α̣ῖος (δωδεκα)χ(αλκίαν) τοῦ Θε-

85 [. . . . .] α (ὀβολὸν) (ἡμιωβέλιον), χα(λκοῦ) α (ὀβολὸν) (ἡμιωβέλιον).

. . . .

Col. ii.

. . . .

Χοιβν[ῶτμις κλήρων

τῶν πρ[ὸς ἀργύριον

Θμοιοῦ[θις

Σ̣τοτοήτιος (δωδεκα)χ(αλκίαν) ἱερ[ᾶς γῆς ?

90 τοῦ Ἄμμωνος [. , χα(λκοῦ) .

Φεβῖχις Ἀπολλών[ιος . . . . .

τὸ παρὰ Ψεγχώνσ[ιος ἕκτης ?

τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραδε[ίσου πρό-

τερον ὄντος Διφίλου θ (πεντώβολον) [

95 καὶ α̣[. .]τ̣α̣λου [

βαλα[νείου . .]ο̣ς̣ Φίλωνος [

. . . .

'... a pigeon-house 8 dr. At Kerkeses, Thotortaeus for oil 30 dr., the same for salt-tax 60 dr. At Phebichis, Diogenes for . . . 16 dr. At Assua, Petosiris for . . . 30 dr. At Kerkeses, Heraclides for the (12 chalci-tax ?) on Polemarchus' holding 10 (?) dr., 10 (?) dr. of copper. Diocles for the 12 chalci-tax on Herodotus' holding 3 obols, 3 obols of copper; Sosipater for the green-stuffs (?) of Polemarchus' holding 8 dr. At Psuchis, Amenneus for beer-tax 6 dr. 4 ob. At Assua, the same (Amenneus) 26 dr. 4 ob. At Phebichis, Diphilus for land-tax 4 dr. $4\frac{1}{2}$ ob., for embankments-tax $3\frac{1}{2}$ ob. At Peroë, Thagombes $2\frac{1}{4}$ ob., for embankments-tax $\frac{1}{4}$ ob.; . . . chonsis son of Thotortaeus 1 dr. 3 ob., for embankments-tax $\frac{3}{4}$ ob.; Thotortaeus and Demostratus 1 dr., for embankments-tax $\frac{3}{4}$ ob.; . . . $4\frac{1}{2}$ ob., for embankments-tax $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.; . . . trius . . . $2\frac{1}{4}$ ob., for embankments-tax $\frac{1}{4}$ ob.; . . . son of Miusis $4\frac{1}{2}$ ob., for embankments-tax $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. . . . on the cow of Tamanis which he bought from Eirene 4 dr. 1 ob. At Psebthonembe (?), Penoupis son of (?) Aunchis for beer-tax 11 dr. 4 ob. At Choibnotmis, Petoüs for beer-tax 63 dr. 2 ob. At Mouchis Pasis son of (?) Tetobastis for land-tax $2\frac{1}{4}$ ob., for embankments-tax $\frac{1}{4}$ ob., and Teos $3\frac{3}{4}$ ob., for embankments-tax $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. At Phebichis, Teos for the 12 chalci-tax upon the holding of Demetrius $4\frac{1}{4}$ ob., $4\frac{1}{4}$ ob. of copper. At . . . is, Horus . . . 27 dr. 1 ob.; . . . son of . . . nubis $2\frac{1}{4}$ ob. . . . for the 12 chalci-tax on the holding of . . . 11 dr., 11 dr. of copper. . . . the royal holding near the village of Pselemachis for the instalment due from him up to Pauni (?) 28 dr. At Phebichis, Diogenes for the tax of $\frac{1}{24}$ 15 dr. 1 ob. At Thmoitothis, Thasis for oil 12 dr. At Phebichis, Antigenes, Persian, on behalf of Posidonius for the 12 chalci-tax upon the holding which he cultivates among those which are valued in silver

13 dr., 13 dr. of copper. At Toënegous (?), Thotortaeus . . . ; Theos for land-tax 4 dr. 3 ob., for embankments-tax . . . At Mouchis, Emges (?) son of (?) Haruotes for the tax of $\frac{1}{4}$ . . . At Perchuphis, Kolloutlies for the tax of $\frac{1}{24}$ . ., and for the tax of $\frac{1}{4}$ 2 dr. 3 ob. At Phebichis, Psenchonsis for the 12 chalci-tax upon the holdings of Comon and Xenophantus 5 dr., 5 dr. of copper; Senuris for land-tax $4\frac{1}{2}$ ob., for embankments-tax $\frac{1}{2}$ ob.; Etpheus son of Isigeüs (?) $4\frac{1}{2}$ ob., for embankments-tax $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. At Assua, Diogenes the sum due from . . . son of (?) Harpotnis for the 12 chalci-tax upon the holding of Cleon 3 dr., 3 dr. of copper. At Phebichis, Petobastis for the (12 chalci-tax upon) holdings valued in silver, upon the holding of Philesius . . . At Thmoiouthis . . . At Psuchis, Pais for surety of Dionysius on account of the tax of $\frac{1}{24}$ . . . ; Petosiris for the tax of $\frac{1}{4}$ . . . At Phebichis, Stotoëtis son of Sen . . . for land-tax (?) upon palms . . ; Apollonius for embankments-tax upon . . . ; Stotoëtis for the 12 chalci-tax upon the holding of . . . ; Horus son of Miusis . . .'

Fr. (*b*). '. . . son of Agatitis 5 dr. At Ancyronpolis, Horus for oil 160 dr. At (?) . . cle . Phames for the tax of $\frac{1}{24}$ 50 dr., and for carpet-weavers 5 dr., and for lentil-cake 4 dr., and the same for the tax of $\frac{1}{4}$ 10 dr. At Phebichis, Thanos son of Pha . . akoutes to the credit of Psintaës 2 dr. At Kerkeses, Stephanus son of Satokus for . . . of Apollodorus 24 dr.; . . . son of Satokus 24 dr. At Phebichis, Ptolemaeus for the 12 chalci-tax upon the holding of The . . . 1 dr. $1\frac{1}{2}$ ob., 1 dr. $1\frac{1}{2}$ ob. of copper . . . At Choibnotmis, . . . upon holdings valued in silver . . . At Thmoiouthis . . . of Stotoëtis for the 12 chalci-tax on the sacred land of Ammon . . . At Phebichis, Apollonius . . . the sum due from Psenchonsis on account of the sixth (?) upon his garden which formerly belonged to Diphilus 9 dr. 5 ob., and . . . ; for bath-tax . . . son of Philon . . .'

1. περιστε[ρῶ]νος: a τρίτη περιστερώνων, i. e. a tax of $\frac{1}{3}$ on the profits of pigeon-houses, is known in Ptolemaic times from Wilcken, *Ost.* II. no. 1228 (cf. I. p. 279), P. Petrie III. 119 recto, and P. Tebt. 84. 9 (cf. note *ad loc.*); but the impost here may be different. The preceding words may be [ὁ] αὐ[τός]; cf. l. 3.

2. ἐλαί(ου): cf. ll. 39, 74, and **113**. 12–4. Thotortaeus was probably an ἐλαιοκάπηλος; cf. Rev. Laws xlviii. 3–12.

3. ἁλικῆς: cf. P. Petrie III. pp. 273–4 and Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 141–4. That the salt industry was a government monopoly is practically certain, but the principles upon which it was managed are not clear.

6. Near the end of the line is an ι somewhat above the level of the other letters, probably part of the abbreviation for δωδεκαχαλκίαν; cf. the next note. With τοῦ before Πολεμάρχου in l. 7, as in l. 9, supply κλήρου; cf. l. 41 and notes on **52**. 26 and **117**. 8.

8. (δωδεκα)χ(αλκίαν): this new word, which usually in **112** is abbreviated in the form ιβ over χ, is written out in l. 41. The name indicates a tax of 12 chalci ($1\frac{1}{2}$ obols) upon, probably, the aroura; and it generally occurs in connexion with cleruchic land, being paid by the γεωργοί on behalf of the cleruchs (cf. ll. 30, 33, 41, &c.), but in one case (l. 89) the land in question is ἱερά. Payment is made in copper, except perhaps in ll. 42 and 55 (cf. l. 87), where the κλῆροι are said to be τῶν πρὸς ἀργύριον, sc. διοικουμένων or some such word (cf. e. g. P. Tebt. 60. 41). A peculiarity of the entries concerning this tax is the fact that the amount is stated twice, χα(λκοῦ) being prefixed in the second instance. If the unit of taxation was the aroura, as would be expected, this impost of $1\frac{1}{2}$ obols, which = about $\frac{3}{4}$ artaba of wheat (cf. **84** (*a*). 8–9, note), may well correspond to the imposts ranging from $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba to 1 artaba upon cleruchic and sacred land found in the Tebtunis papyri of the next century; cf. P. Tebt. I. pp. 430–1. Whether πρὸς ἀργύριον in ll. 42 and 55 is contrasted with payments in copper or with payments in kind is not clear.

9. For [χλ]ωρῶν cf. the λογεία χλωρῶν in **51**. 2, and the payments for χλωρῶν in **119**. 17 and for χλωρῶν εἰς σπέρμα in **117**. 4.

13. ἐπαρού(ριον): this is the first occasion on which the name of this impost upon the aroura of, probably, palm-, vine-, and fruit-bearing land (cf. l. 61 ἐπαρ. φοινίκων) has been found in the third century B. C.; but cf. P. Petrie III. 70 (*a*). 1 where the tax of 8 drachmae per aroura on, apparently, vine-land may well be the ἐπαρούριον. In the second century B.C. it is mentioned in several ostraca (Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 193) and in P. Tebt. 209, and frequently in the Roman period, payments being, as here, uniformly in money. In **112** the χωματικόν or tax on embankments is regularly associated with the ἐπαρούριον, and in the present instance is about $\frac{1}{8}$ of it. In l. 15 the χωματικόν is only $\frac{1}{12}$ of the ἐπαρούριον, but in the other cases (ll. 14, 16–9, 28–9, 50) the proportion of the amounts paid for the two taxes is nearly the same as in l. 13. Since the χωματικόν at this period was often 1 obol per aroura (P. Petrie III. 108. 2, &c., and p. 273), the ἐπαρούριον in **112** was very likely about 8 obols per aroura.

14–9. The first of the two payments in each of these entries refers to the ἐπαρούριον; cf. the preceding note.

19. Perhaps [Ὧρος] Μιύσιος; cf. l. 67. For the supplement of the final lacuna cf. l. 17.

22. Perhaps τέλο]ς βοός; cf. P. Fay. 62. 3 τέλος βοὸς . . . ἧς ἐώνηται. The impost in question is the ἐγκύκλιον of 5 per cent., on which cf. **70** (*a*), introd. The value of this cow was therefore 83 dr. 2 ob.

25. Ψεβθον(έμβη): cf. **33**. 7 and p. 8. The names of the villages are, however, not abbreviated elsewhere in this papyrus; and it is quite possible that Ψεβθονπενοῦπις should be read, especially as this combination would avoid the difficulty with regard to Αὖγχις, which if Πενοῦπις is the tax-payer has to be treated as a genitive, i. e. for Αὔγχιος. The fathers' names of the tax-payers are sometimes found in **112**, e. g. in l. 81; but it is not very satisfactory to suppose the omission of ο in the termination -ιος in a papyrus so early and in other respects so well written as **112**. A precisely similar difficulty arises in ll. 27 and 45, and on the whole it seems best to suppose that in all these cases two nominatives are found together, the second being a mistake for the genitive or καί being omitted.

27. Μοῦχιν: cf. p. 8, and for the accusative l. 14 Περόην. But if Μοῦχιν Πάσις be two words Τετοβάστις must be corrected (cf. l. 25, note), and perhaps the name of the village was Μουχινπάσις; cf. the form Μουχίνθαη( ) on p. 8, and l. 45, note.

29. The $3\frac{3}{4}$ obols are for ἐπαρούριον; cf. l. 27 and note on l. 13.

30. For the supplement (δωδεκα)χ(αλκίαν) cf. l. 8, note.

35. κλήρωι βασιλικῶι: cf. **52**. 26, note. What this payment of 28 dr. was for does not appear.

37. There is hardly room for Πα[χώ]ν, unless αχω was very cramped.

38. κδ': several imposts called $\frac{1}{24}$ are known in the Ptolemaic period; cf. **80**. 4, κδ' on goods exported from the Heracleopolite to the Arsinoite nome, **95**. 7 τεταρτονεικοστὴ (*sic*) τετραπόδων, P. Petrie I. 25 (2). 2 τετρακαιεικοστὴ πυρῶν, **115** introd. κδ' ἐρίων, and the τετρακαιεικοστή paid in kind by βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί at Kerkeosiris (P. Tebt. I. 93, introd.). Which of these taxes is meant here is uncertain.

41–2. Cf. note on l. 8.

43. Τοενέγους seems to be a village rather than a personal name.

45. Μοῦχιν Ἐμγῆς: cf. ll. 25 and 27, notes. If Ἐμγῆς is a proper name Ἁρυώτης must be altered to Ἁρυώτου or καὶ Ἁρυώτης; but perhaps Μουχινέμγης should be read.

δ': cf. l. 47 and τετάρτη as the heading of a taxing-list in P. Petrie III. 117 (*h*). ii. 1, where it means the τετάρτη ταριχηρῶν and σιτοποιῶν. That is very likely to be the impost meant in **112**, though a τετάρτη ἁλιέων is also known, on which cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 137–41, and P. Tebt. I. pp. 49–50. For the τετάρτη ταριχηρῶν and σιτοποιῶν cf. P. Fay. 15. 3 (where l. τὴν δ' (so Wilcken) τῶν σειτοποιῶν καὶ [τῶν] ταριχηρῶν), and P. Petrie III. introd., p. 8 and 58 (*a*). 2.

It seems to have been a tax of $\frac{1}{4}$ on the profits of the salting and milling (or perhaps baking) industries.

50. Σενῦρις may be a village-name, in which case Ψεγχῶνσις must be supplied from l. 48.

51. Εἰσιγῆου: though the γ may well be superfluous (cf. **27**. 53, note), this word would seem to be the name of the father of Ἐτφεῦς rather than of a place (sc. Ἰσιείου; cf. **167**).

52. τὸ παρά: cf. l. 92 and **109**. 9.

54. δωδεκαχαλκίαν is probably to be supplied before κλήρων from l. 53; cf. ll. 41–2 and l. 8, note.

57. For ἐγ]γύην cf. the payments for διεγγύησις in **114–5**.

61. Cf. note on l. 13. The χωματικόν was in the present case paid by a different person (l. 62).

74. [Ἀγκ]υρῶν π[όλ]ις: cf. pp. 9–10.

75. [. .]κλης, if not a place-name, affords another example of two nominatives together; cf. l. 25, note.

76. ταπιδυφαντῶν: the name of this impost 'for carpet-weavers' is new. Wilcken (*Ost.* I. p. 177) resolves the abbreviation δαπ( ), which occurs in one of his ostraca as the name of a tax, as δαπ(ιδύφων), i.e. ταπιδύφων, and regards it as a branch of the χειρωνάξιον or tax on trades; but this explanation of δαπ( ) is not very likely. Whether ταπιδυφαντῶν here means merely a tax on that trade, or is connected with the ὀθονιηρά monopoly (on which cf. **67**, introd., and Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 266–9) is uncertain.

77. φακῆς: this too is a new name of a tax; but cf. ἐπωνίων φακέψων as the description of an impost in P. Par. 67. 16. φακέψων is also to be read above βαλανείων in P. Petrie III. 37 (*b*). verso 6, but seems to have been intentionally rubbed out. The nature of this impost connected with lentil cake is quite obscure.

80. Ψιντάην seems to be a man rather than a place.

86–7. Cf. ll. 41–2 and note on l. 13.

89–90. Cf. l. 8, note.

92. For the supplement ἕκτης (i.e. the ἀπόμοιρα) cf. **109**. 10. But the ἐπαρούριον may be meant; cf. l. 13, note.

93. For τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραδε[ίσου meaning 'his garden' instead of 'the same garden' cf. e.g. P. Petrie III. 117 (*g*). 38 and 40.

113. Banker's Account.

Mummy 46. 14·7 × 25 *cm.* About B.C. 260.

Two incomplete columns of an official account of sums paid or owing, resembling P. Petrie III. 93, verso. Judging by the miscellaneous character of the entries, which refer amongst other things to deficiencies in connexion with the revenues from the oil and beer industries (ll. 12–5), and a present from the State to distressed cultivators (ll. 18–20), it is probable that the writer was connected with a royal bank or λογευτήριον (cf. **106**, introd.). The handwriting is a small, very flowing cursive of a distinctly early type, and the papyrus is

certainly not later than the end of Philadelphus' reign. We omit the second column which is much obliterated.

. . . .

κ[αὶ] [. .] . . . . [. . . . .
 ος αἰτούμενο[ς . . . . ὑ-(?)
 δάτων [. . . . .
καὶ ἐν Ἀθεμμ[εῖ . . . .
5 καὶ τὸ ἐπιγραφὲν το[ῖς . . . .] . . . [
 τοῖς τὸ ζῦτος μὴ εἰλη[φόσι
 ἐν τῆι τῶν κωμῶν [. . . . .] χα(λκοῦ) ϙα (ἡμιωβέλιον).
καὶ τὸ ἐν Πάσιτι . [. . . . .]ς
 λογευτῆι τῶι παρ[α . . . . .]τι
10 Βότρωι τῶι φυλακίτ[ηι καὶ ?]
 ἀναχωρήσαντι ζυτη[ρᾶς] χα(λκοῦ) λδ (ἡμιωβέλιον) (τέταρτον),
 καὶ ἐλαικῆς χα(λκοῦ) ρξζ (ὀβολὸς) (ἡμιωβέλιον).
καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀντιλέγουσιν μὴ εἰλη-
 φέναι ἐλαίου χα(λκοῦ) ϛ.
15 ἐν Τοτοῆι Πάσιτος λογευτῆι
 ὧι μηθὲν ὑπάρχει ξϛ (τριώβολον) (τέταρτον).
καὶ τὸ δοθὲν τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν
 τῶν γεωργῶν εἰς τὰ ἔργα τῶν
 κτημάτων ἀργ(υρίου) κ.

2. ς of ος above the line. 5. επι of επιγραφεν above ανα erased. 6. ο of τοις corr. from α.

8–19. 'Item, owed by Pasis son of . . . , tax-collector, who . . . Botrus the guard and disappeared, for the beer-tax 34 dr. ¾ ob. in copper, and for the oil-tax 167 dr. 1½ ob. in copper. Item, owed by the persons who deny that they have received it, for oil 6 dr. in copper. Owed by Totoës son of Pasis, tax-collector, who has no property, 66 dr. 3¼ ob. Item, given to the distressed cultivators for operations in their vineyards, 20 dr. in silver.'

5. The persons meant are probably the beer-sellers, though ζυτοπώλαις is too long; cf. ll. 13–4 which seem to refer to the ἐλαιοπῶλαι.

7. If κωμῶν is right a word meaning 'list' or 'distribution' would be expected after it; but the initial κ is doubtful, and μ or γ might be read.

9. Perhaps παρα[στάν]τι. It is not clear whether ἀναχωρήσαντι refers to Πάσιτι or to Βότρωι.

11–2. ὠνῆς is to be supplied with both ζυτηρᾶς and ἐλαικῆς. The sum owed by Pasis under the latter heading probably refers to the payments by ἐλαιοκάπηλοι to the government

officials for oil supplied; cf. Rev. Laws xlviii. 3–12 and the next note. The ζυτηρά probably means the tax levied on the beer-manufacturers; cf. **106**, introd.

13–4. τοῖς ἀντιλέγουσι μὴ εἰληφέναι is ambiguous. If the object to be supplied for εἰληφέναι is the 6 drachmae, the ἀντιλέγοντες are λογευταί like Πᾶσις in l. 8. But on the analogy of l. 6 the object of εἰληφέναι is more likely to be ἔλαιον, in which case the ἐλαιοκάπηλοι are most probably meant; cf. the preceding note.

19. For κτῆμα in the sense of a 'vineyard' cf. P. Petrie III. 28 (*e*). 4, 67 (*b*). 10, &c. The abbreviation of ἀργυρίου forms a symbol resembling that for ἀρτάβη (which is of course nothing but a combination of αρτ), as in P. Petrie III. 114. 9.

114. Official Account.

Mummy 25. 23·5 × 19·8 *cm.* B.C. 244 (243).

An account of payments made at Cynopolis by Apollonius and Onnophris, contractors for the πλύνος καὶ στίβος (or -ον; the gender is in both cases doubtful), in the 3rd year of a king who is probably Euergetes. The precise meaning of these two words, upon which the interpretation of the papyrus turns, is not easy to determine. πλύνος occurs in two Ptolemaic ostraca published by Wilcken, *Ost.* II. 329 (third century B.C.) and 1497 (second century B.C.), which are receipts for 60 drachmae and 500 drachmae for νιτρικῆς πλύνου, and also on the recto of **116** in proximity to an account concerning νίτρον. There was therefore a close connexion between νίτρον and πλύνος, and the question arises whether πλύνος and στίβος could signify some preparation of νίτρον. The production of natron was most probably a government monopoly, and the market may have been supplied through contractors, in the same way as in the case of oil. But there is no other trace of any such sense for πλύνος or στίβος. πλυνος should mean either a place for washing or the articles washed; cf. Suid. πλυνὸς ὀξυτόνως τὸ ἀγγεῖον αὐτό, παροξυτόνως δὲ τὸ πλυνόμενον. It is in the latter sense that Wilcken understands the word in the combination νιτρικῆς πλύνου (*Ost.* I. p. 264). στίβος ordinarily means 'path' or 'footstep,' but in this context is obviously to be connected with the sense of 'washing,' which the same root has in στείβειν and στειβεύς. On the whole we are inclined to think that Apollonius and Onnophris were contractors for washing and fulling carried out in a place or places under State control, though whether the words πλύνος and στίβος have themselves a local signification—which is not really incompatible with the ostraca—or are equivalent to τὰ πλυνόμενα καὶ στειβόμενα, has still to be determined. Another possible alternative would be to suppose that πλύνος and στίβος are loosely used, and that the subject of the contract was not the industry itself but the tax upon it. The tax upon the fuller's trade (γνοφική) is well known in the Roman period, but there is as yet

no evidence concerning it in Ptolemaic times. Between the several alternative explanations a decision is hardly attainable without further evidence. The document is written in a large calligraphic hand. The order of the months in which the instalments are paid gives rise to a difficult chronological problem ; cf. note on ll. 3–5.

Col. i.

[Παρὰ Ἀπο]λλωνίου καὶ Ὀνν[ώφρεως
[τῶν ἐξ]ειληφότων [τὸν πλύνον
[κα]ὶ στίβον εἰς τὸ γ (ἔτος) (δραχμῶν) Ἀβ . . [.]
[ἔσ]τιν δὲ ἡ ἀναφορὰ ἀπὸ Μεχεὶρ
5 [ἕω]ς Φαῶφι μηνῶν θ (δραχμαὶ) Ἀβιζ (δυόβολοι) (ἡμιωβέλιον).
[εἰ]ς τοῦτο πέπτωκεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐν Κυ(νῶν) πό(λει)
[λ]ογευτήριον
[Μ]εχεὶρ πλύνου [(δραχμαὶ) ρ]μδ,
[σ]τίβου λ̣ζ,
10 [γί]νεται (δραχμαὶ) ρπα.
[Φαμενὼθ] πλύνου [
[στίβου] . [
. . . . . .

Col. ii.

Θωὺτ σλη,
καὶ ἀπὸ διεγγυήσεως (δραχμαὶ) ε,
15 / σμγ.
πλύνου ροζ,
στίβου ξϛ,
γίνεται σμγ.
Φαῶφι πλύνου ρνϛ,
20 στίβου [ξ]ϛ,
/ σλβ.
γίνεται Ἀωϙη,
λ[οιπαὶ] ριθ (δυόβολοι) (ἡμιωβέλιον).

6. του of τουτο inserted above the line. 13. τ of θωυτ corr. from θ.

'From Apollonius and Onnophris, the contractors for the washing and fulling (?) in the third year at 2[. . .] drachmae. The instalment for the 9 months from Mecheir to

Phaophi is 2017 drachmae 2½ obols: to meet this there has been paid into the collecting-office at Cynopolis, in Mecheir for washing 144 dr., for fulling 37 dr., total 181 dr. . . . Thoth 238 dr., and as surety-money 5 dr., total 243 dr. For washing 177 dr., for fulling 66 dr., making 243 dr. Phaophi for washing 156 dr., for fulling 66 dr., making 232 dr. Total 1898 dr.; remainder 119 dr. 2½ ob.'

3–5. If the amounts due each month were equal, the monthly instalment would amount to 224 dr. $\frac{17}{18}$ ob., and the total to 2689 dr. 5⅓ ob.; but those figures cannot be read in l. 3. The instalments may therefore be assumed to have differed; cf. **116**. 3–4. That the series begins with Mecheir is worth noting in connexion with **115**. 5 and **116**. 3; cf. notes *ad loc.* It is impossible to be certain in the present case whether the fourth quarter of the year was reckoned as preceding Mecheir or following after Phaophi. But whether Athur or, as is more likely, Mecheir is here the beginning of the financial year, this does not coincide with the ordinary revenue year starting in Thoth, in spite of the fact that in l. 3 the two taxes are stated to be farmed 'for the 3rd year' of a king. We defer to App. ii. p. 361 a discussion of the possible solutions of this complicated problem.

7. [λ]ογευτήριον: cf. **106**, introd.

12. The lower half of the column which contained details for the five months from Pharmouthi to Mesore is lost.

14. The meaning of this item is that the payments being in arrear one of the sureties for the contractors had to make up the deficiency. At the end of the nine months there was still a considerable sum owing. Similar entries occur in **115**. 15 and 34.

16–7. These are the details for Thoth, the 5 dr. ἀπὸ διεγγυήσεως being included in one of the items; the total given in l. 15 is repeated in l. 18.

115. Account of Taxes on Sacrifices and Wool. Brussels

Mummy 84. Fr. (*a*) 24·7 × 11 *cm.* About B.C. 250.

Some fragmentary taxing accounts, of which the two columns given below are in a fair state of preservation. The first of these relates to the μόσχων δεκάτη, or 10 per cent. duty upon sacrificial calves, which is here first met with in the Ptolemaic period. The fragment published in P. Petrie II. p. 37, from which Wilcken (*Ost.* I. p. 377) infers the existence in the third century B.C. of a tax on sacrifices, is shown by the republication in P. Petrie III. 112 (*a*) not to justify that conclusion. The tax is also called a δεκάτη in P. Tebt. II. 307 and 605–7, of about the year A.D. 200, where the amount is 20 drachmae, paid in two cases at least by priests. The impost was probably levied by the State upon the profits which the priests derived upon the sacrifices offered by private persons; cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 384–5.

The subject of the next column is a tax of 5 per cent. on wool, apparently a property-tax, of which the present is the first mention. A tax of $\frac{1}{24}$ on wool (κ'δ' ἐρίων) is found in another (unpublished) Hibeh papyrus; but whether

that represents the same impost at a lower rate or is something distinct, e.g. an export duty (cf. 80), is not clear. Concerning the wool-tax in Roman times information is even scantier, though P. Cairo 10449 (Wilcken, *Archiv*, I. p. 552), in which ἐριηρά occurs, proves that it continued to exist.

Both accounts are arranged on the same plan. At the head of the column are the names of the tax and the tax-farmers, which are followed by estimates of the amounts expected in different months and statements of the sums actually paid; cf. 116.

The papyrus belongs to about the middle of the third century, but no date occurs. Col. iii is written over some earlier writing which has been washed out.

Col. ii.

μόσχων δεκάτης Ι̣[. . . . . . .] καὶ
Νικάνωρ [ ]ν̣
ἐπιβάλλει τῶι μ̣[ηνὶ . . .]
εἰς τοῦτο γράφουσι γε[ίνεσθαι]
5 Μεχὶρ (τριώβολον),
Φαμενὼθ (τριώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον),
Φαρμοῦθι οὐθέν,
Παχὼνς (δραχμὰς) ξ̣δ [(δυοβόλους),
/ (δραχμαὶ) ξ̣ε (δυόβολοι) (ἡμιωβέλιον).
10 πέπτωκε Μεχὶρ οὐθέ[ν,
Φαμενὼθ (δραχμὴ) α (ἡμιωβέλιον),
Φαρμοῦ[θι] οὐθέν,
Παχὼνς (δραχμαὶ) νη (πεντώβολον) [
Παῦνι ἀπὸ (δραχμῶν) ξ̣ϛ̣ (δραχμαὶ) γ (τριώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον) (τέταρτον ?), [λο(ιπαὶ)] (δραχμαὶ) ξ̣β (δυόβολοι) (τέταρτον).
15 καὶ διεγγύησις ὑπ' Αρμ̣[. . . . . . .] (δραχμαὶ) κε,
καὶ προσκαταστήσ[ουσι . . . .] . ρων (δραχμὰς) ε,
/ (δραχμαὶ) λ

Παῦνι γεί[νεται
ε[. .] . τ̣[
. . . .

Col. iii.

20 εἰκοστῆς ἐρεῶν Τρ[.]ν . [καὶ
'Ιναρωῦς 'Αμμωνίου [
ἐπιβάλλει τῆι (τετρ)ημ(έρωι) [.] . . [
εἰς δὲ τοῦτο γράφουσι γείνε[σθαι
Μεχὶρ (δραχμὰς ?) λγ (τριώβολον ?),
25 Φαμενὼθ (δραχμὰς ?) τλβ (ὀβολὸν) (τέταρτον ?),
Φαρμοῦθι [(δραχμὰς) . .]α (τριώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον),
Παχ[ὼνς] [(δραχμὰς .]να (ὀβολὸν ?) (ἡμιωβέλιον) (τέταρτον ?),
/ [
πέπτωκεν Μ[εχὶρ
30 Φ[αμε]νὼθ [
Φαρμοῦθι [
Παχὼνς (δραχμαὶ ?) [
. . . σια (δραχμαὶ) ρια [
[καὶ] διεγγύησις ὑ[πὸ
35 καὶ ὑπὲρ 'Ιναρωῦτ[ος
[
[
36 Παῦνι γείν[εται

37 [. . .] . δα νι . [
. . . .

'For the tenth upon calves, I . . . and Nicanor . . . The instalment due for the month is . . .; for this they write that there is (or was?) paid, in Mecheir 3 obols, in Phamenoth 3½ ob., in Pharmouthi nothing, in Pachon 64 dr. 2 ob., total 65 dr. 2½ ob. Receipts: in Mecheir nothing, in Phamenoth 1 dr. ½ ob., in Pharmouthi nothing, in Pachon 58 dr. 5 ob., in Pauni, out of 66 dr., 3 dr. 3¾ ob., leaving 62 dr. 2¼ ob. Also as surety-money from Arm . . . 25 dr., and they will in addition provide . . . 5 dr., total 30 dr. In Pauni is paid . . .

'The twentieth on wool, Tr . . . and Inaroüs son of Ammonius. The instalment due every four days is . . .; for this they write that there is (?) paid, in Mecheir 33 dr. 3 ob., in Phamenoth 332 dr. 1¼ ob., in Pharmouthi [. .]1 dr. 3½ ob., in Pachon [.]51 dr. 1¾ ob., total . . . Receipts: in Mecheir, &c.'

1–2. The ends of these two lines and of ll. 14–6 are upon the piece of papyrus

containing Col. iii, and are combined with Col. ii on the basis of the arithmetic in ll. 15–7; but there is nothing to determine the precise length of the lacunae. The names here and in ll. 20–1 are those of the tax-farmers.

3. Cf. l. 22, where τῆι (τετρ)ημ(έρωι) takes the place of τῶι μ[ηνί (?). The reading there is not very certain, and the letters might be read μη, i.e. (τετρα)μή(νωι); but the former alternative is confirmed by the occurrence of the same abbreviation in the remains of the first column, and there the last letter is plainly μ (or π), not η. Apparently ll. 3 and 22 give purely hypothetical estimates, gained by a simple process of arithmetical division, of the amount falling due within the period named; cf. **116**. 5, where after a statement of amounts payable in the two halves of the year the papyrus proceeds δεῖ οὖν αὐτὸν τάξασθαι τῆς (τετρ)ημ(έρου) . . . The estimates which follow in ll. 4–9 and 23–8, on the other hand, though also hypothetical, have obviously a closer relation to facts, and may be conjectured to be the amounts paid in the corresponding periods of the preceding year. This point would be clearer if the word after γράφουσι in ll. 4 and 23 were definitely ascertainable. An infinitive is expected, and on the whole γείνεσθαι or γενέσθαι seem most suitable; if the latter were adopted the reference to a previous occasion would be more necessary.

5. Μεχίρ: this month perhaps began the financial year; cf. notes on **114**. 3–5 and **116**. 3–4, and pp. 360–1.

14. This mention of Pauni, which month does not occur in the list of estimates in ll. 5–8 and apparently belongs to the next group of entries (l. 18), is curious. Perhaps these 3 dr. $3\frac{3}{4}$ obols paid in Pauni were reckoned with the account of Mecheir—Pachon in order to diminish the difference between 65 dr. $2\frac{1}{2}$ obols, the total of the estimate (l. 9), and 59 dr. $5\frac{1}{2}$ (or $5\frac{3}{4}$) ob., the sum of the actual receipts in ll. 10–3. A somewhat similar difficulty arises in the corresponding passage of the other account at l. 33, where there is an additional entry of an obscure character after the sums relating to the 4 months; but Παῦνι cannot be read there.

Some of the figures in l. 14 are by no means certain. The first number is probably ξϛ or ξζ; and the question arises whether the figures at the end of the line represent the difference between these 66 or 67 drachmae and the 3 dr. $3\frac{3}{4}$ ob. actually paid, or the sum of the 3 dr. $3\frac{3}{4}$ ob. and the preceding items in ll. 10–3. We have been led to adopt the former supposition owing to the circumstance that the obols and fractions in l. 14 add up to a drachma, as apparently they should do if λο(ιπαί) is supplied in the lacuna, whereas the sums in ll. 10–3, which amount to at least 59 dr. $5\frac{1}{2}$ obols, added to 3 dr. $3\frac{3}{4}$ ob. make 63 dr. $3\frac{1}{4}$ ob., and the number at the end of l. 14 is not $3\frac{1}{4}$ but $2\frac{1}{4}$ obols. But the blurred vestiges at the end of the line do not suggest ξγ or ξβ.

15. Perhaps Ἁρμ[αύνιος (?), a name which occurs in the first column. For διεγγύησις cf. **114**. 14, note. The size of the lacunae in the middle of ll. 15–6 is uncertain; cf. note on ll. 1–2.

16. The vestige of the letter before ρων would suit α or ω.

22 sqq. Cf. note on l. 3.

33. The supposed ι might be ρ and the preceding letter ε or η. Neither γείνεται nor λοιπά can be read; cf. l. 14, note.

37. There are traces of five lines between this and l. 36, but they apparently all belong to the erased document; cf. introd.

116. Account of Bath-Tax.

Mummy 12. 16·8 × 16·8 *cm.* About B.C. 245.

Part of an account dealing with the tax of a third upon baths, for the collection of which at Busiris (the modern Abusîr) the large sum of 1320 drachmae was paid by Aristander. This impost, which is to be distinguished from the ordinary tax *βαλανείων*, was apparently a percentage of $\frac{1}{3}$ levied upon the profits of privately owned baths; cf. note on **108**. 7. An estimate is first given (cf. **115**) of the amounts (which are not equal) accredited to the two halves of the year, and of the sum falling due every four days; and an account of the actual payments follows. It is remarkable that the half years commenced with Mecheir and Mesore; cf. note on l. 3.

The column printed is preceded by the ends of lines from another column, which contained a similar account relating probably to a different tax; cf. **115**. These two columns are written on the verso of the papyrus. On the recto are two more columns of official accounts, unfortunately both fragmentary, written in a different hand and referring to *νίτρον* and *πλύνος* (cf. **114**). Col. i shows that *νίτρον* was priced at 4 drachmae the talent, e.g. ll. 10–1] *νίτρου* (*τάλαντα*) ρλγγ′ ἀν(ὰ) δ (δραχμαὶ) φλγ (δυόβολοι), | νίτρου] (τάλαντα) ’Ατλγγ′ ἀν(ὰ) δ (δραχμαὶ) ’Ετλγ (δυόβολοι). In P. Tebt. I. 120 3 minae of *νίτρον* are valued at 90 copper drachmae, which on a ratio of silver to copper of 1 : 450 exactly corresponds with the price here. The three preceding lines contain the entry *νίτρου*?] (*τάλαντα*) υ, εἰσόδεια τῆς | [14 letters?] ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος | [αὐτοῖς (?) κατὰ τὸ δι]άγραμμα ἀν(ὰ) κ. Col. ii, in which *πλύνου* [occurs, mentions *διεγγύησις* [(cf. **114**. 14, **115**. 15), and *τῶι παρὰ τοῦ οἰκονόμου* [*ἐγλαβόντι* . . .] *ἐγγύους εἰς ἔκτισιν* (cf. **94–5**).

The papyrus may belong to the latter part of the reign of Philadelphus or the earlier years of Euergetes; it was the only Greek document from Mummy 12.

Col. ii.

βαλανείων γ′
Βουσείρεως Ἀρίστανδρος Θίβρωνος (δραχμαὶ) Ἀτ̣[κ.
διαίρεσις Μεχὶρ ἕως Ἐπεὶφ ἀν(ὰ) ϙα (τετρώβολον) (δραχμαὶ) φν,
Μεσορὴ ἕως Τῦβι ἀν(ὰ) ρκη̣ (δυοβόλους) (δραχμαὶ) ψο̣, π̣λ̣(ῆρες?) [
5 δεῖ οὖν αὐτὸν τάξασθαι τῆς (τετρ)η̣μ̣(έρου) ι̣[γ (τετρώβολον).
πέπτωκεν

Μεχὶρ β β (τετρώβολον) (τέταρτον), γ β (τετρώβολον), η ζ (δυόβολοι),
ι θ (δυόβολοι) (τέταρτον), ια β (πεντώβολον ?) [(ἡμιωβέλιον),
ιδ β (τριώβολον), ις δ, ιη ς (δυόβολοι), κς κε, / ξβ (πεντώβολον).
Φαμ[ενὼθ
ς α (ὀβολὸς) (ἡμιωβέλιον), ι̣ ιβ, ι[. .]γ, ις . . (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον),
ιζ ς̣, κ[. . . ,

10 κδ δ, κς δ (τετρώβολον), κζ ι̣ζ̣ (τριώβολον ?), / qα (τρίωβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον) [ ] Φαρμ[οῦθι . κβ,
ι ιβ, ιη ι, / μδ. Παχὼ[ν
/ σλ (ἡμιωβέλιον), λ(οιπαὶ) ρλς (τριώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον). κ̣α̣ὶ τ[οῦ
Παῦνι qα (τετρώβολον),
/ σκη (ὀβολὸς) (ἡμιωβέλιον). πέ(πτωκε) Παῦνι [/ μς,
λ(οιπαὶ) ρπβ (ὀβολὸς) (ἡμιωβέλιον). [ε]ἰ̣[ς τ]οῦτ[ο πέ(πτωκε) ?

. . . .

'The third upon baths. At Busiris: Aristander son of Thibron 1320 drachmae. The period from Mecheir to Epeiph at 91 drachmae 4 obols, 550 dr.; from Mesore to Tubi at 128 dr. 2 ob., 770 dr. He ought therefore to pay for every four days 13 dr. 4 ob.

'Paid: on Mecheir 2nd, 2 dr. $4\frac{1}{4}$ ob.; 3rd, 2 dr. 4 ob. &c.'

3–4. Since the two half-yearly periods commenced with Mecheir and Mesore the year must have been reckoned from one of those two months. Mecheir being put first would be more naturally regarded as the starting-point, and that view is to some extent corroborated by **114**. 4, **115**. 5, 24; cf. **114**. 3–5, note. On the other hand Mesore as the beginning of a financial year is supported by the evidence of **133** and Rev. Laws lvi. 5. In any case it is strange that in matters directly relating to taxation the regnal or at any rate some year which differed from the revenue year beginning on Thoth 1 was so often employed; cf. pp. 360–1.

4. For πλ(ῆρες) after a figure to indicate that nothing is wanting cf. e.g. P. Petrie III. 109 (*c*). 6. But πλ( ), if that be the right reading, may also stand for πλείω, and a figure would then have followed, perhaps σκ, i. e. the difference between the two totals.

5. (τετρ)ημ(έρου): or (τετρα)μή(νου), but the former seems preferable on the analogy of **115**. 3; cf. note *ad loc.*

6. (τριώβολον) or (τετρώβολον) may be read at the end of the line in place of (πεντώβολον), in which case another entry would follow for the 12th or 13th of the month.

12. The figure from which σλ (ἡμιωβέλιον), the sum of the actual receipts from Mecheir to Pachon, is subtracted is the total due for those four months calculated on the scale given in l. 3: 91 dr. 4 ob. $\times$ 4 = 366 dr. 4 ob. 230 dr. $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. subtracted from this leaves 136 dr. $3\frac{1}{2}$ ob., which were still owing. To this deficiency is added the estimated total for Pauni in accordance with the scale in l. 3, making 228 dr. $1\frac{1}{2}$ obols, from which are deducted the actual receipts for Pauni, 46 dr., leaving 182 dr. $1\frac{1}{2}$ ob. still owing at the end of that month. How this deficiency was met was being explained when the papyrus breaks off.

117. Return of Corn Revenue.

Mummy A. 24 × 15·2 *cm.* B.C. 239 (238) or 214 (213).

An account of corn received during Epeiph, rendered by an official in charge of the State granaries of the Κωίτης; cf. the monthly returns of sitologi to the strategus in Roman times, e.g. B. G. U. 835. The total is curiously small, only 138¼ artabae of olyra and 12 of wheat, the olyra being apparently the repayments of loans of seed for green crops, while the wheat was for the crown-tax, an impost levied on special occasions; cf. P. Tebt. I. pp. 223–4. The papyrus is dated in the 8th year of a king who is certainly not earlier than Euergetes, for the handwriting, which is extremely cursive, approximates more than that of most documents in this volume to the second century B.C. style; the reign may be that of Philopator, though the latest certain date found in these papyri is the 25th year of Euergetes (**90**). On the right are the beginnings of lines of another document in a different hand, and on the verso is part of another account.

[Ἔτου]ς η, παρὰ Ἁροννώφριος
[το]ῦ πρὸς τοῖς θη(σαυροῖς) τοῦ Κωίτου.
σίτου τοῦ μεμετρημένου
[ἐ]ν τῶι Ἐπείφ· χλωρῶν εἰς σπέρμα
5 [ὀ]λυρῶν ρληδ´, στεφάνου
η (ἔτους) πυρ(ῶν) δ, ζ (ἔτους) πυρ(ῶν) η, / πυρ(ῶν) ιβ,
[ὀ]λυρῶν ρληδ´, ∠ τὸ καθ᾽ ἕν·
ἐν Τάλῃι εἰς τοὺς περὶ Ψῦχιν
[. .]χαρης τοῦ Καλλιστράτου περὶ
10 Ψῦχιν χλωρῶν σπ(έρμα) ὀλ(υρῶν) μζ∠,
[ὁ] αὐτὸς τοῦ Παρμενίωνος χλ(ωρῶν) σπ(έρμα) ὀλ(υρῶν) μζ∠,
[Σ]τράτων τοῦ Φιλίππου περὶ Ἀσσύαν
[χ]λ(ωρῶν) σπ(έρμα) ὀλ(υρῶν) μγδ´,
[εἰς ταὐ]τὸ χλ(ωρῶν) σπέρ(μα) ὀλ(υρῶν) ρληδ´.
15 [ἐν Φεβί]χει Θεόδωρος τῶν ἐξ Ἀγ-
[κυρῶν πόλεως] . α στεφάνου πυρ(ῶν)
[η (ἔτους) πυρ(ῶν) δ, ζ] (ἔτους) πυρ(ῶν) η,

Traces of 3 more lines.

8. This line inserted later.

'The 8th year, from Haronnophris, superintendent of granaries of the Koïte district. Account of corn measured in Epeiph: for green-stuffs for seed $138\frac{1}{4}$ artabae of olyra, for the crown-tax of the 8th year 4 artabae of wheat, for that of the 7th year 8 artabae of wheat. Total 12 artabae of wheat, $138\frac{1}{4}$ artabae of olyra. Of this the details are: paid at Talaë on account of holdings at Psuchis . . . chares on account of the holding of Callistratus at Psuchis for green-stuffs for seed $47\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of olyra; the same on account of the holding of Parmenion for green-stuffs for seed $47\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of olyra; Straton on account of the holding of Philippus at Assua for green-stuffs for seed $43\frac{1}{4}$ artabae of olyra; total for green-stuffs for seed $138\frac{1}{4}$ artabae of olyra. At Phebichis, Theodorus from Ancyronpolis for the crown-tax paid in wheat of the 8th year 4 artabae of wheat, for that of the 7th year 8 artabae of wheat . . .'

4. *χλωρῶν εἰς σπέρμα*: cf. **119**. 17, where $40\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of wheat are paid for *χλωρῶν* among various items of receipts from a *κλῆρος*, and the payments for *χλωρά* in **51**. 2 and **112**. 9.

8. *Τάλῃ*: cf. **36**. 3, note.

εἰς τούς: sc. *κλήρους*; cf. *τοῦ Καλλιστράτου* (sc. *κλήρου*) in l. 9, and notes on **52**. 26, **112**. 6, and **118**. 2. Whether these *κλῆροι* were really owned by cleruchs or had reverted to the Crown is not clear.

15–6. *Ἀγ[κυρῶν πόλεως*: cf. pp. 9–10, **67**. 4, and **112**. 74. Very likely one or both words were abbreviated, unless the word before *στεφάνου* (of which the last letter may be λ instead of α) was an abbreviation. *πυρ(ῶν)* after *στεφάνου* seems superfluous; cf. ll. 5–6.

118. Account of Olyra.

Mummy A. Fr. (*a*) 17·8 × 26, Fr. (*b*) 26·2 × 20·8 *cm*. About B.C. 250.

Two fragments of an account of olyra, written probably by a sitologus or other official of the *θησαυρός*, in a large and clear hand over an obliterated document. Lines 1–15, which begin a new section headed *σπέρμα* and may be the actual commencement of the account, give a list of seed issued to or repaid by cultivators of crown or cleruchic land (cf. l. 2, note). Lines 17–36 give various details of expenditure for horses and other purposes; and in l. 37 begins a list of (apparently) payments to various persons from Pharmouthi to Mesore, the names of women being placed after those of men.

Fr. (*a*). Col. i.

σπέρμα·
Πανεῦις εἰς τὸν Ἰάσονος ὀλ(υρῶν) λζ∠,
Πολέμω[ν ε]ἰς τὸν Θεοδώρου ροϛ,
Ἀντικράτης εἰς τὸν Πολυαίνου νϛ,
5 Ποκῶυς εἰς τὸν Τιμοκράτου ρκε,

Col. ii.

Χοίαχ β·
ἵπποις ὀλ(υρῶν) β,
η ἵπποις ὀλ(υρῶν) β,
20 ιδ ἵπποις ὀλ(υρῶν) β.

Ποκωῦς εἰς τὴν Θεοχρήστου
  διώρυγα ιηδ',
ε̣ἰ̣[ς] τ̣[ὸ]ν Ἰάσονος ὀλ(υρῶν) ϙζ∠,
Παούτης με,
10 Νεχθωῦς ξγ∠,
Σοντεῦς εἰς τὸν Θεοκ[. . . . . ,
Σισόις εἰς τὸν Παρα̣[. . . . . ,
καὶ ἣν ἔσπειραν Θ̣[. . . . .
[. . . .]του διώρυγα [. .
15 [/] ὀλ(υρῶν) ωνηδ'.
[. . . .]φορω̣ν [
. . . . . .

ἀνήλωμα·
Ὀννώφρι τέκτον[ι . ,
ναυκλήρωι γ,
Συν̣τεῦς ἀρχιε[ρεὺς . ,
25 Συντεῦς Πετοβά[στιος . ,
Εὐαγόραι ϛ,
τοῖς Δωρίωνος [.

καὶ ἔδωκ̣α̣ α̣ὐτῶ[ι . . . . .
ωι ἐλάττω εὑρέθ[η . . . . .

30 τὸ πᾶν τὸ ἀ̣νήλω[μα . . . . .
[. . . . . .] . [. . .] . [
. . . . .

Fr. (*b*). Col. i.

Παχὼνς ε ἵπποι[ς ὀ]λ(υρῶν) α,
ι ὀλ(υρῶν) β, ιϛ α∠, κγ α∠,
κζ α∠, / ὀλ(υρῶν) ζ∠.
35 Παῦνι β ὀλ(υρῶν) α∠, ϛ α∠,
η α∠, ιε ∠, [/ ὀ]λ(υρῶν) ε.
Φαρμοῦθι σιτομετρία·
  Μ[αι]θωύτης ὀλ(υρῶν) γ,
  Κρατῖνος ὀλ(υρῶν) γ, [/ ὀ]λ(υρῶν) ϛ.
40 Παῦνι σιτομετρία·
  Κλῖτος γ,
  [Ἰ]σ̣τ̣[ιῆος γ,
  Π̣ο̣[ῶνς γ,]
  [Μελάνθιος δ,]
45 [Κεφάλων δ,]
  [Θοτορταῖος γ,]
  [Πᾶσις γ,]
  [Θόργων γ,]
  [Ἀπολλώνιος γ,]

Col. ii.

60 [Ἐπείφ·]
  Θόργω[ν γ,
  Κλῖτο[ς γ,
  Κεφάλων [δ,
  Θοτορταί[ο]ς γ,
65 Ποῶνς γ,
   / ὀλ(υρῶν) ιϛ.
Μεσορή·
  Μαιθωύ[τη]ς ὀλ(υρῶν) γ,
  Κρατῖνος γ,
70 Μελάνθιο[ς] δ,
  Κεφάλων δ,
  Θοτορταῖος γ,
  Κλάδος γ,
  Κλῖτος γ,
75 Νικίας γ,
  Πᾶσις γ,
  Θόργων γ,

50 [Κρ]ατῖνος γ,
[Νι]κίας γ,
[Πλά]των γ,
[Μα]ιθωύτης γ,
[Κλ]άδος γ,
55 [Ἁ]ρμιῦσις γ,
Διονυσία ζ,
Μυρρίνη β,
[Βουβάλιο]ν β,
[/ ὀλ(υρῶν) ν]η.

Ἀπολλώνιο[ς] γ,
Ἱστιῆος γ,
80 Πλάτων γ,
Ἁρμιῦσις γ,
Ποῶνς γ,
Διο[νυ]σία ζ,
Μυρρίνη β,
85 Βουβάλιον β,
Σῖμον β,
/ ὀλ(υρῶν) ξ.

Fr. (*c*). . . . .

[. . . .]ẹν[
[λοι]παὶ ἀργυρίου [
90 πυρὸν ị[

36. ε of ιε corr. from γ, and ε at the end of the line corr. from ϛ.

2. εἰς τὸν Ἰάσονος: sc. κλῆρον, as we think, though in P. Petrie III. 100, an account resembling the earlier part of **118**, the editors supply λόγον with εἰς τόν. But κλῆρον is more easily coupled with διώρυγα (ll. 7 and 14) than λόγον; and cf. **117**. 8, where with εἰς τοὺς περὶ Ψῦχιν probably κλήρους is to be supplied, and P. Petrie II. 39 (*a*). 10, where seed is ordered to be issued εἰς τὸν Λυσίππου κλ(ῆρον) (cf. ll. 13–4 ε[ἰ]ς τὸν Ἀσκλάπωνος καὶ Σωπάτρου πρεσβυτέρων κλήρους). It is not clear whether the account in ll. 2–15 refers to repayments of loans or to the actual advances of seed-corn, like P. Petrie III. 90. The Ἰάσονος κλῆρος must have been very large, since besides the 37½ artabae issued to Paneuis, 97½ artabae are advanced to another of its γεωργοί (l. 8), and probably the entries in ll. 9–10 also refer to it. The advances of seed altogether in this section seem larger than would be expected in the case of regular cleruchic holdings which rarely exceeded 100 arourae, and the κλῆροι here are probably in reality βασιλικοί; cf. **52**. 26, note. It is not certain whether **118** concerns an Oxyrhynchite or a Koïte village, but if the village is Oxyrhynchite the Ἰάσονος κλῆρος here may be identical with the Ἰάσ[ο]νος κλῆρος in P. Oxy. 265. 4.

6. The issue of seed for a canal is curious; cf. ll. 13–4. It must have been a deep cutting with sloping sides. Theochrestus is more likely to have been the constructor (cf. the Κλέωνος διῶρυξ in P. Petrie II. 6. 5), or some person after whom it was called, than the owner.

12. Παρα[is very likely Παρα[μένου; cf. **99**. 7.

13. Perhaps Θ[εο]χρήσ]του; cf. l. 6. But there was plenty of room for Θεοχρήστου in l. 13.

16. This line is probably a heading like l. 1. [Παστο]φόρων, sc. κώμη (cf. **87**. 6), is possible. ἐκ]φόριον is unlikely, for the letter after φορ resembles ω more than ιο, and a heading would be expected to project to the left.

37. σιτομετρία: this word, which in itself might mean simply a measuring out of corn, is the technical term used for official payments from the State granaries to individuals for

salaries, &c. (cf. **83**. 5, introd.); and it is probable that the persons in the following lists were recipients, not payers. The grants may have been for *κάτεργον* (wages); cf. **119**. 4, where *κάτεργον* is coupled with *ἐκφόριον* and *σπέρμα* in connexion with a *κλῆρος*.

42–9. These names are restored from the list in ll. 68–86, which apparently agreed with that in ll. 41–58 with the addition of one more woman (Σῖμον β, l. 86).

88–90. These lines are probably from the bottom of Fr. (*a*), Col. i or ii.

119. Account of Rent.

Mummy A 9. 26·4 × 10·4 *cm*. About B.C. 260.

A statement of the rents due from a cleruchic holding, with an account of the amounts paid. It is not clear whether the land was really in the occupation of a cleruch or belonged to the category of *βασιλικοὶ κλῆροι*, on which see introd. to **39** and **52**. 26, note. The latter is perhaps the more likely alternative, for the style is rather that of an official than a private document. The rent is classified under three heads: grain, which is reckoned in wheat and paid in olyra; green-stuffs, reckoned in wheat; and sesame, reckoned in sesame with its equivalent in wheat. The sesame was measured by an artaba of 40 choenices (cf. **74**. 2, note); and the ratios of the values of wheat and olyra and wheat and sesame were given as approximately $2\frac{1}{2} : 1$ and $1 : 3\frac{1}{5}$. **166**, a more imperfect duplicate of this papyrus, supplies the figures in ll. 6–8. Both copies were probably written in the latter part of the reign of Philadelphus.

Ἔστιν τὸ ἐκφόριον τοῦ Ἀπολ[λωνίου
κλήρου (πυρῶν) τν̣, [
σπέρμα ι,
κατέ̣[ρ]γου̣ ι, / [το, ∠
5 *μεμέτρηται*
Φαμενὼτ κγ̣ ὀλυ(ρῶν) ρ[πη,
Φαρμοῦθι δ ὀλυ(ρῶν) ρλ[ϛη′,
ια ὀλυ(ρῶν) ρξ[α̣∠,
κ̣ ὀλυ(ρῶν) σ,
10 *κ̣ζ ὀλυ(ρῶν) ρι,*
Παχὼνς κ ὀλυ(ρῶν) κε∠
Παῦνι ιβ ὀλυ(ρῶν) ⟦.⟧ ι
Ἐπεὶπ κϛ ὀλυ(ρῶν) [. .]
καὶ ὀλυ(ρῶν) .

15 Χοίαχ ι̣α̣ ὀλυ(ρῶν) [. .]
/ ὀλυ(ρῶν) ⸢Ⲧ⸣λγ∠δ̣̣́, / (πυρῶν) τογ∠δ´.
καὶ χλωρῶν (πυρῶν) μ∠̣.
καὶ σησάμου μέτρωι α̣`.( ) ζ∠, ℓ
κάθαρσις ∠δ´,
20 σπέρμα ∠ χοί(νικες) δ,
λ(οιπαὶ) ϛ χοί(νικες) ϛ, ℓ
χωματικ[ὸ]ν ∠̣, λ(οιπαὶ) ε̣∠̣ χοί(νικες) ϛ̣, / ε̣∠̣ χο[ί(νικες) ϛ,
αἳ (πυρῶν) ι̣ζ̣∠̣, / [(πυρῶν) νη.
/ εἰς ταὐτὸ (πυρῶν) υλα∠δ´.

25 κηδ´.

'The rent of the holding of Apollonius is 350 artabae of wheat, for seed 10 art., for wages 10 art., total 370 art.; of which there has been measured:—on Phamenoth 23rd 188 art. of olyra, on Pharmouthi 4th 136⅛ art., on the 11th 161½, on the 20th 200, on the 27th 110, on Pachon 20th 25½, on Pauni 12th 10, on Epeiph 26th . . and . . , on Choiak 11th . . , total 933¾ art. of olyra, which are 373¾ art. of wheat. On account of green-stuffs 40½ art. of wheat; and of sesame by the . . . measure 7½ art., from which deduct ¾ art. for cleaning and ½ art. 4 choenices for seed. Remainder 6 art. 6 choen., of which the embankments-tax is ½ art., remainder 5½ art. 6 choen.; total 5½ art. 6 choen., which are 17½ art. of wheat, total 58 art. of wheat; making altogether 431¾ art. of wheat.'

4. κατέ[ρ]γου: as the 10 artabae reckoned under this head are evidently additional, they must have been due to the owner, whether the State or a cleruch (cf. introd.), for labour supplied. For κάτεργον in the sense of wages cf. e.g. P. Petrie III. 39. ii. 5, 63. 3. **166** has /τξ at the end of this line in defiance of the arithmetic; τν in l. 2 is there quite certain.

6. In the abbreviation of ὀλυ(ρῶν) here and in **166** the three letters are written one above the other, λ below, then ο, and last υ, which consists of a shallow curve.

12. It is doubtful what was written between ὀλυ(ρῶν) and ι, and whether there was any erasure. In the corresponding place in **166** ὀλυ(ρῶν) ι seems to have been written twice, and ὀλυ(ρῶν) may have been similarly repeated here.

16. This ratio of the value of olyra and wheat, approximately 1 : 2½, agrees with that given in **85**. 14–5; cf. note *ad loc.*

17. The absence of any dates of payments in the following section suggests that it is only an estimate like that in ll. 2–4. But the deductions on account of κάθαρσις, &c., and the improbability that the whole of the rent in grain would have been paid before any of that on other crops, are in favour of supposing that these items had also been paid. The figure after μ in l. 17 is uncertain; for ½ artaba is elsewhere in this papyrus and **166** written as a half-circle, like the symbol for ½ obol (cf. also notes on **52**. 33 and **53**. 20), while in this place it is square and might be taken for ϛ with the upper stroke rubbed off. But to read μϛ here causes difficulties in l. 23.

χλωρῶν: for payments on account of χλωρά cf. notes on **51**. 2, **52**. 26, and **112**. 9.

18. The abbreviation of the name of the measure consists of an α, immediately above which is a horizontal stroke with a short vertical one depending from it to the right of the

apex of the α. The general effect is very like the common sign for ἀρτάβη; but ατ( ) may be meant. Whatever the name, the arithmetic of the following lines shows that this measure contained 40 choenices: $7\frac{1}{2}$ art. — $1\frac{1}{4}$ art. 4 choen. = 6 art. 6 choen., ∴ $6\frac{1}{4}$ art. — 4 choen. = 6 art. 6 choen., ∴ $\frac{1}{4}$ art. — 4 choen. = 6 choen., ∴ $\frac{1}{4}$ art. = 10 choen.

19. κάθαρσις: cf. P. Petrie III. 129, P. Tebt. 92. 9–11, &c.

20. The abbreviation of χοί(νικες) is written as a χ having an ο above and an ι below.

22. This deduction for χωματικόν, if the land was a βασιλικὸς κλῆρος, is rather strange; but the meaning may be that a special allowance equivalent to the value of $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba of sesame was made to the lessee in connexion with the tax on dykes. In any case $\frac{1}{2}$ art. of sesame cannot represent the amount of the tax on the whole κλῆρος, which may be guessed from the amount of the rent to have been nearly 80 or even 100 arourae. The rate of the χωματικόν was often 1 obol per aroura (P. Petrie III. 108. 2, &c., and **112**. 13, note), whereas the value of $\frac{1}{2}$ art. of sesame according to the ratio given in l. 23 would be about $1\frac{3}{5}$ art. of wheat, or slightly over 3 drachmae, which at the rate of 1 obol per aroura represents a taxing-area of about 20 arourae.

23. The conversion of $5\frac{1}{2}$ art. 6 choen. of sesame into $17\frac{1}{2}$ art. of wheat implies a proportion in values of about $3\frac{1}{5}:1$. The value of sesame is here lower than that in Rev. Laws xxxix. 3, liii. 16, where an artaba of sesame is priced at 8 dr., ordinarily equivalent to 4 art. of wheat. Moreover, the artaba of sesame in Rev. Laws contained only 30 choenices, that in **119** 40 choen.; cf. l. 18, note.

25. The meaning of this number, which is written at the bottom of the papyrus some distance below l. 24, is not clear.

120. Account of Goats. Smithsonia

Mummy A. Height 15 *cm.* B.C. 250–49 (249–8).

An account rendered to Hipponicus, probably by his steward, of the changes that had taken place in a herd of goats during a period of several months in the 36th year of Philadelphus. The papyrus is broken into numerous fragments of which we print three, the rest providing no new information of interest. The goats are classified by colours as white, black, brown, streaked, grey, and mole-coloured (l. 15, note); cf. the list of horses in P. Petrie II. 35. At the beginning the herd numbered 80, and it increased partly through the birth of kids, partly through presents to the owner; cf. **123**. Lines 30–33, which perhaps end the document, state that Botrys (the goat-herd?) had reported three deaths.

Fr. (*a*).

(Ἔτους) λϛ, λόγος Ἱππονίκωι
τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν
αἰγῶν καὶ τράγων·
λευκαὶ [.

Fr. (*b*). Col. i.

[Ἀ]θὺρ
προσεγένοντο
αἶγες ἀπὸ ξενίων·
παρὰ Ζηνοδώρου

5 μέλαιναι [.
πυρραὶ [.
ποικίλαι [.
. . . . ḳαι θ
σπόδιαι [.
10 / π.

15 σπάλακα α,
λευκὴ α.
καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς
ἐπιγονῆς
μέλαιναι [.
20 [ποικί]λαι [.
[. . .]αι [.
πυρρὰ α.
ἀπὸ ξενίων λευκὴ [α,
/ δ.

Fr. (*b*) Col. ii.

25 Χοίαχ
προσεγένον[το
ἀπὸ ξενίω[ν παρὰ
Κρίτωνος ἔρσεν[ες .
λευκοὶ [.

. . . .

Fr. (*c*).

30 ἀνήνεγκεν δὲ
Βότρυς τετελευ-
τηκυίας αἶγας
τρεῖς.

13. ξενίων: for the burdens entailed by the custom of giving presents to officials cf. P. Petrie II. 10 (1) and P. Tebt. 5. 184, note.

15. σπάλακα: this form, which should be nominative sing. fem., is probably an error for σπαλάκη; cf. P. Petrie II. 35 (*a*). iii. 2, where Wilcken reads σπαλακ[.]ν πῶλ(ον); in (*d*) 5, where σπάλακος occurs, the context is obscure. Hesychius says that σπάλακες, properly 'moles,' was used for εἶδος ἵππων.

121. PRIVATE ACCOUNT.

Mummy A 4. Fr. (*a*) 30·5 × 8·5, Fr. (*b*) 10·8 × 9 *cm*. B.C. 251–0 (250–49).

An account, probably rendered by a servant to his master, of expenditure for various purposes. The two groups of entries on the recto are separated by a long space left blank. On the verso is a detailed account of miscellaneous household expenses from the 14th to the 19th days of a month, like P. Petrie III. 137–40. The handwriting is a large irregular cursive, probably of the reign of Philadelphus, though the reading of the date in l. 1 is not quite certain. Whether the writing on Fr. (*b*) is part of the same column as that on Fr. (*a*)

or of a second column is not clear; but the interval between ll. 45 and 46 is in any case trifling, since both refer to the same day.

Fr. (*a*). Recto.

[(Ἔτους)] λε̣, παρὰ Ἀγχ̣ώ̣φιος (πυρῶν ?) ν̣
(δραχμαὶ ?) ρ̣, ὧν ἔγρ̣α̣ψας
Ἀθ̣[ὺ]ρ ἁλύσιον (δραχμὰς) μ,
πο̣ . ερ̣ι̣[ο]ν (δραχμὰς) λ̣β,
5 Ἀλεξάνδρω[ι] (δραχμὰς) η,
καὶ ἐμοὶ διὰ Π̣[ό]λ̣λης (δραχμὰς) δ,
κγ παρὰ Τεῶτ[ο]ς (δραχμὰς) δ,
κϛ ἄλλας [.]

ἔλαβες (δραχμὰς) ξ, / ἐμοὶ [[ε]]ιε,
10 Ἰσιδώρωι ιβ, Διονύσω̣ι η,
ἐπὶ τὸν καυνάκην (δραχμὰς) δ,
[Ζω]ΐ̣λ̣ωι (δραχμὰς) δ, Διδῖ̣ (δραχμὰς) η,
[. .] . . ι̣ (δραχμὰς ?) δ̣.

Verso. Col. i.

. . . .

π̣α̣[15 letters]ν̣ [. ,
15 Πετεισῃ( ) (τέταρτον), ἔλαιον χοι( ) [. ,
καὶ εἰς τὸν σινδον̣είτην [. ,
θερμὸν (τέταρτον), κ[ί]κι (τέταρτον), η . . [.] . . ,
οἶν[ο]ς (ὀβολὸς) (τέταρτον),
/ (δραχμὴ) α (τετρώβολον) (τέταρτον).
20 ιε. ἔλαιον παι(δίοις) (ἡμιωβέλιον), καὶ πα̣ι(δίοις) (ἡμιωβέλιον),
Ἡρακλεί(δῃ) ὄψον (ὀβολός), κίκι (τέταρτον),
θερμὸν (τέταρτον), ξύλα (τέταρτον),
ἔλαιον χοι( ) (τέταρτον), ὀνυχ[ι]ν̣( ) τ̣ε . . [(ὀβολός),
οἶνος (ὀβολὸς) (τέταρτον),
25 / (πεντώβολον) (τέταρτον).
ιϛ. ἔλαιον πα(ιδίοις) (ἡμιωβέλιον), καὶ παιδί(οις) (ἡμιωβέλιον),

θερμὸν (τέταρτον), ἔλαιον χοι( ) (τέταρτον),
Ἡρακλεί(δηι) (ἡμιωβέλιον), χόρτος (τέταρτον),
κίκι (τέταρτον), οἶνος σοὶ (ὀβολὸς) (ἡμιωβέλιον),
30 ἐργάτηι (ἡμιωβέλιον), κράμβη (τέταρτον),
καὶ ἔλαιον (τέταρτον), ἄρτος μ̣οὶ (τέταρτον),
ξύλα (τέταρτον),
/ (πεντώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον).
ιζ. ἐρίθοις ἐρίω̣ν (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον), ξύλα [. ,
35 ἔ[λαι]ον παι(δίοις) (ἡμιωβέλιον), καὶ παιδίο̣ι̣ς̣ (ἡμιωβέλιον),
κ̣[ίκι] (τέταρτον), θερμ[ὸ]ν (τέταρτον), χ̣[. .] . α̣ (τέταρτον ?),
[. . .] . χ̣ό̣ρ̣τ̣ο̣ς̣ (τέταρτον), [.] . εσ̣[.] . . . [. .
[. .] . . α̣[. . .] ἔλαιον ὄψωι (τέταρτον),
[οἶνος] σοὶ (ὀβολὸς ?) (ἡμιωβέλιον) (τέταρτον), φόρεθρα̣ (δυόβολοι),
40 ῥ̣αφά(νια) [. ,] ἔλαιον εἰς 〈 〉 (τέταρτον),
καὶ ε̣ἰ̣ς̣ τὰ ὀρνίθια (τέταρτον),
/ (δραχμαὶ) β (ἡμιωβέλιον).
[ι]η̣. ἔλ[α]ιον παι(δίοις) (ἡμιωβέλιον), παιδ̣ίοις [(ἡμιωβέλιον),
. [. . . .] . (τέταρτον), ῥαφάνι(α) (τέταρτον), κί̣κ̣[ι . . ,
45 [11 letters] . [.]ητη[. . . . .

. . . .

Fr. (*b*). . . . .

Ἡρακλείδηι (ἡμιωβέλιον), οἶν[ο]ς σοὶ (δυόβολοι),
ὄψον (ἡμιωβέλιον), ἄλφιτα (ἡμιωβέλιον), ἔλαιον σοὶ (τέταρτον),
[ἔ]λαιον ὄψωι (ἡμιωβέλιον), παιδίοις κύαθο̣(ς) (τέταρτον),
/ (δραχμὴ) α (τριώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον) (τέταρτον).
50 ιθ. μάνητες (ὀβολὸς) (ἡμιωβέλιον), κράμβη (τέταρτον),
καὶ ἔλαιον (τέταρτον), ξύλα (ἡμιωβέλιον) (τέταρτον),
οἶνος σοὶ (ὀβολὸς) (ἡμιωβέλιον), ῥίσαι (ὀβολός), σ̣ . θ̣ . [. . , - :
ἔλαιον ὀρνι(θίοις) (τέταρτον), καὶ εἰς βαλα(νεῖον) (τέταρτον),
κριθαὶ (τέταρτον), μέλι (ὀβολὸς) (τέταρτον), λιβα[νω(τὸς) . ,
55 γυγγυλὶς [
τεῦτ̣[λον
ῥοιὰ (τέταρτον), [

. . . .

48. (ἡμιωβέλιον) corr. from (τέταρτον). 55. l. γογγυλίς. 57. ο of ροια above the line.

'The 35th year, from Anchophis for 50 artabae 100 drachmae, of which you wrote off on account of Athur for a ring 40 dr., for a cup (?) 2 dr., to Alexander 8 dr., to me through Polle 4 dr.; 23rd, from Teos 4 dr.; 26th, in addition [.] dr.

'You received 60 dr., of which 15 were given to me, to Isidorus 12, to Dionysus 8, for the cloak 4 dr., to Zoilus 4 dr., to Didis 8 dr., to . . . 4 dr.

'(14th) . . . to Peteise . . . ¼ ob., oil . . . , and for the linen garment . . . , hot water ¼ ob., castor oil ¼ ob., . . . wine 1¼ ob. Total 1 dr. 4¼ ob. 15th, oil for the children ½ ob. and to the children ½ ob., to Heracleides for sauce 1 ob., castor oil ¼ ob., hot water ¼ ob., wood ¼ ob., oil . . . ¼ ob., . . . of onyx (?) 1 ob., wine 1¼ ob. Total 5¼ ob. 16th, oil for the children ½ ob. and to the children ½ ob., hot water ¼ ob., oil . . . ¼ ob., to Heraclides ½ ob., grass ¼ ob., castor oil ¼ ob., wine for yourself 1½ ob., to a labourer ½ ob., cabbage ¼ ob., and oil ¼ ob., bread for myself ¼ ob., wood ¼ ob. Total 5½ ob. 17th, to the wool-weavers 4½ ob., wood . . . oil for the children ½ ob. and to the children ½ ob., castor oil ¼ ob., hot water ¼ ob., . . . grass ¼ ob., . . . oil for a sauce ¼ ob., wine for yourself 1¾ ob., transport 2 ob., radishes [.] ob., oil for . . . ¼ ob. and for (cooking) the birds ¼ ob. Total 2 dr. ½ ob. 18th, oil for the children ½ ob., to the children ½ ob., . . . ¼ ob., radishes ¼ ob., castor oil . . . , to Heraclides ½ ob., wine for yourself 2 ob., sauce ½ ob., meal ½ ob., oil for yourself ¼ ob., oil for a sauce ½ ob., a cup for the children ¼ ob. Total 1 dr. 3¾ ob. 19th, bowls (?) 1½ ob., cabbage ¼ ob., and oil ¼ ob., wood ¾ ob., wine for yourself 1½ ob., roots (?) 1 ob., . . . oil for the birds ¼ ob., and for a bath ¼ ob., barley ¼ ob., honey 1¼ ob., frankincense . . . turnip . . . beet . . . pomegranate ¼ ob. . . .'

4. Perhaps ποτέρι[ο]ν, i. e. ποτήριον.

8. It is very doubtful whether a figure was ever inserted after ἄλλας.

15. χοι( ) is more probably a substantive in the dative than an adjective agreeing with ἔλαιον. Perhaps χοί(ρωι), i. e. 'oil for (cooking) the pig'; cf. l. 53 ἔλαιον ὀρνι(θίοις). The sign for ¼ obol in this papyrus is the same as the writer's τ, the right-hand portion of the cross-bar being omitted.

17. θερμόν: sc. ὕδωρ probably: cf. P. Petrie III. 140 (c). 6 ὕδωρ θερμ[ό]ν. It might also mean a lupine. At the end of the line Ἡ[ρ]ακ[λ]εί(δηι) (τέταρτον) is a possible, but not very satisfactory, reading.

23. The doubtful τ may be the sign for ¼ obol (cf. note on l. 15), in which case ὀνυχ[ιν] is probably for ὀνύχιον, and ε . . [(ἡμιωβέλιον) (τέταρτον) must follow. With the reading adopted in the text, ὀνυχ[ι]ν is more likely to be an abbreviation of the adjective ὀνύχινος.

36. Possibly χ[ύτ]ρα (τέταρτον); cf. P. Petrie III. 140 (a). 5 χύτρα χ(αλκοῦς).

40. Cf. P. Petrie III. 140 (d). 2 ῥαφάνια ὥστε ἑψῆσαι. After εἰς a word has been omitted which was contrasted with τὰ ὀρνίθια in l. 41.

50. μάνητες appears to be a plural of μάνης (or μανῆς), meaning an earthenware vessel (cf. ll. 4 and 48), a sense found in a passage quoted from Nicon by Athenaeus, p. 487 c. The existence of the genitive in -ητος from this word has been a matter of doubt, which the present passage will remove.

52. ρισαι is an unknown word; possibly ῥίζαι was meant.

56. τεῦτ[λ]ον: σεῦτλον and σεύτλιον are the forms used in the Petrie papyri.

XI. DESCRIPTIONS OF DOCUMENTS

122. Mummy A. 7 × 14·7 cm. Beginning of an account of corn. Lines 1–5 Διάλογος ὁ πρὸς Ὧρον διὰ Κίσσου κρ(ιθῆς) (ἀρτάβας) β, Ποσειδωνίωι ὀλ(υρῶν) (ἀρτάβας) ε, Κίσσωι ὀλ(υρῶν) (ἀρτάβας) γ, ἄλλας Κίσσωι ὀλ(υρῶν) γ, Κράτηι (πυρῶν) (ἀρτάβας) γ, Ἀπολλοδώρωι (πυρῶν) (ἀρτάβας) . . The writing is across the fibres. About B.C. 250. 8 lines.

123. Mummy A. 8·3 × 8·6 cm. A short account of sheep received by the writer from different persons, some being bought. The text is Παρ' ὧν ἔχω πρόβατα· Ἀπολλωνίου α, Σωπάτρου α, Ἀλεξάνδρου α, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ υἱ[ο]ῦ τ[ο]ῦ Δεινίου τιμῆς α̣, παρὰ Δημητρίου ἐκ Κόβα (cf. **56**. 6) α, Ξενόδοτος τιμῆς α, Νίκανδρος α̣. Written probably between B.C. 265 and 245. Complete. 10 lines.

124. Mummy A 9. 14 × 9·7 cm. Conclusion of a contract for the loan of $18\frac{3}{4}$ artabae of olyra from Zenodorus (cf. **59**) to Menonides; cf. **86**. The text is] . α̣ρμαρτι . . [11 letters π]άντων μέτρωι β[ασιλικ]ῶι, ἐὰν [δὲ μὴ] ἀποδῶι ἀποτεισάτ[ω τ]ιμὴν [τῆς] ἀρτάβης ἑκάστης δραχμὰς [δ]ύο (cf. **86**. 12, note), καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις ἔστω Ζη[νο]δώρωι καὶ ἄλλωι ὑπὲρ Ζηνοδώ[ρου] παρὰ Μενωνίδου πρὸς βασιλι[κ]ά (cf. **93**. 11). (2nd hand) Ἄρχιππος Φιλοξένου (cf. **130**) Κυρηναῖος τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ἔγραψα συντάξα[ντος] Μενωνίδου. (3rd hand) Μενωνίδης Πέρσης ἰδιώτης τῶν Ζωίλου [[ε . . [.] . . . .]] ἀποδώσω ὀλυρῶν ἀρτάβας δεκαόκτω ἥμισυ τέταρτον κατὰ τὸ σύμβολον τοῦτο{ν}. On the verso a partly obliterated line and below it Μενωνίδου (ἀρτάβαι) ιη∠δ'. Written about B.C. 250 in the Oxyrhynchite nome. 19 lines.

125. Mummy A (probably A 9). 12·9 × 8 cm. Conclusion of another similar loan from Zenodorus to Menonides (cf. **124**) for $31\frac{1}{4}$ artabae of olyra with signatures of Archippus and Menonides. On the verso (δραχμαὶ) μδ and below Μενωνίδου (ἀρτάβαι) λα[δ']. Written across the fibres about B.C. 250 in the Oxyrhynchite nome. 17 lines.

126. Mummy A (probably A 9). 4·5 × 9·2 cm. Fragment of another similar loan from Zenodorus to Menonides (cf. **124**), beginning Ζηνοδώ]ρωι καὶ ἄλλωι ὑ[πὲρ] Ζηνοδώρου παρὰ Μένωνος π[ράσ]σοντι πρὸς βασιλικά. [Μένω]νος also occurs in the signature of Archippus, but [Με]νωνίδης in that of Menonides himself. On the verso Μενωνίδου σύμβολα (ἀρτάβαι?) (δραχμαὶ) νθ (θ corr.). Written about B.C. 250 in the Oxyrhynchite nome. 9 lines.

127. Mummy A (probably A 9). 9·5 × 10·3 cm. Beginnings of lines of a letter from Zenodorus (cf. **59**) to Cresilaus, ordering him to send certain persons under arrest; cf. **59–62**. The text is (1) *Ζηνόδωρ[ος] Κρησιλάωι χαίρειν.* [*πεφεύγασιν εἰς Ὀξυ-*] (2) *ρυγχίτου κώμην Θῶλθιν. καλῶς ἂ[ν οὖν ποιήσαις*] (3) *αὐτοὺς πέμψας πρὸς ἡμᾶς μετὰ φυ[λακῆς ἐπεὶ οὐκ ὀλί-*] (4) *γον ἀργύριον ἀφηρπακότες ει* . . [(5) *σὺ περὶ ὧν ἂν ἡμῖν γράφηι* . . . . [On the verso *Κρη[σιλάωι.* Written across the fibres about B.C. 250 in the Oxyrhynchite nome. 6 lines, of which probably only about $\frac{1}{3}$ is preserved.

128. Mummy A 17. 4 × 8·5 cm. Beginning of a contract dated in the 15th year of Philadelphus (B.C. 271–0 or 270–69), corresponding to **99**. 1–4 and probably written by the same person, perhaps a duplicate of **99**. 4 lines.

129. Mummy A (found with **86**). 9·3 × 7·4 cm. An acknowledgement by a military settler of a loan of 15 artabae of olyra from Docimus; cf. **86**. The text is *Ἀ[πολλ]ώνιος Σίμου Μυσὸ[ς] τῆς ἐπιγονῆς Δοκ[ί]μω[ι] χαίρει⟨ν⟩. ἔχω παρὰ σοῦ ὀλυρῶν ἀρτάβας δεκάπεντε, τοῦτον δέ σοι τὸν σῖτον ἀποδώσω ἐμ μηνὶ Δαισίωι ἐν τῶι ἐνάτωι κα[ὶ] τριακοστῶι ἔτε[ι] σῖτον κα[θαρὸν] μέτ[ρ]ωι βασιλικῶι ὃν ἀποκαταστήσω σο[ι* . . . Written in B.C. 247 (246). Incomplete, the end being lost. 10 lines.

130. Mummy A (probably A 9). 22·4 × 7 cm. Beginnings of lines of a letter from Demophon to Ptolemaeus similar to **53**, commencing *[Δημ]οφῶν Πτολ[εμαίωι χαίρειν. ἀπέσταλκά σοι τὸ π]ροσάγγε[λμα τῆς πρώτης* (?) *δεχημέρου] τοῦ Ἀθὺρ τῶν κα[τανενεμηκότων ?* . . . .] *ἐν τοῖς κατὰ σὲ [τόποις. πειρῶ οὖν διεγγυᾶν] ἀσφαλῶς. Θῶλθις ἐκ τῆς [παρειμένης* . . .] *χερσαράκου* [. ., followed by a list of names arranged under *κλῆροι* (*ἐκ τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐκ τοῦ Πτολεμαί[ου, ἐκ τοῦ Κυ[δρέους, ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου*). Amongst the names occurring are *Ἄρχιππος Φιλοξέν[ου* (cf. **124**), *Νέστωρ Ἀθηνα[ίου, Πεμνεῦς, Μαχάτας* and *Πακᾶμις.* Written about B.C. 247. 27 lines.

131. Mummy A 2. 18·5 × 10·9 cm. Part of a letter to an official mentioning the chief-priest at Phebichis (cf. **72**. 1–2). The text is *Π]ετ[ο]σίριος τοῦ Ἁρυ[ώτ]ου ἀρχιερέως χ* . . . . . . [. .] *ἐν Φεβίχει. καλῶς ἂν ποιήσα[ις] εἴ σοι φαίνεται συντάξας Ἰμούθηι* [13 letters] *μετρῆσαι* [11 letters] *ἔλαιον ἔτι ἐν Φαῶφι μηνὶ* [10 letters] *οἰκονόμος* [. Written about B.C. 245. 8 lines.

132. Mummy A. Fr. (*a*) 8·5 × 15·5 cm. Two fragments containing parts of two columns of a list of payments for various taxes, including the *ἐννόμιον* (cf. **52**, introd.), the tax of $\frac{1}{24}$ (*κ'δ'*; cf. **80**, **95**, and **112**. 38, note), and the *ϛ'* (i.e. *ἕκτη*) *Φιλαδέλφ(ωι)* (cf. **109**) for which 3 obols are paid at *Ταλαώ* by *Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀνδρόμαχος*, and 1 dr. 3 ob. at *Σινάρυ* by *Σεμφθεύς*,

besides οἴνου τιμήν (i.e. the value of wine paid for the ἕκτη), for which 4 drachmae are paid at Σινάρυ by Ἀρφικωῖπις and another person respectively. The village of Μουχιναρυώ, the proper name Ψωφόις, and the 30th year (of Philadelphus) are also mentioned. Written about B.C. 255.

133. Mummy A 5. 10·9 × 7·2 cm. Beginnings of lines of part of a petition to Eutychus, dioecetes (?), from a farmer of the beer-tax (cf. **106**, introd.). The text is Εὐτύχωι δι[οικητῆι χαίρειν.] Σοκονῶπις Παθω[. . . . ἀπὸ κώμης ?] Σεβεννύτου ἀδ[ικοῦμαι ὑπ' Ἀπολλω]νίου τοῦ οἰκονομ[οῦντος τὴν Ἡρακλεί]δου μερίδα καὶ Διο[14 letters] ἐξέλαβον τὴν ζυ[τηρὰν τοῦ . . (ἔτους) ἀπὸ] Μεσορὴ ἕως [17 letters] . νος (δραχμῶν) ωλ[15 letters κα]τεστη[. On the verso Εὐτύχωι] παρὰ Σοκονώπιος πρ(ὸς) Ἀπολλώνιον. For Mesore as the beginning of a financial year cf. note on **116**. 3–4, and pp. 360–1. Written about B.C. 250.

134. Mummy A 4. 7·5 × 4·4 cm. Fragment of the beginning of a contract written between the 19th and 27th year of Philadelphus; cf. **94**. 4–5, note. The text is Βασιλεύον[τος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ] Πτολεμαίο[υ ἔτους . . ἐφ' ἱερέως 21 letters] Ἀλεξάνδρ[ου καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλα]δέλφου Φιλω[τέρας τῆς 30 letters] ἐν Ἀφροδίτη[ς πόλει 31 letters] Ἁρμαῖος Αρ[.

135. Mummy A 4. Fr. (*a*) 9·5 × 4·4 cm. Two fragments of an account, containing a list of names and sums of money, each entry in Fr. (*a*) beginning with κε, i.e. the 25th of the month. The names Τεραῦς (υ corr. from ς?) and Πετεαρμῶς occur. Written about B.C. 250. On the verso part of another account.

136. Mummy A 15. 10·5 × 8·8 cm. Receipt, having the same formula as **106**, for 20 drachmae paid by Petosiris (cf. **137**, **139**, and **141**), agent of Taëmbes, for ζυτηρά, 11 drachmae (δεκαμίαν) being on account of Pharmouthi, and 9 on account of Pachon, to Νικόλαος τρ(απεζίτης) and Στοτοῆτις δο(κιμαστής) at Phebichis; cf. **106**, introd. At the end are the signature of Dorion (παρόντος Δωρίωνος τὸ αὐτὸ (δραχμαὶ) εἴκοσι), and a line of demotic. Dated Pachon 13 of the 3rd year (of Euergetes), i.e. B.C. 244 (243). The writing is across the fibres. Practically complete. 9 lines.

137. Mummy A 15. 10·3 × 7 cm. A similar receipt for 18 drachmae χα(λκοῦ) εἰς κ . . (the figures are hopelessly effaced but were probably κδ (τέταρτον); cf. **106**. 8) paid by Petosiris, agent of Taëmbes, for ζυτηρά on account of Pachon to Nicolaus and Stotoëtis; cf. **106**, introd. At the end are the signature of Dorion and a line of demotic. Dated

Pachon 30 of the 3rd year (of Euergetes), i.e. B.C. 244 (243). The writing is across the fibres. Nearly complete, but much obliterated. 9 lines.

138. Mummy A 15. 9·7 × 7·5 cm. A similar receipt for 8 drachmae χο(λκοῦ) εἰς κδ (τέταρτον) paid by Ἀρενδώτης, agent of Taëmbes, for ζυτηρά on account of Athur to Πάσων τραπεζίτης and Στοτοῆτις δοκιμαστής at Phebichis; cf. **106**, introd. At the end are the signature of Dorion and a line of demotic. Dated on Athur 24 of the 2nd year (of Euergetes), i.e. B.C. 246 (245). Practically complete. 9 lines.

139. Mummy A 15. 9·5 × 6·3 cm. Another similar receipt for 9 drachmae of copper for ζυτηρά on account of Phaophi paid Ἡρακλείωι [τραπεζ]ίτηι καὶ Νικο[λάωι δοκ]ιμαστῆι at Phebichis by Petosiris, agent of Taëmbes, from Talaë; cf. **106**, introd. At the end are the signature of Dorion and a line of demotic. Written across the fibres about B.C. 247. Incomplete, the beginnings of the first 5 lines being lost. 11 lines.

140. Mummy A 15. 15·7 × 8 cm. Another similar receipt for 19 dr. 5½ obols for ζυτηρά on account of Phaophi paid to Pason and Stotoëtis by Λίβυς, agent of Taëmbes; cf. **106**, introd. At the end are the signature of Dorion and a line of demotic, and on the verso is a line of demotic. Dated on Athur 16 of the 2nd year (of Euergetes), i.e. B.C. 246 (245). Written across the fibres. Practically complete. 14 lines.

141. Mummy A 15. 11 × 6·7 cm. Another similar receipt for 15 dr. 3 ob. paid for ζυτηρά on account of Pachon by Petosiris, agent of Taëmbes, to Nicolaus and Stotoëtis; cf. **106**, introd. At the end are the signature of Dorion and a line of demotic. Dated on Pachon 22 of the 3rd year (of Euergetes), i.e. B.C. 244 (243). Written across the fibres. Complete. 10 lines.

142. Mummy A 15. 11·1 × 6·7 cm. Another similar receipt for 12 dr. for ζυτηρά paid [Ἡρ]ακλείωι τραπεζίτηι καὶ [Ν]ικολάωι δοκιμαστῆι; cf. **139** and **106**, introd. At the end is the signature of Dorion and a line of demotic. Written across the fibres about B.C. 247. Nearly complete, but much obliterated. 10 lines.

143. Mummy A 15. 4·7 × 6·5 cm. Receipt for φυλακιτικόν paid by a military settler probably at Phebichis, similar to **105**. The text is (Ἔτους) ιϛ Μεσορὴ κγ. ὁμολογεῖ Ἡρακλείδης μεμετρῆσθαι παρὰ Μενεκράτους Ἀρήου ἰλ(άρχου) (cf. **105**. 3, note) τὸ φυλακιτι[κὸν . . . The 16th year probably refers to Euergetes (B.C. 232–1 or 231–0). Incomplete, the end being lost. 5 lines.

144. Mummy A 15. 4·3 × 7·9 cm. Beginning of a notice of loss, similar to

36 and **37**. Lines 1–4 (Ἔτους) ιη Παχ[ῶνς . .] προσ[άγγε]λμα παρὰ Ἀμεννέω[ς] Ἁρμιύσει φυλακίτηι κώμης Τάλη (cf. **36**. 3, note) ἀπολωλ[ε]κάναι (l. -κέναι; cf. **37**. 5). The 18th year probably refers to Euergetes (B.C. 230–29 or 229–8). 5 lines.

145. Mummy A. Fr. (*a*) 4·8 × 9·3 cm. Seven fragments of a contract, of which one contains part of the protocol, [Βασιλεύοντος Πτολε]μαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαί[ου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν ἔτους] τρίτου ⟨ἐφ'⟩ ἱερέως Ἀρχε[λάου τοῦ Δήμου? Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶ]ν Ἀδελφῶν κανηφόρου Ἀρ[σινόης Φιλαδέλφου Ἀρσινόης?] τῆς Πολεμοκράτου⟨ς⟩ μην[ὸ]ς Ἀρ[τεμισίου . . . , i.e. B.C. 245–4 (244–3). The restorations of the priests' names are taken from Revillout's edition of dem. P. Louvre 2431 (*Chrest. dém.* pp. 265 sqq., *Rev. Égypt.* I. p. 7), where they are assigned to the 4th year; cf. p. 373. On the absence of the mention of the θεοὶ Εὐεργέται here cf. **171**, which was written in the 5th year and mentions them, and p. 369.

146. Mummy 97. 11 × 9·4 cm. A much mutilated letter from Τίμανδρος, dated (ἔτους) λε Ὑπερβερεταίου κθ, Π[α]ῶπι κθ, i.e. B.C. 250 (249). On this double date cf. App. i. p. 341. 14 lines.

147. Mummy 5. 12·7 × 6 cm. Conclusion of a letter, of which the text is χειρογρ[α]φήσω, οὐ γὰρ διαπιστε[ύ]ουσιν ἡμῖν. Διονυσόδωρος δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄδικο[ς, ἀλ]λὰ σύντασσε [τοὺς] παρὰ σοὶ φ[ύ]λακας φυλάσσειν καὶ προ[σ]έχειν ἵνα μ[ὴ συμ]βῆι ἡμῖν πα . [. . .]θῆναι. On the verso are the beginnings of 3 lines, and on a detached fragment parts of 3 more. Early third century B.C.

148. Mummy 5. 5·3 × 24 cm. Fragment of a contract of apprenticeship. Lines 3–6 ἐ]ὰν δέ τι κλέπτων . [. . . . .]μενος ἁλίσκηται προσαποτεισά[τω τὸ βλάβος δι]πλοῦν, μὴ ἐξουσία δ' ἔστω Πόρωι μήτε ἀποκ[ο]ιτ[εῖ]ν μήτε ἀφημερε[ύειν ἄνευ τῆς Ἐπι]μένους γνώμης, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀποτεισάτω τῆς μ[ὲν ἡ]μέρας (τριώβολον) τῆς δὲ ν[υκτὸς . ,] ἐξουσία δ' ἔστω Ἐπιμένει ἐὰμ μὴ ἀρεσ[κ . . Early third century B.C. 6 lines.

149. Mummy A. Fr. (*a*) 14 × 10·8 cm. Two fragments of an account, consisting of a series of names grouped under different days, with a few lines of another account in a different hand. The names Σοντωτλάγα, Δαλίσκος, Ὀρρομβῆς and Ὀπιεύς occur. Written about B.C. 250. On the verso parts of two much obliterated columns of a document.

150. Mummy 13. 15·1 × 9·5 cm. Duplicate of **85**, written in a different hand, in B.C. 261 (260). Practically complete (but without the demotic note). 21 lines.

151. Mummy 13. 7·5 × 10·5 cm. Fragment of a letter, of which the text is μὴ παραγίνεσθαι αφ[. . . .]κα Ἀπ[ο]λλωνίδην τρυγήσοντα τὸν ἀμπελῶνα. εἰ οὖν

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τιν' ἐπιχώρησιν ποιεῖ ἔντυχε ἐκείνωι καταλάλησον, συντετάχαμεν γὰρ ... Written about B. C. 250. 6 lines.

152. Mummy 98. 8·8 x 9·2 cm. Beginning of a letter, of which the text is Χαρικλῆς Μιύσει χαίρειν. ἐμβαλοῦ εἰς τὸ πλοῖον ἅλας καὶ λωτὸν ὅπως ἔχωσιν [οἱ] ναυπηγοί, καὶ πε[ρὶ] τῶν ξύλων ὧν εν[. On the verso Μιύσει. Written about B. C. 250. 6 lines.

153. Mummy 117. 10·7 x 10·2 cm. Account of sums collected by an agent of two government officials, beginning (Ἔτους) β Φαῶφι κθ, λόγος ἀργυρί[ο]υ τοῦ [λελο]γευμένου διὰ Ἁρενδώτην (l. -δώτου) τοῦ παρ[ὰ Ἀγ]χώφιος οἰκονόμου καὶ Πατβεῦν [τὸν β]ασ[ι]λικὸν γραμμ[ατέα (l. Πατβεῦτος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως), followed by a list of six persons who pay 1 dr. or 3 obols. The 2nd year no doubt refers to Euergetes (B. C. 246 or 245). Written on the verso, the recto being blank. Nearly complete. 10 lines.

154. Mummy 117. 7·8 x 8·6 cm. A notice from Epichares to Chaeremon similar to **80**, but with Πάσῆς Αρ ... in the place of Ὧρος Τεῶτος. Written probably in the 35th (revenue) year of Philadelphus (cf. **80**. 5 and 13–4, note), i. e. B. C. 251–0. Nearly complete. 9 lines, of which the last two are demotic.

155. Mummy 117. 8·2 x 9 cm. Another similar notice from Epichares to Chaeremon, much mutilated. Dated in the 35th (revenue) year (of Philadelphus), Athur (B. C. 251). 7 lines, the demotic note being omitted.

156. Mummy 117. Fr. (*a*) 4·1 x 8·6 cm. Two fragments of an acknowledgement by a ναύκληρος similar to **98**. The text is Fr. (*a*) τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ] γραμματέως ὥστε εἰς Ἀλεξά[ν]δρει[αν] εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν κ[ριθῶν] (ἀρτάβας) ἑπτακισχιλίας πεντακο[σίας] σῖτον καθαρὸν κα[ὶ ἄδο]λον κε[κοσκινευμένον (cf. **98**. 11–4), Fr. (*b*)] . ασκεμι . [. .] ἐσφραγισμ[εν . . . , μέτ]ρωι καὶ σκυτάληι οἷς [αὐτὸς ἠνέγκατο . . . (cf. **98**. 20). Written about the 34th year of Philadelphus (B. C. 252–1 or 251–0).

157. Mummy 18. 4·7 x 16·1 cm. Parts of two columns of an account, of which the text is (Col. i) (Ἔτους) κβ. εἰσενήνοχα [ε]ἰς τὸν ἐν τῆι αὐλῆι [σ]ῖτον ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου σπόρου ὀλυ(ρῶν) (ἀρτάβας) οὀ, [καὶ ?] ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἃ συνήγαγεν . . . (Col. ii) (ἔτους) κβ. πα[ρὰ . .]σ . . . εἰσενήνοχα (πυρὸν) παρὰ (with]φιλου[. . above the line) Πολέμωνος τοῦ ἐκ [Τα]λάους (cf. **36**. 3, note) . . . The 22nd year refers to Philadelphus (B. C. 264–3 or 263–2). On the verso two lines of another account.

158. Mummy 18. 8·5 x 19 cm. Fragment of a letter or memorandum concerning wheat and olyra of the 32nd, 33rd, and 34th years (of Philadelphus). Written about B. C. 251. 10 lines, of which the last

four are complete. In the right-hand margin and on the verso is some effaced writing.

159. Mummy 18. Breadth 7·2 cm. Three fragments of a letter from Zoilus to Plutarchus (cf. **63**, introd.). Lines 6–10 *σπέρμα?] ἅπαν ἐπικεκομμένον καὶ ἀχρεῖον, θαυμάζω οὖν εἰ πιστεύεις. ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐδώκαμεν . . .* Addressed on the verso *Πλο]υτάρχωι*. Written in the reign of Philadelphus, probably about B. C. 265.

160. Mummy 10. 11 × 6·9 cm. Receipt issued to Clitarchus (cf. **66**, introd.) for a money payment, of which the text is *Ἡρακλεόδωρος Κλειτάρχωι χαίρειν. ἔχω παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Νικολάου χαλκοῦ (δραχμὰς) τριακοσίας τεσσαρά[κοντα.* Addressed on the verso *Κλειτάρχωι*. Written about B.C. 230. Apparently nearly complete. 8 lines.

161. Mummy 10. 7·2 × 7 cm. Fragment of a letter to Clitarchus similar to **69**. The text is] *Κλειτάρχωι χαίρειν. παραγίνου τῆι κθ τοῦ Φαμενὼθ . . .* Written about B. C. 230. 4 lines.

162. Mummy 10. Fr. (*a*) 24·5 × 8·7 cm. Two fragments of another letter to Clitarchus, concluding *τῆς ἀποχῆς τῶν Ἀ (δραχμῶν) ὧν ἀναφέρεις δεδωκὼς εἰς ἐπισκευὴν ἱπποτροφίων, καὶ μὴ ἄλλως ποιήσηις. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) ιθ Παῦν[ι.* (B. C. 228 or 227.)

163. Mummy 10. 8·2 × 7·9 cm. Conclusion of a letter to Clitarchus similar to **70** (*a*) and (*b*), ending *περὶ κώμην Τμοινεθῦμιν τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου (δραχμῶν) κ κʹ* (i. e. *εἰκοστὴν*) *(δραχμὴν) α. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) ιη Ἀθὺρ κ* (B. C. 230 or 229). Cf. **70** (*a*), introd. 6 lines.

164. Mummy 10. 16·3 × 8 cm. A demotic document of 9 lines, below which is *Κόβας Ψιντέσωῦτος (δραχμαὶ?) ρ . , Πετοσίρει* (*ει* corr. from *ιος*) *καὶ Θοτορταίωι.* Written about B. C. 230.

165. Mummy 10. 13·3 × 7·7 cm. Receipt, similar to **103**, from Apollonides to *Εὐπόλεμος*, acknowledging the payment of 11⅛ artabae of wheat (probably for *φυλακιτικόν* and *ἰατρικόν*) from *Στράτιος* on behalf of Diodorus, paid through Eupolis *κωμο(γραμματεύς)*. Dated Phaophi 11 of the 16th year (of Euergetes), i. e. B. C. 232 (231). Nearly complete. 8 lines.

166. Mummy A 9. 19 × 10·2 cm. Duplicate of **119**, written about B. C. 260. Nearly complete. 23 lines. On the verso part of another account.

167. Mummy A 9. 4 × 7·6 cm. Beginning of a letter from Demophon to Ptolemaeus (cf. **51**, introd.), of which the text is *Δημοφῶν Πτολεμαίωι χαίρειν. ἀνάγαγε μετὰ Ἁρμιύσιος τοῦ ἀπὸ [τ]οῦ Ἰσιείου φυ(λακίτου) καὶ μετὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἐκ Ταλαῷ τὰ Πρωτογένους καὶ Γάστρωνος πρόβατα πάντα εἰς . . .* Written about B. C. 245. 7 lines.

168. Mummy A 9. 6 × 28 cm. Another letter from Demophon to Ptolemaeus ordering him to send a herdsman; cf. **59.** The text is *Δημοφῶν Πτολεμαίωι χαίρειν. Ἁρμιῦσ[ιν* about 20 letters *νέ]μοντα τὰ Καρνεάδου τοῦ λογευτοῦ πρόβατα ὡς ἂν ἀναγν[ῶις τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπόστειλον] εἰς Ὀξυρύγχων πόλιν μετὰ φυλακῆς. συντέταχεν γὰρ Ἀμμώνιος ὁ οἰκονόμ[ος] διὰ τὸ [. . . . .] τινα αὐτῶι* 55 effaced letters [. . . . .] *καὶ τοῦτο ὅπως μὴ παρέργως ἔσται, ἀλλὰ ἅμα ἡμέραι πάρεχε [αὐτόν.] ἔρρωσ[ο.* Written across the fibres about B.C. 245. Incomplete. 6 lines.

169. Mummy A 9. 6 × 14·2 cm. Part of a letter to some officials with regard to the collection of money-taxes, mentioning *οἰκονομοῦντος τὴν κάτω τοπαρχίαν* (sc. of the Oxyrhynchite nome). Dated Thoth 8 of the 31st (?) year (of Philadelphus) (B.C. 255 or 254). The writing is across the fibres. 5 lines, of which about half is preserved.

170. Mummy A 9. 15 × 11·8 cm. Conclusion of a letter, ending *φρόντισον δὲ ὅπως μηκέτι ἀπὸ τούτων παρακούσει ἡμῶν ἵνα μὴ ἀντὶ φιλίας ἔχθραν [ποώ]μεθα. τούτου γὰρ οὕνεκεν πρὸ πολλοῦ σοι γράφω. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λθ Θωὺθ ιη* (B.C. 247). 12 lines.

171. Mummy A. 6·1 × 12·5 cm. Beginning of a contract written in B.C. 243–2 (242–1), of which the text is *Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν (ἔτους) ε ἐφ' ἱερέως Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ Διοδότου Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόη[ς Φιλαδέλφ]ου Ἰαμνέας τῆς Ὑπο . . . [. . . . .] μηνὸς Λωίο[υ] ἐν Ἡρακ[λέους πόλει.* This is the earliest instance of the association of the *θεοὶ Εὐεργέται* with Alexander and the *θεοὶ Ἀδελφοί*; cf. **145**, where the *θεοὶ Εὐεργέται* are not yet mentioned in a papyrus of the 3rd year, and p. 369. The writing is across the fibres.

APPENDIX I

The Macedonian and Egyptian Calendars.

Of all the problems connected with Ptolemaic Egypt few are more obscure than the relation of the Macedonian to the Egyptian calendar before the reign of Euergetes II, when the Macedonian year starting from Dius was finally equated to the Egyptian *annus vagus* of 365 days. So perplexing and apparently contradictory were the items of information gained from double dates on both calendars in papyri and inscriptions, that in 1898 Strack (*Rhein. Mus.* liii. pp. 399–431), when trying to introduce order into the chaos, took refuge in the extremely complicated hypothesis that two different sets of both Egyptian and Macedonian months with the same names were in current use. The evidence available to Strack was however very imperfect, since out of 14 double dates within the period under review only 6 could be certainly assigned to particular years, and even in these 6 there were several doubtful readings of the figures. In 1903 J. Krall (*Festschr. f. O. Hirschfeld*, pp. 113–122) was able to show from some fresh double dates in the Amherst papyri and a Berlin papyrus that an attempt was made during the early part of Philometor's reign to equate the Macedonian to the Egyptian months; but though justly rejecting the views of Strack, he could make nothing of the relations of the Egyptian and Macedonian calendars before the time of Philometor. Now, however, with the large additional material provided by the Magdola, the new Petrie and the present Hibeh papyri together with unpublished Tebtunis papyri deciphered by Professor Smyly, who will collaborate with us in the publication of them, the conditions of the problem are quite altered. Professor Smyly (*Hermathena*, 1905, pp. 393–8) has recently discussed the double dates in the reigns of Epiphanes and Philometor, and proved that for a period of at least 16 years (from the 24th year of Epiphanes to the 5th year of the joint reign of Philometor, Euergetes II, and Cleopatra, which = the 16th of Philometor) the Macedonian months starting

from Dystrus were assimilated to the Egyptian months of the vague year starting from Thoth. Our object in the present appendix, in which we have had the benefit of Professor Smyly's assistance, is to collect the evidence for the whole period from Alexander to Euergetes II, and to show that (1) it is unnecessary to suppose the existence of more than one Egyptian and, until the reign of Epiphanes, one Macedonian set of months in order to explain the double dates; (2) the general tendency of the movements of the Macedonian year was to lose in relation to the Egyptian, i. e. to revolve more slowly, though some exceptions occur owing to the irregularity of intercalations; (3) the character and limits of the variations in the Macedonian year are now so far determined that from about the middle of Philadelphus' reign to the 4th year of Philopator Macedonian months can, if the year of the reign is known, henceforth in most cases be converted into their approximate equivalents on the Egyptian calendar.

While the truth of any general hypothesis with regard to the relations of the Macedonian and Egyptian calendars can only be thoroughly established by verification through new evidence, the first test which must be applied to it is its ability to form the extant double dates into an intelligible and more or less consistent series. To attempt to prove uniformity of relation between the two calendars would be of course out of the question; our aim is to show that, in spite of the irregularities which must be conceded in any case, the trend of their relations to each other can now to a large extent be determined. Accordingly, in opposition to Strack's hypothesis that there were throughout two sets of both Egyptian and Macedonian months, we start from the far more probable and simpler assumption that there was originally but one set of each. This being granted, the Egyptian calendar year of 12 months can be no other than the ordinary vague year of 365 days beginning with Thoth 1. Though the knowledge of the true solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days was of extreme antiquity in Egypt, and an attempt was made in the reign of Euergetes I, as is shown by the Canopus Inscr., ll. 40 sqq., to substitute it for the vague year, there is no evidence that it ever penetrated, as Strack supposes, from the field of astronomy and religion into common use under the Ptolemies; and it is now almost universally admitted that the vague year continued its course uninterrupted until the introduction of the Julian calendar into Egypt by Augustus in B.C. 23. With regard to the length of the Macedonian year nothing is definitely known. Following the ordinary view, which has much probability, that it was like other Greek calendar years lunar, we suppose it to have contained apart from intercalations 12 months of alternately 29 and 30 days, making 354 days in all. Recently some confirmation of this view has been obtained from its suitability to the double dates grouped together as no. (16)

on our Table; cf. p. 345. In these Tubi 12 corresponds to Gorpiaeus 28, but Tubi 13 of the same year to Gorpiaeus 30. As Dittenberger has pointed out (*Orient. Gr. Inscr.* I. p. 650), it is probable that there is here no inconsistency, and that the last day of a month containing only 29 days was called the 30th. Since Gorpiaeus is the 11th month of the Macedonian year, it is most likely that the months with 29 days were the 1st, 3rd, 5th, &c., rather than, as Strack supposes, the 2nd, 4th, 6th, &c. If the 29th day was omitted in months with 29 days, the mention of Peritius 29 in P. Petrie III. 21 (*b*). 8 and of Hyperberetaeus 29 in **146** indicates that these months (the 4th and 12th) had 30 days. A year of 360 days seems to be implied by **28**. 20–1; but this is not likely to be connected with the Macedonian year.

Assuming therefore an Egyptian year of 365 days and a Macedonian year of 354, we have, at Professor Smyly's suggestion, constructed a chronological table of correspondences, which shows the days of the Egyptian months on which the 1st of each Macedonian month would, apart from intercalations, fall in every instance of a double date by both calendars. This Table much more clearly than a mere list of the double dates exhibits the variations which took place between any two points, and illustrates at a glance both the general tendency of the Macedonian months to lose, i.e. fall later in the Egyptian year, and the occasional instances in which this tendency is reversed, and the Macedonian year moves from one point to another more rapidly than the Egyptian. Since the Macedonian year was apart from intercalations 11 days shorter than the Egyptian, it would, if left to itself, gain this amount each year. The fact that on the contrary it tended to lose shows that intercalations were so frequent and so far in excess of the 11 days required to restore the balance between it and the Egyptian year, that the average length of the Macedonian year was more than 365 days. How the number of days to be intercalated was determined, and at what point or points they were inserted in the Macedonian year is involved in much obscurity. Papyri give surprisingly little help on the subject, the only reference to intercalation in the Macedonian calendar being in P. Petrie III. 22 (*f*). 2, where μηνὸ]ς ἐμβολίμου apparently indicates that a whole month had been inserted. But that intercalation of a whole month in the Macedonian calendar was not uncommon is shown by the story (Plutarch, *Vit. Alex.* 16) concerning Alexander who, in order to satisfy the religious objections of some of his soldiers to fighting in Daisius, inserted a second Artemisius. This, as Smyly remarks, seems to imply not only that the Macedonians inserted a whole month at a time, but that they called the intercalated month by the name of the preceding month; for unless such intercalation had been customary, Alexander could hardly have quieted the

superstition of his followers. Unfortunately, however, the hypothesis of intercalations of months of 29 or 30 days even at irregular intervals is not sufficient by itself to account for all the relations between the Egyptian and Macedonian months established by the evidence, and it is necessary to postulate the existence of other, at present unknown, disturbing elements which caused the Macedonian years to vary in length.

The Macedonian year being so uncertain, it must be remembered that in each column of our Table the correspondences for which there is no direct evidence are only meant to be approximate, and that the chances of error owing to the presence of intercalations increase the further the supposed correspondences in the year move away from the known correspondence. The months in which the correspondence is directly attested are in each column of the Table distinguished from the others by being printed in italics. Where the reign is not actually given and cannot be inferred with complete certainty, it is enclosed in brackets. The queries after some of the months in italics mean either that the reading of the month is not certain, or that there are special grounds for suspecting an error in the correspondence. That errors have crept into the extant double dates is, considering the complicated system of two independent calendars, unfortunately only too likely; but the hypothesis of a mistake is, as a rule, only to be resorted to in the last extremity. In the case of no. (23), however, which almost certainly falls within the period of the first assimilation of the two calendars, a correction of the reading or interpretation of a group of hieroglyphic signs is necessary, and we have placed the wrong series of correspondences in brackets after the right ones. Where, as in nos. (2), (20), (30), and perhaps (4), double dates mention two months but only one day, which uniformly follows the Egyptian month, we have not assumed that the writer intended to imply that the number of the day of the Macedonian month was the same; cf. the discussion of no. (2). Still less is there any justification for supposing in the correspondences of Egyptian and Macedonian months in which no days are mentioned at all, nos. (3), (11), (12), and (15), that these months exactly coincided. That such correspondences were not intended to be more than approximate is in itself far more likely, and is indicated not only by the evidence of nos. (12) and (15) but still more clearly by P. Magd. 32, where *Δαισίου Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Ἀθύρ* occurs in l. 4 of the petition, while in the docket on the verso Daisius 27 = Athur 29. Hence in the Table the figures of the days are purposely omitted in connexion with those two classes of double dates.

From the Egyptian calendar year of 12 months and 365 days beginning on Thoth 1 and the Macedonian year of 12 months and 354 days (with an uncertain number of intercalary days in addition) beginning on Dius 1, must

No. . . . Reign . . . Year . . .	(1) Alex. (B.C. 323)	(2) Philad. 22	(3) Philad. 27	(4) Philad. 29	(5) Philad. 35	(6) Philad. 36	(7) Euerg. 9
1 Dius	14 Meso.	Thot.	Phao.	Phao.	12 Athu.	3 Athu.	12 Choi.
1 Apellaeus . .	8 Thot.	Phao.	Athu.	Athu.	11 Choi.	2 Choi.	11 *Tubi*
1 Audnaeus . .	8 Phao.	Athu.	Choi.	Choi.	11 Tubi	2 Tubi	11 Mech.
1 Peritius . . .	7 Athu.	Choi.	Tubi	*Tubi*	10 Mech.	1 Mech.	10 Pham.
1 Dystrus . . .	7 Choi.	Tubi	Mech.	Mech.	10 Pham.	1 Pham.	10 Phar.
1 Xandicus . .	6 Tubi	*Mech.* (?)	Pham.	Pham.	9 Phar.	30 Pham.	9 Pach.
1 Artemisius . .	6 Mech.	Pham.	Phar.	Phar.	9 Pach.	30 Phar.	9 Paun.
1 Daisius . . .	5 Pham.	Phar.	Pach.	Pach.	8 Paun.	29 *Pach.*	8 Epei.
1 Panemus . .	5 *Phar.* (?)	Pach.	Paun.	Paun.	8 Epei.	29 Paun.	8 Meso.
1 Loius . . .	4 Pach.	Paun.	Epei.	Epei.	7 Meso.	28 Epei.	2 Thot.
1 Gorpiaeus . .	4 Paun.	Epei.	*Meso.*	Meso.	2 Thot.	28 Meso.	2 Phao.
1 Hyperberetaeus	3 Epei.	Meso.	Thot.	Thot.	1 *Phao.*	22 Thot.	1 Athu.

No. . . . Reign . . . Year . . .	(16) Philop. 1	(17) Philop. 4	(18) Philop. 4	(19) (Philop.?) 9	(20) Epiph. 4	(21) Epiph. 9
1 Dius	25 Mech.	12 Phar.	22 *Pham.*	18 Pach.	Pach.	18 Thot.
1 Apellaeus . .	24 Pham.	11 Pach.	21 Phar.	17 Paun.	Paun.	17 Phao.
1 Audnaeus . .	24 Phar.	11 Paun.	21 Pach.	17 Epei.	*Epei.*	17 Athu.
1 Peritius . . .	23 Pach.	10 Epei.	20 Paun.	16 Meso.	Meso.	16 Choi.
1 Dystrus . . .	23 Paun.	10 Meso.	20 Epei.	11 Thot.	Thot.	16 Tubi
1 Xandicus . .	22 Epei.	4 Thot.	19 Meso.	10 Phao.	Phao.	15 *Mech.*
1 Artemisius . .	22 Meso.	4 Phao.	14 Thot.	10 Athu.	Athu.	15 Pham.
1 Daisius . . .	16 Thot.	3 *Athu.* (?)	13 Phao.	9 Choi.	Choi.	14 Phar.
1 Panemus . .	16 Phao.	3 Choi.	13 Athu.	9 Tubi	Tubi	14 Pach.
1 Loius . . .	15 Athu.	2 Tubi	12 Choi.	8 Mech.	Mech.	13 Paun.
1 Gorpiaeus . .	15 Choi.	2 Mech.	12 Tubi	8 Pham.	Pham.	13 Epei.
1 Hyperberetaeus	14 *Tubi*	1 Pham.	11 Mech.	7 *Phar.*	Phar.	12 Meso.

(8) (Euerg.) ?	(9) (Euerg.) 16	(10) Euerg. 21	(11) (Euerg.) ?	(12) (Euerg.) ?	(13) Euerg. 25	(14) Euerg. 25	(15) Euerg. 25–6
19 Tubi	18 Mech.	6 Mech.	Tubi	Pham.	28 Mech.	(27) Mech.	Mech.
18 Mech.	17 Pham.	5 Pham.	Mech.	Phar.	27 Pham.	(26) Pham.	Pham.
18 Pham.	17 Phar.	5 Phar.	Pham.	Pach.	27 Phar.	(26) *Phar.*	Phar.
17 Phar.	16 Pach.	4 Pach.	Phar.	*Paun.*	26 Pach.	(25) Pach.	Pach.
17 Pach.	16 Paun.	4 *Paun.*	*Pach.*(?)	*Epei.*	26 Paun.	(25) Paun.	Paun.
16 Paun.	15 Epei.	3 Epei.	Paun.	*Meso.*	25 Epei.	(24) Epei.	*Epei.*
16 Epei.	15 Meso.	3 Meso.	Epei.	Thot.	25 Meso.	(24) Meso.	Meso.
15 Meso.	9 Thot.	2 Epag.	Meso.	Phao.	19 Thot.	(18) Thot.	Thot.
10 *Thot.*	9 Phao.	27 Thot.	Thot.	Athu.	19 Phao.	(18) Phao.	Phao.
9 Phao.	8 Athu.	26 Phao.	Phao.	Choi.	18 Athu.	(17) Athu.	Athu.
9 Athu.	8 *Choi.*	26 Athu.	Athu.	Tubi	18 *Choi.*	(17) Choi.	Choi.
8 Choi.	7 Tubi	25 Choi.	Choi.	Mech.	17 Tubi	(16) Tubi	Tubi

(22) (Epiph.) 18	(23) Epiph. 23	(24) Epiph. 24	(25–8) Philom. 2, 5, 8, 16	(29) (Philom.) 18	(30) Philom. 24	(31) (Philom.?) 26	(32) Euerg. II. 53
1 Pach.	1 Pach. (1 Paun.)	1 Pach.	1 *Pach.*	24 Pach.	Phar.	3 Pach.	1 Thot.
1 Paun.	1 Paun. (1 Epei.)	1 Paun.	1 *Paun.*	23 Paun.	Pach.	2 Paun.	1 Phao.
1 *Epei.*	1 Epei. (1 Meso.)	1 Epei.	1 Epei.	23 Epei.	Paun.	2 Epei.	1 Athu.
1 Meso.	1 Meso. (1 Thot.)	1 Meso.	1 Meso.	22 *Meso.*	*Epei.*(?)	1 Meso.	1 Choi.
1 Thot.	1 Thot. (1 Phao.)	1 *Thot.*	1 Thot.	17 Thot.	Meso.	1 Epag.	1 Tubi
1 Phao.	1 Phao. (1 Athu.)	1 Phao.	1 Phao.	16 Phao.	Thot.	25 *Thot.*	1 *Mech.*
1 Athu.	1 Athu. (1 Choi.)	1 Athu.	1 *Athu.*	16 Athu.	Phao.	25 Phao.	1 Pham.
1 Choi.	1 Choi. (1 Tubi)	1 Choi.	1 Choi.	15 Choi.	Athu.	24 Athu.	1 Phar.
1 Tubi	1 Tubi (1 Mech.)	1 Tubi	1 Tubi	15 Tubi	Choi.	24 Choi.	1 Pach.
1 Mech.	1 Mech. (1 Pham.)	1 Mech.	1 *Mech.*	14 Mech.	Tubi	23 Tubi	1 Paun.
1 Pham.	1 Pham. (1 *Phar.*)	1 Pham.	1 Pham.	14 Pham.	Mech.	23 Mech.	1 Epei.
1 Phar.	1 Phar. (1 Pach.)	1 Phar.	1 Phar.	13 Phar.	Pham.	22 Pham.	1 Meso.

be carefully distinguished the years of the king's reign, which were with the apparent exception of the rare use of eras (cf. **84** (*b*)) the only kind of years employed for dating purposes. It has been shown by Professor Smyly (*Hermathena*, X. xxv. p. 432) from two Petrie papyri of Euergetes I's reign dated (ἔτους) ια ὡς δ' αἱ πρόσοδοι (ἔτους) ιβ (cf. p. 359) that at any rate in the earlier Ptolemaic period two different systems of reckoning the king's years were in vogue. All that is quite certain about them is that one was employed for revenue purposes (ὡς αἱ πρόσοδοι), and that when the two systems occur together the figure of the revenue year was sometimes larger by one than the figure of the other, which we may call the 'regnal,' year. Smyly is, we think, right in identifying the 'revenue' year with the Egyptian vague year of 365 days beginning with Thoth 1, the balance of days between the king's accession and the following Thoth 1 being reckoned, in accordance with ancient custom, as his 1st year. The starting-point and length of the 'regnal' year are still quite uncertain, and in addition to the revenue and regnal years found in connexion with the Egyptian months there may have been yet another system of reckoning the king's years employed in connexion with the Macedonian months. These intricate questions are discussed in App. ii.

How far the revenue year penetrated into common use in the third and second centuries B.C. is a question which at present cannot be decided. It is noteworthy that even in papyri concerning the revenue administration the revenue year is by no means always found (cf. pp. 360–1); and it is probable that, down to the reign of Epiphanes at any rate, the regnal year was more often employed in dating ordinary documents than the revenue year. There is not a single instance among the dates in our Table in which the king's year is known for certain to be a revenue year; and, since only nos. (3), (4), (6) and (9) occur in documents concerned with the revenues, the presumption with regard to the third century B.C. instances is that in most or possibly even all of them either the regnal or some kind of Macedonian year is meant by the year of the reigning sovereign. This distinction of the regnal from the revenue year, however, does not greatly affect our Table except in the case of dates such as (5) and (6), (13), (14) and (16), (17), and (18), which are close together; but owing to the inevitable complications which surround the conversion of Ptolemaic dates into dates on the Julian calendar (cf. p. 367), we have generally avoided converting the dates in our Table into years B.C. except where the question is of particular importance.

Notes on the Table of Correspondences.

(1) The day of Alexander's death, which took place in B.C. 323, is given by Aristobulus *ap.* Plutarch, *Vita Alex.* 75 as Daisius 30, by the royal ἐφημερίδες (Plutarch, *op. cit.* 76) as Daisius 28 (τρίτῃ φθίνοντος), and by Cod. A of Pseudo-Callisthenes (Müller, *Anhang zu Arrian*, 151) as Pharmouthi 4; cf. Strack's note (*Rhein. Mus.* liii. pp. 416–7). Apart from the questions whether these dates are to be trusted, and how the two conflicting statements found in Plutarch are to be reconciled, it is quite possible that on the establishment of the Ptolemaic regime some modifications were introduced into the Macedonian calendar, and since B.C. 323 falls outside the period with which we are immediately concerned, there is no need to bring this double date into line with those following. But it is worth noting that the correspondence of the two calendars in B.C. 323, which results from the equation of Daisius 30 to Pharmouthi 4, is only different by two months from their correspondence 65 years later found in (3); and the hypothesis that the Macedonian year had in the interval moved the whole way round the Egyptian year (as it nearly does between the 27th year of Philadelphus and the 9th of Epiphanes) is vetoed by **84** (*a*). Line 6 of that papyrus, written about B.C. 300, indicates that Panemus, the month in which a payment is to be made from the new corn-harvest, then corresponded to Pharmouthi, Pachon or Pauni, an equation which agrees remarkably closely with the correspondences of Panemus with Pharmouthi in B.C. 323, and with Pauni and Epeiph in the latter part of Philadelphus' reign, as shown by nos. (3), and (4); cf. **86**. 3, note. It is fairly certain that between B.C. 300 and the middle of Philadelphus' reign the general tendency of the Macedonian months to fall later in the Egyptian year was less marked than in the rest of the third century B.C., and that Soter was more successful than the next three Ptolemies in making the Macedonian year approximately keep pace with the Egyptian. Hence it is not unreasonable to suppose that between B.C. 323 and 300 the average length of the Macedonian year was also maintained at approximately 365 days, though for the reasons stated above we do not wish to lay any stress on the double dates of Alexander's death.

(2) **92**. 6 μηνὸς Ξανδικ[ο]ῦ Αἰγυπτίων μη[ν]ὸ̣ς̣ Μ̣εχ[ὶρ] τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτηι in the 22nd year of Philadelphus. The decipherment of the Egyptian month is very doubtful (cf. note *ad loc.*), but in view of the correspondence of Xandicus with Phamenoth only 5 years later Mecheir would be expected, and no satisfactory alternative reading suggests itself. Με[σο]ρὴ τ[ῆι] in place of μη[ν]ὸ̣ς Μεχ[ὶρ] would necessitate the inference that in these 5 years the Macedonian year gained or lost as

much as 6 months in relation to the Egyptian, a change far more rapid than even that which took place in the reign of Philopator; cf. nos. (18) and (21). But not much reliance can be placed upon this double date until fresh evidence is discovered for the relation of the two calendars about the 22nd year. The omission of the number of the day of the Macedonian month probably does not indicate that it was the same as that of the Egyptian month, i. e. the 14th. The day of the month is often omitted in the dates of early Ptolemaic contracts, e. g. **84** (*a*) and **85**; and in most of the instances in which the day is only given once, nos. (2) and perhaps (4), and the undeciphered protocol of the papyrus discussed in connexion with nos. (11) and (15), there is no independent reason for thinking the days of the two months coincided. It is also significant that in nos. (24)–(28), when the two calendars were temporarily assimilated and the days of the Macedonian and Egyptian months coincided throughout the year, the day of the Macedonian month as well as that of the Egyptian is given in each of those five instances. Even after the final assimilation of the two calendars in the reign of Euergetes II there is as yet no example earlier than the reign of Ptolemy Alexander (P. Leyden O) of a single mention of the day doing duty for both the Macedonian and Egyptian months. With regard to (30) there is some reason for supposing that the day applies to both months, though the inference is far from certain. The only case in which there are really strong grounds for thinking that the number of the day of the Macedonian month, though not stated, coincided with that of the Egyptian month is no. (20), which is almost certainly a remarkably early instance of the use of the assimilated Macedonian calendar introduced by Philopator or Epiphanes. But it would be highly unsafe to generalize from these two examples, which both belong to a period when as regards the Macedonian calendar the conditions were quite different from those which prevailed, so far as is known, until after the 4th year of Philopator.

(3) Rev. Laws lvii. 4–5 = lix. 3–4 μηνὸς Γορπιαίου τοῦ [. . . . Αἰ]γυπτίων Μεσορή; cf. Fr. 6 (*c*). 9–10, where, as Wilcken (*Ost.* I. p. 782) suggests, μηνὸς Δύσ[τρου was probably equated in the same way to μηνὸς Μεχίρ. The year in which Rev. Laws were written was the 27th of Philadelphus, and probably that is the year to which these double dates refer (it was most likely stated in the lacuna after Γορπιαίου τοῦ; but possibly in the case of one or both of them the 28th year may be meant). From the fact that Gorpiaeus and Dystrus are equated to Mesore and Mecheir respectively it must not be inferred that the correspondence was exact, for nos. (12) and (15) clearly show that when the days are omitted the equations are only approximate, and it is very unlikely that if the days in the two calendars at this period were the same in one month,

they would continue to be precisely the same several months later. To suppose that an exact correspondence was maintained throughout a whole year before the first assimilation of the two calendars introduced in the time of Philopator or Epiphanes is so much at variance with the evidence as to be out of the question.

(4) P. Leyden I. 379, a docket on a demotic contract dated in Tubi of the 29th year of Philadelphus, where l. (ἔτους) κθ Περιτίου (ἔτους) κθ Τῦβι (so Smyly from a photograph). The date is generally quoted incorrectly as (ἔτους) κθ Περιτίου κθ Τῦβι β, but the figure, if any, after Τῦβι is wholly uncertain, and between Περιτίου and κθ the sign for (ἔτους) is repeated. The day of the month was therefore not given more than once, if at all, so that the only safe inference to be drawn is that Peritius approximately corresponded to Tubi in the 29th year. This gives the same equation as that found in (3) for the 27th, and shows that no considerable change in the relation of the two calendars had taken place in the interval.

(5) **146** (ἔτους) λε Ὑπερβερεταίου κθ Π[α]ῶπι κθ, the reign being certainly that of Philadelphus. In the interval of 6 years between this and (4) the Macedonian year had lost in reference to the Egyptian to the extent of a number of days which is not likely to exceed 30, since in the 29th year Hyperberetaeus probably coincided in part with Thoth.

(6) **77**. 8 (ἔτους) λϛ Ἀρτεμισίου κγ Παχὼν κβ, the reign being certainly that of Philadelphus. This date is particularly instructive, because it is the earliest of several exceptions to the general tendency of the Macedonian year to revolve at a slower rate than the Egyptian. In the interval between (5) and (6), which may be either 7 months or 1 year and 7 months or 2 years and 7 months (the uncertainties with regard to the use of regnal and revenue years have to be reckoned with; cf. App. ii), the Macedonian year had gained about 9 days at the expense of the Egyptian. This circumstance fits in very well with the view (cf. p. 334) that the Macedonian year, when not subjected to intercalation, was shorter by some days than the Egyptian. If the Macedonian year when left to itself contained 365–9 = 356 days, the absence of any intercalation at all between the dates of (5) and (6) might, on the assumption that those documents were written in successive Macedonian years, bring about the correspondence found in (6); on the supposition, which is on general grounds more probable, that it contained 354 days, there remains a difference of two days (11 − 9 = 2) to be accounted for by intercalation in the Macedonian year or otherwise.

(6 *a*) Unpublished Tebtunis papyrus (Mummy 8) (ἔτους) η Γορπιαίου β [Φ]αῶφι ζ. This double date was deciphered by Smyly too late to be included in our Table. The reign is no doubt that of Euergetes, for the correspondence implied by (6 *a*) only differs by four days from that implied by (7), which was written in

his 9th year. In the 8th year of Euergetes therefore the approximate dates for the beginnings of the Macedonian months are Dius 1 = Choiak 16; Apellaeus 1 = Tubi 15; Audnaeus 1 = Mecheir 15; Peritius 1 = Phamenoth 14; Dystrus 1 = Pharmouthi 14; Xandicus 1 = Pachon 13; Artemisius 1 = Pauni 13; Daisius 1 = Epeiph 12; Panemus 1 = Mesore 12; Loius 1 = Thoth 6; Gorpiaeus 1 = *Phaophi* 6; Hyperberetaeus 1 = Athur 5. In the interval of 10 years between (6) and (6 *a*) the Macedonian year had lost about 43 days, which indicates that the intercalations had been larger than those in the period before the middle of Philadelphus' reign, but much smaller than those in the next 7 years of Euergetes; cf. (1) and (9).

(7) Canopus Inscr. l. 3 *μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου ἑβδόμηι Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Τῦβι ἑπτακαιδεκάτηι* in the 9th year of Euergetes. As in the case of (5) and (6), which are separated only by a short interval, the Macedonian year had gained 9 days instead of losing, so here a comparison of (7) with (6 *a*) shows that the Macedonian year had gained 4 days in the interval, which may be 3 months, 1 year and 3 months, or 2 years and 3 months.

(8) P. Petrie I. 24 (1) *Δ]αισίου κγ Θωὺθ β*. As will be seen from the Table, the most suitable place for this third century date is between the 10th and 15th years of Euergetes; but between the 16th year and the 21st the Macedonian year regained some of the days which it had lost, and if the correspondence implied by (11) ever took place and occurred between the 16th and 25th years, (8) may also belong to that period. This is however less probable; cf. our remarks on (11).

(9) P. Petrie III. 53 (*s*). 13–4 (*ἔτους*) *ις Γορπιαίου δ Χοίαχ ια*. The reign is probably that of Euergetes. In the 7 years therefore which had elapsed between (7) and (9) the Macedonian year had lost 66 days.

(10) P. Petrie III. 21 (*g*). 11 (*ἔτους*) *κα̣ Δύστρ[ο]υ ις Παῦνι ιθ*, the reign being certainly that of Euergetes. The reading of the second figure of the year is not certain. It is more like *β*, but in l. 11 of the fragmentary second copy of 21 (*g*) *κα* is clear, so that it is safer to adopt the 21st year, especially as the figures of the reign at the beginning of the papyrus in l. 1 are probably *κβ*, not *κε*, and the date in l. 11 occurs in a quotation from an older document. In the interval of about 5 years between (9) and (10) the Macedonian years instead of losing had gained 12 days. This marked exception to their usual tendency is more striking than the three similar instances in nos. (6), (7), and (16), which are separated by probably less than two years from nos. (5), (6*a*), and (14) respectively.

(11) In Fr. (*a*) of an unpublished Tebtunis papyrus (Mummy 107), partly deciphered by Professor Smyly, *Δύστρου Αἰγυπτίων Παχώ⟨ν⟩ς* occurs in a contract.

This long papyrus is in several pieces, of which the order is uncertain. On the recto are a series of copies or abstracts of contracts, each headed by the number of the day and in some cases by the month, but with no statement of the year. In Fr. (*b*) is an agreement for a loan of wheat and money in which the sentence ἃς ἀποδώσει ἐν Ξανδικῶι Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Μεσορή occurs. The same correspondence as Xandicus = Mesore is also implied by ἐν μηνὶ Δ̣ύ̣[στ]ρωι Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Ἐπείφ in a contract in Fr. (*c*), and by Περειτίου Παῦν[ι found in Fr. (*d*). These three equations form our no. (12), and are different by two months from the correspondence found in (11). On the verso of Fr. (*c*) is a lease dated in the 25th year of Euergetes, in the protocol of which the months were given in both calendars but have not yet been deciphered, the day being τ̣ε̣τ̣ρ̣ά̣δ̣ι̣ καὶ εἰκάδι, while one of the provisions of the contract is that the rent shall be paid ἐν μηνὶ Ξανδικῶι Αἰγ[υπτίων] δὲ Ἐπείφ (no. (15) of the Table). Probably this clause refers to the 26th year, not to the 25th, since in the preceding line Ξανδικοῦ Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Ἐπεὶφ τοῦ ἕκτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους occurs. The equation of Xandicus to Epeiph in the 26th year causes no particular difficulty; cf. our remarks on (15). But the question of the period to which the several equations on the recto of the papyrus, Dystrus = Pachon, our no. (11), and Dystrus = Epeiph, our no. (12), belong is more obscure, and is complicated by the fact that, as in (15), the correspondences are probably anticipatory. The circumstance that the series of contracts in which they are found is dated only by days of the month suggests that these documents were drawn up at no distant time from each other, and seeing that a lease written in the 25th year occurs on the verso, the dates to which the documents on the recto refer are probably not later than that year. There would be no difficulty in assigning no. (12) by itself to about the 25th year, since, though Dystrus then apparently began in Pauni, the greater part of it coincided with Epeiph, so that it might be equated to either Pauni or Epeiph. On the other hand no. (11), in which the general correspondence of the months in the two calendars is the same as that implied by no. (8), is most conveniently placed, like no. (8), between the 9th and 16th years of Euergetes; but in that case, if (12) belongs to the 25th year, there is a difference of several years between the dates of the contracts on the recto of the papyrus, which is not at all a satisfactory hypothesis. The inconsistency of 2 months between the equations in nos. (11) and (12) can however only be explained in two other ways. One of the two correspondences may be wrong (which would be certainly (11), an equation attested by only one instance against three for (12)); or the interval between (11) and (12) may be quite short, but in the course of it an intercalation of about 60 days was introduced into the Macedonian year in addition to the number of days (11, as we suppose)

necessary to make up the difference between the Macedonian and Egyptian year. Seeing that in both (11) and (12) the correspondences are probably approximate and anticipatory and need not have actually taken place, there is more justification than usual for supposing a miscalculation in one of them. But considering the irregularities of the Macedonian calendar, the possibility of a sudden large intercalation cannot be excluded; and provisionally (11) and (12) may be assigned to some year or years between the 9th and 25th of Euergetes. The period from the 9th to the 21st years would not be so appropriate as that from the 21st to the 25th, because the latter period suits (12), which has better evidence than (11), and less disturbance is caused by placing (11) after (10) than by placing (12) before (10). The correspondences implied by (11) and (12) being in any case approximate are quite consistent with those found in (10) and (13) respectively; the whole difficulty is caused by the apparent shortness of the interval between (11) and (12) and the uncertainty as to which of the two is the earlier.

(12) Unpublished Tebtunis papyrus (Mummy 107), Fr. (*b*) Ξανδικῶι Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Μεσορή, confirmed by two other correspondences; cf. (11).

(13) P. Magd. 2, 4 and 6 (cf. *Deuxième Série*, p. 205) (ἔτους) κε Λω(ί)ου κϛ Χοίακ ιγ, the reign being certainly that of Euergetes, since Diophanes is mentioned; cf. (14). The Macedonian years had thus in the 4 years' interval between (10) and (13) resumed their tendency to lose, the amount of the loss being 22 days, though if (11) and (12) are rightly placed between (10) and (13) and the correspondence implied by (11) is trustworthy (which is far from certain), some rapid changes seem to have taken place in the interval; cf. our remarks on (11). The relation of the calendars is only different by the trifling amount of one day from that found in (14). But what is the interval between (13) and (14), and which of the two is the earlier? Both papyri were written in the 25th year, and of course if this year was in both cases the revenue year which began on Thoth 1, the answer would be easy, viz. that (13), which was written in Choiak, was 4 months earlier than (14), which was written in Pharmouthi. But unfortunately since neither papyrus is concerned with revenues, the presumption is that the 25th year is in both cases regnal, or at any rate not a revenue year. The question of the priority of (13) or (14) will then depend upon the starting-point of the 25th regnal year. If it was Thoth 1, (13) is still 4 months earlier than (14); if it was Dius 1 or Dius 25, the probable date of Euergetes' accession (cf. p. 364), (14) being written in Apellaeus is 8 months older than (13) which was written in Loius. And since the starting-point of the 25th regnal year is not confined to those alternatives, it is wholly uncertain whether (13) or (14) is the earlier.

(14) P. Petrie II. 2. (2) (=III. 28 (*b*)), verso 1 (ἔτους) κε Ἀπελλαίου ια Φαρμοῦθι ϛ; cf. II. 2. (3) (= III. 28 (*c*)), verso 1 (ἔτους) κε Ἀπελλαίου ια Φαρμοῦθι ϛ. The reigning sovereign was supposed by Mahaffy to be Philadelphus, by Grenfell (Rev. Laws, p. 162), and P. M. Meyer (*Heerwesen*, p. 51) to be Euergetes I, by Strack (*Rhein. Mus.*, *l. c.*) to be Epiphanes. The Magdola papyri frequently mention the same strategus, Diophanes, who occurs in P. Petrie II. 2. (2) and (3), and he appears in a papyrus (*Deuxième Série*, no. 23, p. 174; cf. p. 205) in which the 26th year is clearly shown to be the last of a reign, and which therefore leaves no doubt that the 25th and 26th years in connexion with Diophanes refer to Euergetes I and the 1st and 4th years to Philopator. It is possible that (14) is really earlier than (13); see above.

(15) Unpublished Tebtunis papyrus (Mummy 107, Fr. (*c*), verso); cf. no. (11). The equation Ξανδικῶι . . . Ἐπείφ refers to the 26th year, but the contract in which it occurs was written in the 25th year, the day of the month in the protocol being given only once, and the names of both months being illegible. If the person who drew up the contract expected Xandicus to correspond exactly with Epeiph, his anticipation was almost certainly not fulfilled, for the dates in (13), (14), and (16), which are very close to (15), combine to indicate that Xandicus in both the 25th and 26th years began after Epeiph 20; it is therefore probable that the equation of Xandicus to Epeiph was not intended to be more than approximate. The equation would become more natural if we could infer from the absence of the day of the Macedonian month in the protocol that it was the same as that of the Egyptian. But the evidence does not justify that inference; cf. our remarks on (2).

(16) P. Magd. 16, 20–3, and 33 (ἔτους) α Γορπιαίου κη Τῦβι ιβ and P. Magd. 14, 15, 18, 19, 25, and 34 (ἔτους) α Γορπιαίου λ Τῦβι ιγ, the reign being certainly that of Philopator; cf. nos. (13) and (14). The apparent discrepancy of a day in these two series of double dates is probably due to the fact that Gorpiaeus contained only 29 days and that the last day of the month was called the 30th; cf. p. 334. Comparing (16) with (13) and (14) the Macedonian year has, instead of losing, gained 2 or 3 days upon the Egyptian, a phenomenon which considering that the interval is in any case very short is not surprising; cf. the 9 days' difference in the calendars implied by (5) and (6). The question of the interval between (14) and (16) is embarrassed, as usual, by complications caused by the two systems of reckoning the king's years; cf. App. ii. Jouguet and Lefebvre (P. Magd. *Deuxième Série*, p. 205) follow the ordinary practice of editors in regarding (ἔτους) α as the balance between Philopator's accession and the following Thoth 1, and hence naturally infer that Philopator came to the throne before Tubi 12, i.e. Feb. 26, B.C. 221. But, as in the case of (13) and

(14), the presumption is rather that the regnal not the revenue year is meant by (ἔτους) α, and if so we cannot, owing to the uncertainty concerning the starting-point and length of Philopator's 1st regnal year, attribute Τῦβι ιβ to B. C. 221 rather than to B. C. 220. Some stronger evidence for determining the date of Philopator's accession would now seem to be available in P. Petrie III. 141, which indicates that this event took place after Choiak of Euergetes' 25th regnal year and not later than the following Pauni; cf. p. 363. The interval between (13) and (16) may be 1 month or 13 months or even 2 years and 1 month; that between (14) and (16) 9 months or 1 year and 9 months or even 2 years and 9 months.

(17) P. Magd. 7, 8, 13, and 26–32 (ἔτους) δ Δαισίου κζ Ἀθὺρ κθ, the reign being certainly Philopator's; cf. (14). In the interval of about 3 years between (16) and (17) the Macedonian year had apparently lost 47 days. There is, however, a notable inconsistency between the double dates in (17) and (18) which both belong to the 4th year, and the correctness of the figures κθ in (17) is open to doubt; cf. (18).

(18) P. Magd. 12. 14 and verso 1, and 39. verso 1, where in all three cases l. (ἔτους) δ Δίου γ Φαμενὼθ κδ̣ (δ̣ corr. from η), the originals having been revised by Smyly and Grenfell. As in the case of (13) and (14), so with regard to (17) and (18) it is uncertain not only what is the interval between the pair but which of the two dates is the earlier. Assuming that the '4th year' is the same in both instances, which is probable in any case, since the double dates in the Magdola papyri were written in the same office, (18) may be either about 4 months later than (17) or about 8 months earlier, according to the day on which the 4th year is supposed to have begun. If (17) comes before (18) the Macedonian year would seem to have gained 20 days in about 4 months; if (18) precedes (17) it would seem to have lost 20 days in about 8 months. To account for so large a discrepancy between the relations of the two calendars in what is, apparently, so short an interval is very difficult; and it is therefore tempting, as Smyly suggests, to make (17) consistent with (18) by supposing that Ἀθὺρ κθ in (17) is an error for Ἀθὺρ θ, due perhaps to the presence of κ in the number of the Macedonian month, or else to suppose an error in (18) where the figures of the Egyptian month have certainly been altered. But there are no less than ten instances of Ἀθὺρ κθ, and though they are all written by the same person, the repetition of the date goes some way to confirm its correctness. Moreover, although with so complicated a system of reckoning as that which prevailed before the assimilation of the Macedonian to the Egyptian year the extant double dates are unlikely to be free from errors, the evidence is still too imperfect and the irregularities of the Macedonian calendar too

numerous to make the supposition of error a satisfactory explanation of inconsistencies.

(19) Inscr. on a vase found at Alexandria, Nerutsos, *Rev. Arch.* 1887, p. 62, (ἔτους) θ Ὑπερβερεταίου α̣ Φαρμοῦθι ζ. The day of the Macedonian month has been read as both α and λ; we adopt α, which Strack prefers. The reigning sovereign was considered to be Euergetes by Nerutsos, Philadelphus by Merriam (*Amer. Journ. of Arch.* i. p. 22), Wilcken (*Gött. gel. Anz.* 1895, p. 142), and Strack, partly on the ground that the Delphic Soteria mentioned in another inscription of the same year found with this one were instituted shortly before the 9th year of Philadelphus, partly because that festival took place in every 4th year of an Olympiad (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*[1] 149 and 150), and the 9th years of Euergetes and Philopator were considered not to be the 4th years of an Olympiad, while in the 9th year of Epiphanes, which was, the relation of the two calendars was shown by the Rosetta Inscr. to be different. The reign of Euergetes may now be dismissed as quite unsuitable, but there are good reasons for attributing the inscription to Philopator or Epiphanes rather than to Philadelphus. The second argument in favour of Philadelphus proceeds on the assumption, which until recently was unquestioned, that this 9th year began on Thoth 1, and was what is now known as a revenue year. It is true that the 9th revenue year of Philopator, i. e. according to the ordinary reckoning B. C. 214–3, was not the 4th of an Olympiad, but his 9th regnal year, which probably corresponded in the main to his 10th revenue year, i. e. B. C. 213–2 (cf. p. 367), fulfils, as Smyly remarks, the required condition. The other argument for attributing the inscription to Philadelphus' reign, the circumstance that the Soteria at Delphi were instituted shortly before the 9th year of Philadelphus, is not at all conclusive, and the choice between the reigns of Philadelphus and Philopator must be decided mainly by the double date. In the absence of any direct and certain evidence of the relation of the calendars before the 27th year of Philadelphus, any correspondence is possible in his 9th year; but if (19) is placed in that reign it is necessary to infer that the Macedonian year lost over 4 months in the 18 years' interval between it and (3). This would imply more extensive intercalation than is attested for any other period of 18 years before the reign of Philopator, and moreover such evidence as we possess with regard to the movement of the Macedonian year before the 27th year of Philadelphus indicates that its changes in regard to the Egyptian were gradual and comparatively slow; cf. nos. (1) and (2). On the other hand a comparison of (17) or (18) with (21) suggests that in Philopator's reign the Macedonian year changed very quickly its relation to the Egyptian, and that the relation of the two calendars found in (19), when Dius 1 fell in the middle of Pachon, is one which is extremely

suitable as an intervening stage between the 4th year of Philopator when Dius 1 fell in Phamenoth or Pharmouthi and the 9th of Epiphanes when it fell in Thoth. Hence, if the choice lies between Philadelphus and Philopator, we prefer to regard (19) as written in the 9th regnal year of Philopator on May 19, B.C. 212, and to suppose that in the 5 years' interval between (19) and (18) the Macedonian year lost 56 days, or, comparing (17) with (19), 36 days. But the great divergence in the relation of the two calendars indicated by (19) and the Rosetta Inscr., our no. (21), respectively is no longer a sufficient reason for refusing to attribute (19) to the 9th year of Epiphanes, since the discovery of (20); for in that surprising double date of the 4th year of Epiphanes the relation of the Egyptian to the Macedonian calendar is nearly identical with that shown by (19). (20) is best explained (see below) on the view that the first attempt to reform the Macedonian calendar in Egypt by equating Dystrus to Thoth and the other months to correspond had then already been made, although the omission of the number of the day in the case of the Macedonian month prevents us from being absolutely certain that (20) is an example of the assimilated Macedonian calendar. From the 4th to the 9th years of Epiphanes, therefore, the reformed and unreformed Macedonian years seem to have been running side by side; and if in (19) the days of the Macedonian and Egyptian months were the same there would be no difficulty in assigning it to the 9th year of Epiphanes, and treating it as an example of the reformed calendar, while in the Rosetta Inscr. the Macedonian month is given on the unreformed calendar. There is, as stated above, a doubt about the reading of the figure of the Macedonian month in (19), but it seems unlikely to be the same as the figure of the Egyptian month; and since to attribute (19) to the reign of Epiphanes without at the same time supposing that the Macedonian month is on the reformed calendar would produce much complication, the reign of Philopator is on the whole the most suitable.

(20) Unpublished Tebtunis papyrus (Mummy 6) *βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων ἔτους τετάρτου . . . μηνὸς Αὐδναίου Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Ἐπεὶφ [πε]ντεκαιδεκάτηι.* It is unfortunate that in this very remarkable double date the omission of the number of the day in connexion with the Macedonian month introduces a slight element of uncertainty into the precise relation of the calendars implied. But in view of the complete coincidence of Audnaeus with Epeiph on the assimilated Macedonian calendar, which had certainly been introduced by the 24th year of Epiphanes (cf. (24)), and probably by the 18th year (cf. (22)), there is not much doubt that in (20) *[πε]ντεκαιδεκάτηι* applies to both months, not merely to the Egyptian, in spite of the fact that in the earlier instances where the figure of the day is only stated once a similar

inference is unjustifiable; cf. our remarks on (2). This being granted, two conclusions are almost inevitable: firstly, the date at which the Macedonian calendar was first assimilated to the Egyptian by equating Dystrus to Thoth and the other months to correspond must now be put back into the period preceding the 4th year of Epiphanes, which is the date of (20); secondly, on account of the wholly different relation of the Macedonian and Egyptian months found in the Rosetta Inscr., which is 5 years later than (20), the reformed and unreformed Macedonian calendars must for some years, perhaps throughout the whole period of the first assimilation, have run on concurrently. These conclusions present no special difficulty, for the fact that the earlier identification of the two calendars ultimately failed and irregularities again occur in the reign of Philometor shows that the obstacles to a reform of the Macedonian calendar were very serious; and the new system according to which the Macedonian months from Dystrus to Peritius became mere equivalents of the Egyptian months from Thoth to Mesore may well have failed to command universal acceptance, and to deprive even temporarily the old Macedonian year of independent existence. In any case the explanation of (20) as an example of the assimilated calendar, a view which is based on the assumption that [πε]ντεκαιδεκάτηι applies to both months, is more satisfactory than the rival hypothesis that the figures were really different or, if identical in Audnaeus-Epeiph, were yet different in the other months. If that were the case, not only must the nearness of the relation of the two months in (20) to their relation under the assimilated calendar be regarded as a mere accident, but since there would no longer be any reason for supposing that the earlier reform of the calendar was introduced before the date of the Rosetta Inscr., it would be necessary to maintain that in the interval of about 5 years between (20) and (21) Dius 1 moved on from some date in Pachon to the middle of Thoth, i.e. that the Macedonian year had lost more than 100 days. That in the interval of about 21 years between the 4th year of Philopator, as illustrated by (18), and the 9th year of Epiphanes, to which (21) belongs, the Macedonian year shifted its position in relation to the Egyptian to an extraordinary extent must be admitted on any theory; for the difference between the approximate dates of Dius 1 at the beginning and end of that period amounts to no less than 161 days, of which 125 have to be accounted for in the last 16 years of it, if (19) is correctly dated by us; cf. our remarks on (21). But to suppose a difference exceeding 100 days in the relation of the two calendars within about 5 years would imply a far graver disturbance than can be traced in the same length of time at any other point during the third and second centuries B.C. The choice of a month in the middle of the old Macedonian year instead of Dius to serve as the equivalent of Thoth is remarkable. Perhaps when the two calendars were

identified Dystrus nearly or quite coincided with Thoth. If so, the change would seem to have been introduced not long after the 4th year of Philopator, when, as is shown by (17) and (18), Dystrus fell near the end of the Egyptian year. In the 9th year of Philopator, if (19) is to be attributed to his reign, Dystrus began about Thoth 11. It is possible, though not at all likely, that (22), which is an example of the assimilated calendar, belongs to the 18th year of Philopator. But the earlier limit of the period within which the assimilation took place cannot at present be fixed more definitely than Philopator's 4th year, before which there is no evidence of any attempt to equate the Macedonian to the Egyptian months. The later limit of the period is, we think, fixed by (20) at the 4th year of Epiphanes.

(21) Rosetta Inscr. ll. 4–6 *ἔτους ἐνάτου* (of Epiphanes) *μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ τετράδι Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Μεχεὶρ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτηι*. This double date shows that, despite the efforts of the government to reform the calendar by equating the Macedonian months to the Egyptian, the old Macedonian year continued, at first at any rate, to have a separate existence; cf. (20). The changes of the Macedonian year in the two preceding decades had been extraordinarily rapid, for it had lost about 4 months in the 16 years' interval between (19) and (21), and even if (19) is wrongly dated by us, about 6 months in the 21 years' interval between (18) and (21), unless indeed it had gained 6 months. The latter hypothesis is by no means out of the question; for since the reign in the case of (19) is uncertain and in (20), as we have shown, the reformed Macedonian calendar was probably employed, the movements of the Macedonian year in those two decades are extremely obscure; and though from its previous tendency it would be expected to continue to lose ground, absence of intercalations would, on the assumption that it contained 354 days (cf. p. 334), more than account for a gain of 6 months in 21 years. Whether the 6 months were lost or gained, it is clear that some abnormal causes were at work to cause so great a change in the relation of the two calendars in a comparatively short period. That the government had already several years before the date of (21) undertaken the reform of the Macedonian calendar is now made probable by the discovery of (20), and the relationship of the Macedonian and Egyptian calendars in (21) may well be due less to a gradual process of divergence than to a sudden arbitrary alteration in the Macedonian year.

(22) Inscr. of Thera (Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* I. 59) *ἔτους ιη Αὐδναίου ιε Ἐπεῖφι ιε*. This much discussed date has been assigned to the reign of Euergetes on palaeographical grounds by Hiller von Gärtringen, who is followed by Strack and Dittenberger, and to that of Soter I by Mahaffy and formerly Smyly, who recently in *Hermathena*, 1905, pp. 393–8, showed good reasons for attributing

it to the reign of Epiphanes. The correspondence implied by (22) is the same as that which is known to have existed from the 24th year of Epiphanes to the 5th of the joint reign of Philometor, Euergetes, and Cleopatra (which = the 16th of Philometor); and since this can hardly be the result of accident, and the 18th year of Philometor is for various reasons unsuitable, the reign of Epiphanes seemed to be indicated with practical certainty, for the evidence of the Rosetta Inscr. appeared to negative the supposition that the assimilated Macedonian calendar, with which (22) was in accordance, was introduced before the 9th year of Epiphanes. The situation is, however, somewhat altered by the discovery of (20), which shows that in spite of the Rosetta Inscr. the introduction of the assimilated Macedonian calendar probably took place between the 4th year of Philopator and the 4th of Epiphanes; and though the difficulties involved in assigning (22) to the reign of any of the first three Ptolemies are still insuperable, it is possible that (22) belongs to the 18th year of Philopator. This monarch is generally supposed to have entered (though not completed) his 18th year reckoned on the system according to which his years were counted from Thoth 1, and the balance between his accession and the following Thoth 1 was treated as his 1st year. There are, however, several objections to this date for (22). In the first place if his 18th year be reckoned from Thoth 1 it is very doubtful whether Philopator survived as late as Epeiph; cf. p. 362. Secondly, since the system of reckoning the king's year under which Philopator is considered to have entered his 18th year was, as is generally supposed, employed principally for revenue purposes, and the Thera Inscr. is not concerned with the revenues, the presumption is that the 18th year in (22) is calculated on some other system, either Egyptian or Macedonian; cf. App. ii. But if the 18th year in (22) is a 'regnal' year, Philopator is still more unlikely to have been the reigning sovereign, for his 18th regnal year would almost certainly coincide for the greater part, perhaps throughout, with his 19th revenue year, and the received chronology of Philopator's reign is inconsistent with the hypothesis that he entered upon his 19th revenue year at all. Hence we adhere to Smyly's view that (22) belongs to the 18th year of Epiphanes, that being the only reign to which it can be assigned without raising a host of difficulties. From this year up to the 5th year of the joint reign of Philometor, Euergetes II, and Cleopatra, which is illustrated by (28), a period of about 22 years, all the extant double dates are on the assimilated calendar, but irregularities again occur soon after Philometor's return from exile; cf. (29), (30), and (31).

(23) Hieroglyphic stele of Damanhûr (Bouriant, *Recueil de Travaux*, 1885, p. 1) 'Year 23 (of Epiphanes) Gorpiaeus 24 = Pharmouthi 24.' This date, if correct, conflicts with (22) and (24) to the extent of 1 month, but, as Smyly

(*l. c.*) has shown, probably either the hieroglyphic symbols which are supposed to mean 'the fourth month' of its season, i. e. Pharmouthi, ought to be interpreted as 'the third,' i. e. Phamenoth, or the stone-cutter has repeated a sign once too often, and has carved 'the fourth' in place of 'the third.' (23) then falls into line with (22) and (24)–(28).

(24) Unpublished Tebtunis papyrus ἔτους τετάρτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ (of Epiphanes) μηνὸς Δύστρου ὀγδόηι καὶ εἰκάδι Θωὺθ ὀγδόηι καὶ εἰκάδι; cf. Smyly, *l. c.* This is the earliest absolutely certain instance of the assimilation of the two calendars, which probably took place between the 4th year of Philopator and the 4th of Epiphanes; cf. (20).

(25)–(27). (25) P. Amh. 42. 21 ἔτους δ̣[ευ]τ̣έρο[υ] (of Philometor) μηνὸς Δίου ἐνάτη[ι] καὶ εἰκάδι Παχὼν [ἐνάτηι κ]αὶ εἰκάδι, as restored by Krall and Smyly. (26) Unpublished Berlin papyrus quoted by Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 782, Artemisius 7 = Athur 7 in the 5th year of Philometor. (27) P. Amh. 43. 1 ἔτους ὀ̣γ̣δ̣ό̣ου (of Philometor) μηνὸς Λωίου τρεισκαιδεκάτηι Μεχεὶρ τρεισκαιδεκάτηι; cf. l. 8 ἀποδότω . . . ἐν μηνὶ Αὐδ̣υ̣ν̣α̣ίωι Αἰγυπτ[ίω]ν δὲ Ἐπείφ. Cf. (20).

(28) Unpublished Tebtunis papyrus [ἔτους] πέμπτου (of the reign of Philometor, Euergetes II, and Cleopatra) μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου ἐννεακαιδεκάτηι Παῦνι ἐννεακαιδεκάτηι; cf. Smyly, *l. c.* This year, which corresponds to the 16th of Philometor, provides the latest certain date for the continuance of the assimilation introduced by Philopator or Epiphanes; but a still later example is perhaps found in (30).

(29) P. Par. 63. xiii. 14 (ἔτους) ιη Περιτίου δ Μεσορὴ κε. The reign has generally been supposed to be that of Philometor, since Cols. i–vii (which have no connexion with Col. xiii) were written in the 6th and 7th years of the joint reign (which = the 17th and 18th of Philometor), and it has been assumed that Col. xiii was later than Cols. i–vii. It would in that case appear that in the interval of little more than 2 years between (28) and (29) the Macedonian year had broken away from the Egyptian, and that in Peritius–Mesore the Macedonian year was once more behind the Egyptian to the extent of 21 days. Smyly (*l. c.*) objects to this conclusion, and wishes to refer (29) to the reign of Philopator, supposing it to be a copy of an older document. This is a perfectly legitimate hypothesis in the case of a document like P. Par. 63. xiii (a royal rescript) which is anyhow a copy, not an original; but it seems to us unnecessary in the light of nos. (30) and particularly (31), both of which offer prima facie corroboration of the view that disturbances recurred in the Macedonian calendar after Philometor's return from exile. Smyly disposes of (30) by postulating an error of the stone-cutter similar to that which creates a difficulty in connexion with (23), and of (31) because 'it is assigned to

Philometor on conjectural grounds only.' The reasons for considering (31) to be later than the reign of Epiphanes are nevertheless very strong. The date occurs in a second century B.C. papyrus, which is less likely than (29) to be a copy of a much earlier document; secondly, the mention in l. 5 of 'the queen' in addition to 'the king' indicates a second century B.C. date, when the official status of queens was more important than in the third; thirdly, neither Philopator nor Epiphanes entered their 26th year, and the relation of the calendars in the 26th years of Philadelphus and Euergetes I was, so far as is known, different from that implied by (31). Hence the choice of reigns with regard to (31) is practically limited to Philometor and Euergetes II; and if the admission, which in our opinion is absolutely necessary in the case of (31), be once made, that the Macedonian year differed from the Egyptian in the interval between the 16th year of Philometor and the final assimilation of the Macedonian months to the Egyptian, there seems to be no sufficient reason for refusing to admit that (29) also belongs to that interval, especially since the introduction of the reformed Macedonian calendar failed, as (21) shows, to bring about the complete abandonment of the unreformed system, at any rate until after the 9th year of Epiphanes. It is quite possible that both systems continued in use until the second and final assimilation of the Macedonian to the Egyptian calendar took place, although from the 18th year of Epiphanes to the 16th of Philometor the present evidence indicates the employment of only one set of Macedonian months. We prefer therefore to adhere to the ordinary view that (29) belongs to the reign of Philometor, and consider either that in the interval between (28) and (29) the Macedonian year resumed its ancient tendency to lose, or else that the unreformed calendar had never fallen into desuetude, and reasserted itself in (29) (31). In the Table of correspondences we have proceeded on the hypothesis that during the second period of irregularity the Macedonian year had reverted to its supposed former number of 354 days supplemented by intercalations.

(30) Hieroglyphic Inscr. at Philae (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, IV. 27 *b*) 'Year 24 (of Philometor) Peritius = Epeiph 1'. In the absence of a distinct mention of the day of the Macedonian month it is not clear that it coincided with the day of the Egyptian month; cf. p. 340. Smyly (*l. c.*), however, wished to regard it as the same, and brought this correspondence into conformity with those found in the earlier period of assimilation by supposing an error of the stone-cutter similar to that which, as there is good reason to believe, occurs in (23), and by substituting 'the fourth month' (Mesore) for 'the third month' (Epeiph). We, however, are less anxious to get rid of irregularities in the Macedonian year at this period, and prefer to admit that in the 6 years' interval between

(29) and (30) the Macedonian year may have gained considerably upon the Egyptian. The limits of this gain are if Peritius 1 was the day in (30), 51 days, if Peritius 30, as is conceivable since the figure is omitted, 80 days. Less disturbance, therefore, would be caused if the figure 1 refers to both Macedonian and Egyptian months than if the days are different; but on either view it would seem that several years passed without intercalations, or a large deduction was made from the Macedonian year at one or more points. If Smyly's suggestion that Epeiph in (30) is an error for Mesore be combined with our view that the calendar again became irregular in Philometor's reign, the first assimilated calendar may be supposed to have continued in use until the introduction of the second.

(31) P. Par. 60. recto 4 (ἔτους) κϛ Ξανδικοῦ α Θωὺθ κε. The day of the Macedonian month might be λ or, less probably, δ. The view of Brunet de Presle, the first editor, that the reign of Philometor is meant, is supported by Strack, but has recently been called in question by Smyly (*l. c.*). As we have stated in connexion with (29), the objections to referring (31) to an earlier reign than Philometor's seem to be overwhelming, and on the other hand, since both the 26th year of Ptolemy Alexander is palaeographically, though possible, not a very suitable date for the papyrus, and an extant double date in that year (P. Leyden O) is in accordance with the later assimilation of the two calendars, the choice really lies between the reigns of Philometor and Euergetes II. Brunet de Presle justly prefers Philometor on the ground that the Dioscurides and two Dorions mentioned in P. Par. 61 may well be identical with the dioecetes Dioscurides and epimeletes Dorion who are mentioned in other Serapeum papyri in the 24th year of Philometor, and the Dorion who is known from P. Par. 63 as hypodioecetes in the 7th year of the joint reign of Philometor with his brother and sister (which = the 18th of Philometor). But since the 26th year of Euergetes II is only 11 years later than the 26th of Philometor it is impossible to decide between the two reigns with any degree of certainty. Contrasting (31) with (29), which is a little more than 7 or perhaps 18 years earlier, the Macedonian year had reverted nearly to its relation towards the Egyptian year under the assimilated calendar.

(32) P. Tebt. 25. 7 ἔτους νγ Ξαν(δικοῦ) ιζ Μεχεὶρ ιζ. This is the earliest instance yet found of the second and final assimilation of the two calendars, introduced probably by Euergetes II, who with greater success than the author of the first assimilation deprived the Macedonian year of a separate existence by equating Dius to Thoth and the other months to correspond. Henceforth the Macedonian months, though often inserted in contracts far into the Roman period, became a useless appendage of their Egyptian equivalents.

We give below in tabular form a list of the differences between the relations of the Macedonian and Egyptian years implied by the double dates, leaving out of account those correspondences in which the day is not given on both calendars, and those which are on the assimilated calendar introduced in the interval between (18) and (20). The losses or gains of the Macedonian year (the sign for *minus* means that it had lost, i. e. gone slower than the Egyptian year, the sign for *plus* that it had gained, i. e. gone faster) are calculated on the hypothesis that it contained apart from intercalations 354 days.

Interval between	Approx. no. of Egyptian years.	Gain or loss of Macedonian year in days.
(1) and (5)	73 years	−93 (?)
(5) and (6)	1 year and 7 months (?)	+9
(6) and (6 *a*)	10 years	−43
(6 *a*) and (7)	1 year and 3 months (?)	+4
(7) and (9)	7 years	−66
(9) and (10)	5 "	+12
(10) and (13)	4 "	−22
(13) and (14)	4 months (?)	+1
(14) and (16)	1 year and 1 month (?)	+2
(16) and (17)	3 years	−47
(17) and (18)	4 months (?)	+20
(18) and (19)	5 years (?)	−56
(19) and (21)	16 " (?)	−125
(18) and (21)	22 "	−181 or +184
(21) and (29)	24 "	+119 (?)
(29) and (31)	7 " (18 years ?)	+21

We conclude with a summary of the chief results of our inquiry into this complicated subject.

(1) The irregularities of the Macedonian calendar fall into two main sections, according as they are earlier or later than the introduction of the temporary system by which the Macedonian months beginning with Dystrus were equated to the Egyptian months beginning with Thoth.

(2) The earliest certain example of the use of this system is no. (24), which belongs to the 24th year of Epiphanes, but there is good reason to believe that it had already been introduced by the 4th year of Epiphanes; cf. no. (20). Since there is no indication of its employment in the evidence down to the 4th year of Philopator, the date of the first assimilation of the Macedonian to the Egyptian months is to be attributed to the period of 18 years between the 4th year of

Philopator and the 4th of Epiphanes. The latest certain example of the use of the assimilated Macedonian calendar is provided by no. (28), written in the 5th year of the reign of Philometor, Euergetes II, and Cleopatra, which = the 16th year of Philometor; but possibly no. (30), which is 8 years later than (29), is on the same system, and that system may even have survived until the introduction of the second assimilation by which the Macedonian months from Dius onwards were equated to the Egyptian months beginning with Thoth.

(3) There is no justification for such a hypothesis as Strack's that there were two sets of Egyptian months with the same names, making (1) the ordinary vague year of 365 days which starts from Thoth 1, and (2) a fixed year of 365¼ days reckoned from the rising of Sirius on July 19, and two sets of Macedonian months with the same names making years of unknown length starting approximately from the spring and autumn equinoxes, a hypothesis which accounts for dates on two calendars only by throwing all dates on one calendar into chaos. The view of Krall that the Egyptian months in documents of the Ptolemaic period are, so far as we know, all reckoned by the vague year of 365 days is sound, and there is no reason to suppose the existence of more than one set of Macedonian months before the introduction of the first assimilated Macedonian calendar between the 4th year of Philopator and the 4th year of Epiphanes.

(4) The Macedonian year was probably a lunar one of 354 days, the 12 months from Dius to Hyperberetaeus containing alternately 29 and 30 days. Without any intercalations or deductions, it was thus 11 days shorter than the Egyptian vague year.

(5) In order to make up for this difference between the two calendars the Macedonian year was subjected to frequent intercalations, the effect of which was to make it on the average longer than the Egyptian year. Hence, before the first period of assimilation, the general tendency of Dius 1 is gradually to fall later in the Egyptian year, so that at the end of the 32 years' period between the 35th year of Philadelphus (5) and the 4th of Philopator (17) the relation of the Macedonian calendar to the Egyptian was different by 150 days from what it had been at the beginning.

(6) No consistent method of intercalation in the Macedonian year was maintained through a series of years; the irregularities are such that the number of intercalated days seems to have varied from year to year. The principles on which the number was fixed by the government and the place in the year at which the days were inserted are quite uncertain; but a whole month was sometimes intercalated; cf. p. 334.

(7) In opposition to the general tendency of the Macedonian year to lose,

there are before the first assimilation four cases, (6), (7), (10), and (16), and perhaps three more, (11), (13), and (18), in which the sequence of Egyptian days corresponding to Dius 1 is broken, and the Macedonian year has in comparison with the immediately preceding correspondence gained instead of losing. Of these seven apparent exceptions to the general rule nos. (6), (7), (10), and (16) cause no great difficulty, because the number of days gained by the Macedonian year is in all four instances less than the amount that it would necessarily gain if there had been no intercalations in the year or, in the case of (10), the years preceding. The exceptional character of (11) is caused by its being placed after (9); but the correspondence is of an anticipatory character which may never have actually occurred, and the position assigned to this date, on the ground of the supposed shortness of the interval between it and (12), which is most conveniently placed immediately before (13), is very uncertain. The correspondence in (11), moreover, being only approximate, may be the same as that indicated by (10), and if (10) and (11) refer to the same year, (11) would cause no more difficulty than (10). As for (13), the break which it makes in the sequence is more apparent than real, for since in the year to which it refers Dius 1 fell near the end of Mecheir, the fact that in (12) Dius approximately corresponded to Phamenoth is in no way inconsistent with the hypothesis that between (12) and (13) the Macedonian year was, as usual, losing or at least not gaining. By far the most serious exception to the rule that the Macedonian year tends to lose would seem to arise in (18), which, if it is 4 months later than (17), indicates that in that interval the Macedonian year had gained no less than 20 days. Whether this is due to an error in the figures in (17) or (18) or to the sudden omission of 20 days in the Macedonian year is doubtful.

(8) The changes in the relation of the Macedonian to the Egyptian year are more rapid in the early parts of the reigns of Euergetes and Philopator than in the later parts of the reigns of Philadelphus and Euergetes.

(9) After the assimilation of the Macedonian months to the Egyptian introduced between the 4th year of Philopator and the 4th year of Epiphanes, irregular correspondences, which imply the existence of a distinct Macedonian year, are occasionally found. Of these (21), of the 9th year of Epiphanes, is best explained on the hypothesis that, side by side with the reformed Macedonian calendar, the old Macedonian year was still running, its movements in relation to the Egyptian year during the interval between (17) and (21) having been exceptionally rapid. After (21) there follows a period of about 21 years (from the 18th year of Epiphanes to the 5th year of the joint reign of Philometor, Euergetes II, and Cleopatra), during which, if Smyly's correction in no. (23) be

accepted, all the extant double dates, (22)–(28), exhibit the assimilated calendar, and the old Macedonian year may have then fallen into complete disuse. But soon after Philometor's return from exile irregular correspondences are found once more in (29)–(31). Whether these are to be explained on the view that the old Macedonian year reasserted itself, or that the Macedonian year broke away from the assimilated calendar in the interval between (28) and (29), is not certain.

(10) The existence of a distinct Macedonian year cannot be detected with any degree of certainty after the 26th year of Philometor, but owing to the doubt as to the exact date of (31) it may have continued beyond the 26th year of Euergetes II. Between the year in which (31) was written and the 53rd of Euergetes II the Macedonian year beginning with Dius was finally assimilated to the Egyptian vague year beginning with Thoth.

If the general theory which by the aid of much new evidence we have suggested is on the right lines, and in all the extant double dates there was but one Egyptian year of 365 days and, until the introduction of the earlier of the two assimilated calendars, only one Macedonian year which on the whole tended to lose in relation to the Egyptian, the problems caused by the use of the Macedonian calendar will henceforth be somewhat simplified, for it is possible from our Table to predict within certain limits the Egyptian month with which a Macedonian month at any period from about the middle of Philadelphus' reign to the 4th year of Philopator corresponded. If these predictions are fulfilled by fresh instances of double dates, the correctness of our explanation will be verified; while on the other hand, if e.g. in the future Dius in the 31st year of Philadelphus is found equated to Pharmouthi, or in the 18th year of Euergetes to Mesore, or in the 3rd year of Philopator to Choiak, the proposed theory and the inferences based upon it must be abandoned. The irregular correspondences which occur after the first attempt to assimilate the Macedonian to the Egyptian calendar are still too few to admit the possibility of a satisfactory theory with regard to the movements of the unreformed Macedonian year in the second century B.C.

APPENDIX II

The Systems of Dating by the Years of the King.

We have had frequent occasions in the course of the present volume to allude to the difficulties caused by the use of more than one system of calculating the years of the reigning king. Our object in this appendix is to discuss in the

light of the new evidence the relationship of the king's years to the ordinary Egyptian vague years of 365 days beginning on Thoth 1. Until 1891 it was generally supposed that the method of reckoning the years of the king in the earlier Ptolemaic period was the same as that employed in the later Ptolemaic and the Roman periods. According to this system the interval between a king's accession and the next Thoth 1 was counted as his 1st year, while his 2nd and succeeding years began on Thoth 1; and in spite of the discovery of some disconcerting evidence, nearly all editors and historians continue to convert early Ptolemaic dates into the corresponding years of the Julian calendar upon the assumption that the years of the king were reckoned on that method. In 1891, however, it was shown by a Petrie papyrus (Part I, 28 (2) = Part III, introd. p. 8 and 58 (*c*)) that in Euergetes I's reign two different systems of calculating the king's years were in vogue. The correct restoration of the mutilated date-formula in that papyrus, which in its imperfect form was discussed by Revillout (*Mélanges*, p. 350), and Strack (*Rhein. Mus.* liii, p. 410), was first established from a parallel text in the Petrie papyri (Part III, 58 (*d*)) by Smyly (*Hermathena*, 1899, p. 432), who showed that the formula was in both cases *ἔτους ια ὡς δ' αἱ πρόσοδοι ἔτους ιβ*, the day being in one case Phamenoth 25, in the other case lost. To those two instances have now to be added (3) P. Magd. 35. 2 (re-edited by Th. Reinach in *Mélanges Nicole*, pp. 451–9) *τοῦ γὰρ ε (ἔτους) ὡς αἱ πρόσοδοι Φαμενώ[θ]*, the reign being that of Philopator; (4) **80**. 13–4, where the demotic docket to a Greek receipt written on Epeiph 4 of the 35th year of Philadelphus is dated 'year 34 which makes year 35'; (5) an unpublished Tebtunis papyrus from mummy 8, containing part of a petition to the king, in which *(ἔτους) ιβ ὡς αἱ πρόσοδοι ιγ* occurs; (6) the British Museum bilingual papyrus of Philopator's reign (Griffith, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1901, pp. 294–302), in which the inconsistency between the date of the demotic contract ('Year 12, Tubi') and that of the Greek docket ('Year 13, Tubi 4') is probably to be explained by the hypothesis that the king's years are calculated by two different methods.

Combining the evidence for the double system of reckoning the king's years, three inferences are certain:—(1) the double system extended over the reigns of Philadelphus, Euergetes I, and Philopator, (2) one of the two systems was employed for revenue purposes, (3) the figures of the 'revenue' year were sometimes one in advance of those of the other, which we shall henceforth call the 'regnal' year. Beyond these three inferences we enter the region of conjecture, though a few steps may be taken with fair security.

In the first place it may be taken for granted that one of the two different years corresponds to the ordinary vague year, the second year of the reign commencing with the next Thoth 1 after the king's accession, as in later

Ptolemaic times and apparently under the XXVIth Dynasty (Spiegelberg, *Dem. Pap. der Strassburger Bibliothek*, p. 15; Krall, *Festschr. f. O. Hirschfeld*, p. 115). If any proof of this assumption is required it is supplied by e. g. P. Petrie III. 112, a taxing-list in which the 2nd year of Philopator is treated as the next after the 26th and last year of Euergetes, the incomplete 26th year of Euergetes being combined with the incomplete 1st year of his successor so as to make a single year; cf. also P. Petrie 119 verso, ii. 9] τῶν τοῦ κϛ (ἔτους) . α (ἔτους).

Assuming therefore that either the revenue or the regnal year is the vague year, with which of the two is it to be identified? Revillout, who in spite of reading εἴσοδοι for πρόσοδοι had divined that P. Petrie I. 28 (2) referred to a financial year, identified this with the ordinary vague year; and the same hypothesis was maintained by Smyly (*l. c.*) and is accepted by Th. Reinach, although all three hold different views as to the nature of the regnal year. This identification is indeed a natural corollary of the preceding assumption, if it be also admitted that a revenue year should be fairly stable; for a year of 365 days regularly beginning on Thoth 1 fulfils this requirement far better than a year of which the duration and starting-point may have been irregular. We have no wish to depart from this generally received view that the revenue years were ordinary vague years calculated as in later Ptolemaic times. Of the numerous papyri and ostraca concerning πρόσοδοι the great majority accord very well with it, especially the taxing-list for the 26th year of Euergetes and 2nd year of Philopator mentioned above, which is very difficult to reconcile with any other view of the revenue year. But the presence of numerous exceptions to the rule that for revenue purposes the years were reckoned from Thoth 1 must be admitted. In the regulations for the payment of the ἀπόμοιρα in Rev. Laws xxxiv. 5 the Egyptian calendar is ignored altogether, and the year is reckoned ἀπὸ Δίου ἕως [Ὑπερβερεταίου (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 519); and in Rev. Laws lvii. 4–5 the king sells the ἐλαική for two years reckoned from Gorpiaeus–Mesore, not from Thoth. In **114** the persons who are farming two taxes εἰς τὸ γ (ἔτος) of a king present a list of 9 monthly instalments reckoned from Mecheir to Phaophi, ignoring Thoth 1 as the beginning of a new financial year. In **116** the year which is the subject of the tax-farming account in question is divided into two halves beginning at Mecheir and Mesore respectively, and though no year is mentioned in this case, the normal practice in farming taxes was to buy the right of collection for a particular year of a reign; cf. Wilcken, *l. c.* A financial year beginning in Mecheir would also suit **115**, another tax-farming account dealing with the period from Mecheir to Pachon, while **133** suggests a financial year beginning in Mesore. Neither of the last two instances, however, is very

strong, and it would be possible to explain away some of the other apparent exceptions. The case of the ἀπόμοιρα might be accounted for, as Wilcken (*l. c.*) suggests, by supposing that ἀπὸ Δίου ἕως [Ὑπερβερεταίου applied only to Alexandria, and that in the χώρα the words would be understood as equivalent to ἀπὸ Θὼθ ἕως Μεσορή, though this explanation is admitted by its proposer to be unconvincing, and in the light of the frequent use of the Macedonian calendar in the Petrie, and still more in the Hibeh, papyri Wilcken seems to us to under-estimate largely the extent of its employment for official and ordinary purposes. The fact that the ἐλαική was sold from Gorpiaeus–Mesore may well be due to special circumstances, or the regulations concerning the year for tax-farming purposes may have been different in the case of the oil-monopoly from what they were in the case of ordinary taxes (Wilcken, *l.c.*); in any event the two years for which the ἐλαική was sold are not stated to have coincided with two definite years of the king's reign. The difficulty caused by **116**, in which Mecheir begins the financial year, might also be evaded by supposing either that for some exceptional reason the year for the collection of this particular tax was spread over parts of two revenue years instead of the whole of one, or that the 12 months from Mecheir to Tubi were, contrary to custom, only part of a larger period extending originally from Thoth 1, for which the tax was farmed. We do not however wish to bring **116** into conformity with the ordinary revenue year, for even if all the other apparent exceptions were explained away, there would still remain **114**, where no exercise of ingenuity can make the year in which the instalments were paid (Mecheir to Tubi or, less probably, Athur to Phaophi) coincide with an ordinary revenue year, in spite of the fact that the taxes in question were farmed εἰς τὸ γ (ἔτος). This papyrus indeed leads to a serious dilemma: for either τὸ γ ἔτος is a loose expression for a period covering two parts of successive revenue years, which is not at all a satisfactory hypothesis, or else τὸ γ ἔτος began in Mecheir (or Athur). The latter inference is undoubtedly the more natural; but the adoption of it implies not merely that the taxing year in this particular case failed to coincide with an ordinary revenue year, a phenomenon for which there are other parallels, but that on the system of reckoning the king's years employed in the case of τὸ γ ἔτος Mecheir (or Athur) was the first month of the year—a result which might have an important bearing on the question of the starting-point of the non-revenue or regnal year. Whichever alternative be chosen, it is clear that **114** is an exception to the rule that in documents concerning the revenue the year is reckoned from Thoth to Mesore. Our conclusion, therefore, with regard to the revenue year is that, although there is good ground for identifying it with the ordinary vague year, and in most cases where the years of a king's reign occur in documents relating

to the revenues these are to be considered revenue years, nevertheless in some departments of finance the accounts were kept without reference to the beginning or close of the revenue year, and when the year of a king's reign is mentioned in a revenue document this is not in itself a sufficient guarantee that it is a revenue rather than some other kind of year, whether Egyptian or Macedonian.

With regard to the system of calculating the regnal years the central fact is that where the regnal and revenue years are known to differ, the figures of the revenue year are in some cases (probably in all) one in advance. The circumstance that when both kinds of years are mentioned together the revenue year stands second and is in all the Greek instances defined, indicates that the undefined year which is mentioned first was the more important; and it is probable that down to the accession of Epiphanes at any rate the regnal year was more often employed than the revenue year in dating documents which are not concerned with the revenues. With regard to private contracts and wills there are some special grounds (cf. p. 374) for thinking that it was not customary to date them by the revenue year. The identification of the revenue year with the annus vagus (the balance of days between the king's accession and the following Thoth 1 being reckoned as his 1st year) necessitates the conclusion that the regnal year was calculated differently, but a more definite view of it is very difficult to obtain.

Smyly (*Hermathena*, 1899, p. 432) proposed to regard the regnal years as Egyptian years of 365 days calculated from the king's accession and succeeding anniversaries of it, according to which system the numbers of the regnal years would be one behind those of the revenue years in the period between Thoth 1 and the anniversary. The question then arises—In what months did the accession of the earlier Ptolemies take place? Epiphanes, if the hieroglyphic version of the Rosetta Inscr. may be trusted (the Greek is unfortunately defective on the point), and if παρέλαβεν τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ τοῦ πατρός in l. 47 refers, as is generally supposed, to the king's accession, came to the throne on Phaophi 17, but unfortunately no document belonging to his reign has yet been discovered in which the revenue are distinguished from the regnal years. With regard to the month of Philadelphus' accession nothing is known. From **80**. 13 it would be necessary on the accession theory of regnal years to infer that he came to the throne after Epeiph 4; and this hypothesis would accord very well with the fact that a demotic papyrus now being edited by Mr. Griffith (cf. **84** (*a*) introd.) is dated in Phamenoth of the 21st year of Soter. The Canon of Ptolemy assigns only 20 years to Soter, and if that statement is accurate and the 21st year was not only his last year but a revenue year, the evidence would point to Philadelphus' accession having taken place between Phamenoth and the

following Thoth 1. If the 21st year of Soter is a regnal year, the received chronology of Soter's reign is in danger of being upset, and amid the general uncertainty which would result it would no longer be possible to be sure that the 21st year was his last. But either view is consistent with the hypothesis that Philadelphus' reign began in Epeiph or Mesore.

Next with regard to Philopator P. Magd. 35. 2 would on the accession theory indicate that this event took place between Phamenoth and the following Thoth, and if Jouguet and Lefebvre are right in inferring from the Magdola papyri written in the 1st year of Philopator (P. Magd. *Deuxième Série*, p. 205) that he came to the throne between Thoth 1 and Tubi 12, it would be impossible to harmonize these inferences. But the conclusion that Philopator's accession took place before Tubi 12 rests on the assumption that in the Magdola papyri written on Tubi 12 of the 1st year of that reign the 1st revenue year, which ended on the 5th intercalary day, is meant. If (as is on the whole more probable) they are dated by the regnal year, they do not, until the beginning and end of Philopator's first regnal year have been determined by other evidence, prove more than the fact that his 1st regnal year included Tubi 12. Though Euergetes is known from P. Petrie III. 112 to have died in his 26th revenue year, we have been unable to discover any document actually dated in that year which would indicate how far into the 26th year his reign lasted. Some better evidence for the month of Philopator's accession is provided by P. Petrie III. 141, an account dated at the beginning (ἔτους) κε Χο[ία]κ and ending with Thoth of the 1st year. Palaeographical considerations render it practically certain that the reigns of Euergetes and Philopator are meant, and the form of one of the entries, (ll. 24–5) καὶ ὀψώνιον τοῦ α (ἔτους) ἀπὸ Παῦνι ἕως τοῦ Θαὺτ μηνῶν δ (δραχμαὶ) ιϛ, implies, as Smyly remarks, that the whole of this period of 4 months was included in the 1st year. From this it is necessary to infer that the 1st is not a revenue year; and it becomes probable that the 25th year mentioned in the heading is the last regnal year of Euergetes, and that Philopator came to the throne between Choiak and Pauni. Since the accession theory only requires that Philopator should have come to the throne between Phamenoth and Mesore inclusive, it is perfectly in accord with the evidence of P. Petrie III. 141. But a great objection to this theory arises out of the data for the accession of Euergetes. The Canopus Inscr. l. 6 τὴν πέμπτην καὶ εἰκάδα τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς (sc. Dius) ἐν ᾗι παρέλαβεν τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ τοῦ πατρός has been almost universally interpreted as meaning that Euergetes' accession took place on Dius 25th. The inference is not free from doubt, for the Rosetta Inscr. uses the phrase παραλαβεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ τοῦ πατρός in connexion with two different days, Mecheir 18 (ll. 7–8) and Phaophi 17 (l. 47;

cf. p. 362). The first date is supposed to refer to the king's coming of age, the second to his actual accession when an infant (cf. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscr.* I. p. 145), and it is not quite certain that in the Canopus Inscr. the phrase refers to the king's accession rather than e.g. to his coronation; but we are disinclined to depart from the ordinary interpretation of the passage. The information, however, that Euergetes came to the throne on Dius 25 is not of much service unless that date on the Macedonian calendar can be converted into its approximate Egyptian equivalent. The general tendency of the Macedonian months to fall later in the Egyptian year, coupled with the fact that in the 36th year of Philadelphus Dius approximately coincided with Athur and in the 9th year of Euergetes with Choiak–Tubi (cf. Table), requires that the accession of Euergetes on Dius 25 should fall in the months Athur, Choiak or Tubi, or at any rate within the period from Phaophi to Mecheir inclusive. This is in accordance with the evidence of papyri dated near the end of Philadelphus' reign, for the latest recorded date in his 39th year is Athur 16 (**53**. 4). It is also consistent with Smyly's interpretation of the date in the heading of P. Petrie III. 141. In itself, therefore, the hypothesis that Euergetes' accession occurred in Athur–Tubi is quite satisfactory; but Smyly himself remarks that it is irreconcilable with his former explanation of regnal years, which requires that the revenue years should be in advance of the regnal years only in the period from Thoth 1 to the anniversary of the accession, whereas P. Petrie III. 58 (*c*) shows that the period during which the revenue years were in advance extended as late as Phamenoth 25. To suppose, as the accession theory requires, that Dius 25 in the 1st year of Euergetes corresponded to some day in the period between Phamenoth 25 and the end of Mesore would hopelessly break the sequence which we believe to be traceable in the months of the Egyptian year corresponding to Dius in the latter part of the third century B.C.

Another explanation of the regnal years has recently been suggested by Th. Reinach (*Mélanges Nicole*, p. 456), who proposes to regard them as ordinary Egyptian vague years of 365 days like the revenue years, but calculated from Thoth 1 *after* the king's accession, the balance of days between the king's accession and the following Thoth 1 (which constituted the 1st revenue year) being attributed to his dead predecessor. On this theory of the regnal years, their numbers were invariably one behind those of the revenue years, and so far as the papyri dated by both systems are concerned (which, it may be noted, with one exception fell in the second half of the Egyptian vague year), they are consistent with Reinach's explanation. But Reinach's view is open to grave objections. In the first place it is a priori improbable that people would continue to date documents by the reign of a king who was known to be

dead; and, not to mention **116** and the other instances quoted on pp. 360–1, P. Petrie III. 141 seems to us in itself sufficient to remove Reinach's inability to believe (*l. c.*) 'qu'à aucune époque les années régnales aient été officiellement comptées à partir d'une autre date que le 1[er] Thoth,' for a year in which Thoth comes after Mesore cannot have begun with Thoth. In order to reconcile Reinach's explanation of regnal years with P. Petrie III. 141 it seems necessary to suppose that the whole period from a king's accession to the end of his 2nd revenue year was counted as his first regnal year. From this it would follow that in a 1st regnal year some months occurred twice over, which is a very unsatisfactory hypothesis. Secondly, if Thoth 1 was New Year's day on both the revenue and regnal systems, the only intelligible justification for having a separate system for budget purposes is removed, and the distinction between the two systems would seem to have been designed for the purpose of creating confusion. If the regnal years ignored Thoth 1 altogether, it is perfectly natural that the Ptolemies maintained for financial purposes the observance of a year with a fixed number of days and a fixed starting-point which remained unaffected by the succession of sovereigns. But if the regnal year was of the same character as the revenue year, there seems to be no adequate reason for having a separate year for financial purposes which only differed from the regnal year by having its numbers one in advance.

Thirdly, if the regnal as well as the revenue year was regulated by the Egyptian calendar, it is practically necessary to postulate the existence of a third system of reckoning the years of a king employed in documents dated on the Macedonian calendar; for it is hardly credible that e.g. in royal edicts, which usually ignore the Egyptian months altogether, the commencement and duration of the years of the reign should be fixed with reference to an Egyptian system; cf. Strack, *Rhein. Mus.* liii. p. 422. Moreover Rev. Laws xxxiv. 5 (cf. p. 360) shows that a Macedonian year from Dius to Hyperberetaeus was sometimes taken into account, even in matters relating to finance; and the evidence of the double dates proves that the relation of Macedonian months to the Egyptian was subject to perpetual alterations. It is of course not only a legitimate but no doubt the safer course to leave the question of Macedonian years on one side in discussing the distinction of the Egyptian revenue and regnal years; but to suppose that in documents dated by the Macedonian calendar the years meant are also Egyptian regnal years would greatly simplify the problem by reducing the number of systems in common use from three to two.

The view that the Egyptian regnal years were really Macedonian years calculated from the date of the king's accession and succeeding anniversaries of it was suggested by Revillout (*Mélanges*, p. 350) in connexion with P. Petrie

I. 28 (2) (= III. 58 (*c*)), but so long as the relation of the Egyptian and Macedonian calendars was involved in complete obscurity remained incapable of proof or disproof. Now, however, granting that Euergetes' accession took place on Dius 25, it is worth while to inquire how far the view that his regnal years began on Dius 25 avoids the principal difficulty (cf. p. 364) which arises if the regnal years are supposed to have commenced on anniversaries of that day on the Egyptian calendar with which Dius 25th corresponded at Euergetes' accession. In order to make Phamenoth 25 of Euergetes' 12th revenue year fall within his 11th regnal year, as is indicated by P. Petrie III. 58 (*c*), it is necessary, on Revillout's theory of regnal years, to suppose that Dius 25, the first day of the 12th regnal year, fell later than Phamenoth 25, i. e. that Dius 1 fell later than Phamenoth 1. But the evidence of double dates in the 9th and 16th years of Euergetes (cf. App. i, Table) suggests that Dius 1 in the 12th year fell in Choiak or Tubi, and the hypothesis that it fell later than Phamenoth 1 in the 12th year would therefore disturb the sequence of double dates not much less than the view that it fell later than Phamenoth 1 at Euergetes' accession. Nor is the date in P. Petrie III. 58 (*c*) easier to explain by supposing that the regnal years began on Dius 1, the balance of days between the king's accession and the following Dius 1 being reckoned as his 1st regnal year: for in that case Dius 1 of the 12th regnal year must have begun later than Phamenoth 25, a conclusion which increases rather than diminishes the difficulty referred to above.

The theory of a Macedonian origin of the Egyptian regnal years can indeed be reconciled with the extant evidence concerning both the divergence of the regnal and revenue years in the reign of Euergetes and the relation of the Macedonian and Egyptian calendars in his reign by supposing that the regnal years were reckoned from Dius 1, but that the 1st regnal year either began on Dius 1 following his accession or included the period from his accession up to the next but one Dius 1. The former alternative is, however, open to the objection already urged against Reinach's view (cf. p. 364), viz. the difficulty of supposing that documents would continue to be dated by the years of a king who is known to be dead, and the latter would lead to the conclusion that Euergetes' first regnal year contained two whole Macedonian years less 24 days; while from either theory it would follow that the numbers of the regnal years were in certain months two in arrear of those of the revenue years, which is unlikely.

We are reduced therefore to the conclusion that none of the suggested explanations of the distinction between revenue and regnal years can be regarded as satisfactory, and that the present evidence is inadequate to provide a solution of the problem. In these circumstances the only course is to fall back upon the one certain fact connected with regnal years that their numbers were sometimes

one in arrear of those of revenue years; and since the distinction between a revenue and regnal year is maintained in Philadelphus' reign as late as Epeiph and in the reigns of Euergetes and Philopator as late as Phamenoth, for practical purposes regnal years may be regarded as approximately a year in arrear of the revenue years. This consideration has an important bearing on the conversion of early Ptolemaic dates into years of the Julian calendar, since any date in which the year of the king is regnal is likely to fall within the year B.C. following that within which it would fall if the king's year were a revenue one; and the conventional system, which still prevails, of converting early Ptolemaic dates into years B.C. on the assumption that the king's years are reckoned on the revenue system is certainly in need of modification. With regard to the system of calculating the king's years employed in documents which are dated by Macedonian months, there are some reasons for thinking that the years correspond with regnal rather than with revenue years (cf. p. 374); and in the absence of any direct evidence for more than two systems of reckoning the king's years we are inclined to identify the official Macedonian years with the regnal years, and hence to connect the difficulties concerning the latter with the use of a Macedonian instead of an Egyptian year, although the fresh evidence adduced in this volume with regard to the Macedonian calendar does not render that connexion easier to unravel.

APPENDIX III

THE EPONYMOUS PRIESTHOODS FROM B.C. 301–221.

THE list of the eponymous priesthoods during the Ptolemaic period in Otto's *Priester und Tempel*, pp. 175–96, can now be largely supplemented as regards the third century B.C. from the new volume of the Petrie papyri and the present series of texts, and a revised table of the priesthoods during the reigns of the first three Ptolemies may be found useful. The most striking feature of the new evidence is that which proves the extreme antiquity of the priesthood of Alexander at Alexandria, the origin of which cult has been in its various bearings one of the most widely discussed problems in the history of the Diadochi. Hitherto the earliest year to which the priesthood of Alexander could be carried back was the 16th year of Philadelphus (B.C. 270–69 or 269–8), to which P. Petrie I. 24, until now the oldest dated Greek papyrus, belongs; two earlier demotic contracts in the Louvre, dated in the 13th year of Soter

and the 8th year of Philadelphus respectively, made no mention of any priesthoods. Though the dangerous character of the *argumentum a silentio* when based upon date-formulae of contracts is by this time generally admitted, the evidence of these two demotic papyri that the cult of Alexander was not instituted till some years after the accession of Philadelphus seemed to be supported by the circumstance that, when that cult made its appearance, the gods Adelphi were uniformly associated with Alexander; and it is not surprising that the latest critic (Otto, *op. cit.* pp. 138–52) strongly supports the view of e.g. Wilamowitz and Wilcken, who regarded Philadelphus as the creator of the Alexander cult at Alexandria, against that of Kaerst and Kornemann, who mainly on the evidence of Pseudo-Callisthenes (III. 33) wished to credit the foundation of the cult to Soter. Kaerst and Kornemann nevertheless were right, and one more proof is given of the historical elements interwoven into the romance of Alexander. Though we need not accept its statement that the priesthood of Alexander was instituted by the will of Alexander himself, that assertion was not very wide of the mark. The Hibeh papyri fortunately include several date-formulae earlier than P. Petrie I. 24; and not only in **110**. 40 and 44 dated in the 12th and 13th years of Philadelphus, and **97**. 3 dated in the 7th (or 4th) year of the same reign, but even in **84** (*a*) which was actually written in the 5th year of Soter, i.e. about B.C. 300, is the mention of the year of the reigning monarch followed by the entry ἐφ' ἱερέως A τοῦ B. It is true that this priest is in no instance stated to be the priest of Alexander; but even if it were not known independently that the cult of Ptolemy Soter at Alexandria was first introduced in the reign of Philopator (cf. Otto, *op. cit.* p. 180), no official cult but that of Alexander could have obtained such importance in Egypt by B.C. 300 that it was unnecessary to specify the deity to which 'the priest' was attached. It was only when, in some period between the 13th year and Daisius (i.e. Phamenoth or Pharmouthi probably) of the 15th year of Philadelphus (cf **110**. 44 and **99**. 3), that sovereign associated the cult of his sister and himself with the worship of Alexander, that a more precise description of the greatest official priesthood was ordained, and the brief formula of the early documents took the first step in the direction of those interminable lists of priesthoods of deified Ptolemies which finally exhausted the patience of the later Ptolemaic scribes. Since Arsinoë Philadelphus died in the 15th year of her brother's reign before the month of Pachon (cf. the date of the Mendes stele quoted by Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides*, I. p. 180), the association of the gods Adelphi with the cult of Alexander may well have been one of the many divine honours paid to her by Philadelphus after her death, although the evidence does not exclude the

possibility that the association took place one or two years previously. To the interval between **99**, written in Daïsius of the 15th year, and dem. P. Louvre 2424, written in Athur of the 19th (if Revillout's decipherment of it is to be trusted), is to be assigned the creation of the canephorate of Arsinoë; and the institution of this priesthood at any rate is no doubt closely connected with her death.

Besides their new evidence for the existence of the priesthood of Alexander in B.C. 300, the date of the association of the gods Adelphi with Alexander, and the date of the institution of the canephorate of Arsinoë Philadelphus, the Hibeh papyri also serve to limit the date at which the association of the gods Euergetae in the Alexander cult took place to the 3rd, 4th, or 5th years of Euergetes; cf. **145** with **171** and our remarks on no. (21).

In the following Table the names of the priests and priestesses are given in Greek (in the genitive case) when the evidence for them is in that language, but in Roman characters when the evidence is derived from demotic documents. It is often difficult to recognize a Greek name in its demotic form, even when that is correctly deciphered; few, therefore, of the names which rest on the evidence of demotic are likely to be quite correct, while many of them are obviously wrong. Where, as in all the demotic and some of the Greek papyri which mention the priests, the months are given on the Egyptian calendar, the king's years may be either 'revenue' or 'regnal' years (cf. App. ii.); since most of the names of priests are derived from private documents, it is probable that the 'regnal' years largely predominate, but only in one case, no. (27), can it be determined with certainty which of the two years is meant. Where, as in most of the Greek evidence, the months are given on the Macedonian calendar, the presumption is that the king's years are calculated on a Macedonian system, which we are disposed to regard as identical with or approximating to the system employed in reckoning regnal years; cf. our remarks on (27). In converting the dates into years on the Julian calendar, the date B.C. which is probably implied if the year in question is regnal is placed in brackets after the date implied if the year is a revenue one. The priesthoods were annual offices, though sometimes renewable for a second term, e.g. nos. (25) and (26). Probably the year in question was the official Macedonian year, whatever that may have been. It is noticeable that inconsistencies with regard to the dates of particular priests are rare (cf. nos. (21) and (32)), and the evidence forms several consistent series covering a number of consecutive years, e.g. from the 8th to the 13th years of Euergetes. This strongly indicates that the priest's year of office coincided with the year (Macedonian or regnal, rather than revenue, as we think) employed in dating the great majority of the documents from which the list of priests is drawn up.

No.	Year of reign.	B. C.	Priests.
			Formula : ἐφ' ἱερέως.
			Soter.
(1)	5	301–0 (?)	Μενελάου τοῦ Λαμ̣ά̣χ̣ο̣υ.
			Philadelphus.
(2)	7 (or 4)	279–8 (278–7) or 282–1 (281–0)	Λ̣[ιμ]ναί[ο]υ τοῦ Ἀπ[ο]λλώ.
(3)	12	274–3 (273–2)	[. . . . . τοῦ Καλ]λιμήδους.
(4)	13	273–2 (272–1)	Νεα[. . . . τοῦ . . .]οκλέους.
(5)	lost	300–271	Φιλίσκου τοῦ Σπουδαίου.
			Formula : ἐφ' ἱερέως Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν.
(6)	15	271–0 (270–69)	Πατρόκλου τοῦ Πάτρωνος.
			Formula : { ἐφ' ἱερέως Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφ̣ου.
(7)	19	267–6 (266–5)	{ omitted. Aristomache daughter of Aristomachus.
(8)	21	265–4 (264–3)	{ Democrites (?) son of Asclepiodotus (?). Cassandra (?) daughter of Axipolus (?).
(9)	22	264–3 (263–2)	{ Πέλοπος τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου. Μνησιστράτης τῆς Τεισάρχου.
(10)	23	263–2 (262–1)	{ Κινέου τοῦ Ἀλκέτου. [. . . . .] τῆς Πολεμοκράτους.
(11)	24	262–1 (261–0)	{ Ἀριστονίκου τοῦ Περιλάου. Χαρέας τῆς Ἀπίου.
(12)	20–27	267–58	{ lost. Φιλω[τέρας τῆς . . .
(13)	28	258–7 (257–6)	{ [. . . . . . . τ]οῦ Λ̣υ̣κί̣νου. Νύμφης τῆς Μάγονος.
(14)	29	257–6 (256–5)	{ Ἀντιόχου [τοῦ .] . ε̣ . . . Δημονίκης τῆς Φίλωνος.

No.	Year of reign.	B. C.	Priests.
(15)	33	253–2 (252–1)	Aëtus (?) son of Apollonius. Demetria daughter of Dionysius.
(16)	34	252–1 (251–0)	Νεοπτολέμου τοῦ Φρ̣ι̣ξίου. Ἀρσινόης τῆς Νικολάου.
(17)	36	250–49 (249–8)	Apinatus (?) son of Apinatus (?). Ἐχετίμης τῆς Μεννέου.
(18)	27–39	259–46	[. . . . .] τοῦ Λα . . . ο̣νος. Ματέλας τῆς Ἀναδ . . καδους.
(19)	31–39	255–46	lost. Μεγίστης [τῆς . . . .]
			Euergetes I.
(20)	2	246–5 (245–4)	Τληπολέμου τοῦ Ἀρταπάτου. Πτολεμαίδος τῆς Θυίωνος.
(21)	3	245–4 (244–3)	Ἀρχε[λάου son of Demus (?). Arsinoë τῆς Πολεμοκράτου⟨s⟩.
(22)	4 (?)	244–3 (243–2)	Archelaus son of Demus (?). Arsinoë daughter of Polemocrates.
			Formula: ἐφ' ἱερέως Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου.
(23)	5	243–2 (242–1)	Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ Διοδότου. Ἰαμ̣ν̣έας τῆς Ὑπο̣ . . . [. . . . .]
(24)	8	240–39 (239–8)	Ὀνο[μ]ά̣στου τοῦ Πύργωνος. Ἀρχεστράτης τῆς Κτησικλέους.
(25)	9	239–8 (238–7)	Ἀπολλωνίδου τοῦ Μοσχίωνος. Μενεκρατείας τῆς Φιλάμμονος.
(26)	10	238–7 (237–6)	Ἀπολλωνίδου τοῦ Μοσχίωνος. Μενεκρατείας τῆς Φιλάμμονος τὸ β (ἔτος).
(27)	11	(236–5)	Σελεύκου τοῦ Ἀντι . . . ου. [Ἀσ]π̣ασίας τῆς Ἀθηνίω[νο]ς.
(28)	12	236–5 (235–4)	Εὐκλέους τοῦ Εὐβάτα. Στρατονίκης τῆς Καλλιάνακτος.
(29)	13	235–4 (234–3)	Σωσιβίου τοῦ Διοσκόρου. Βερενίκης τῆς Πτολεμαίου.
(30)	15?	233–2 (232–1)	Hellenicus (?) son of Hellenicus (?). Socia (?) daughter of Licotas (?).
(31)	17	231–0 (230–29)	Menneas (?) son of Menoetius (?). Berenice daughter of Aëtius (?).
(32)	20	228–7 (227–6)	Actitos (?). . . daughter of Alexilaos (?).

No.	Year of reign.	B.C.	Priests.
(33)	21	227–6 (226–5)	Γαλέστου τοῦ Φιλιστίωνος. Βερενίκης τῆς Σωσιπόλιος.
(34)	22	226–5 (225–4)	Ἀλεξικράτους τοῦ Θεογένους. Βερενίκης τῆς Καλλιάνακτος.
(35)	24	224–3 (223–2)	Alcetas (?) son of Iasos (?). Dionysia daughter of Silas (?).
(36)	25	223–2 (222–1)	Δωσιθέου τοῦ Δριμύλου. Βερενίκης τῆς Πυθαγγέλου.
(37)	uncertain		lost. . . . τῆς Χαρίτωνος.

(1) **84** (*a*). 1, 16.

(2) **97**. 2. Ἀ[θη]ναί[ο]υ may be read for Λ[ιμ]ναί[ο]υ.

(3) **110**. 40.

(4) **110**. 44. The figure 3 in the number of the year is not quite certain; cf. note *ad loc.*

(5) **30**. 23.

(6) **99**. 3 and **128**.

(7) Dem. P. Louvre 2424 (Athur). Cf. Revillout, *Chrest. dém.* pp. 231 sqq., *Rev. Égypt.* I. p. 5. The omission of the priest of Alexander is very curious, and is due to an error of some kind.

(8) Dem. P. Lond. (Revillout, *Rev. Égypt.* I. p. 6). 'Democrites' may be Δημοκράτης or Δημόκριτος, and 'Axipolus' is obviously wrong.

(9) **92**. 3; cf. P. Petrie III. 52 (*a*). 3, where in l. 2 (ἔτους) κβ, l. 3 Πέλοπ[ος, and l. 5 τῆς Τε[ισάρχου should be read.

(10) **88**. 2 and Hibeh unpubl. pap.; cf. **88**, introd.

(11) **85**. 3 and **150**.

(12) **134**. The papyrus was written while the υἱός was associated with Philadelphus, i.e. after Phaophi 11 of the 19th year when Philadelphus was still reigning alone (**100**, introd.), and not later than the 27th, in which year the υἱός disappeared from the date-formula (Rev. Laws i. 1). **134**, therefore, belongs to the 20th, 23rd, 25th, 26th or, less probably, the 27th year.

(13) **94**. 3.

(14) **95**. 2; cf. dem. P. Leyden 379 (Revillout, *Rev. Égypt.* I. p. 13; Krall, *Sitz. Wien. Ak.* cv. p. 357). Revillout and Krall give the name of the

canephorus correctly, and call the priest of Alexander Antimachus son of Cebes. Κέβητος does not, however, suit the traces of letters in **95**. 2, though -τος is possible; cf. note *ad loc.*

(15) Dem. P. Louvre 2433 (Revillout, *Chrest. dém.* pp. 241 sqq., *Rev. Égypt.* I. p. 6). In P. Petrie III. 42 F (*a*), written probably in this year, occurs the earliest extant example of τοῦ ὄντος and τῆς οὔσης in place of the names of the priest and canephorus.

(16) **98**. 7.

(17) The name of the canephorus is preserved in P. Petrie I. 22 (1). 2 and dem. P. Louvre 2443, that of the priest of Alexander only in the latter (Revillout, *Chrest. dém.* pp. 246 sqq., *Rev. Égypt.* I. p. 6). Apinatus is not likely to be right. Revillout deciphered the canephorus as Atis daughter of Mennas.

(18) P. Petrie III. 56 (*b*) (= Rev. Laws p. 187). The year is lost (Otto wrongly assigns it to the 27th), but is not earlier than the 27th, in which the formula Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου Σωτῆρος was introduced (Rev. Laws i. 1). The papyrus therefore belongs to the 27th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 35th, 37th, 38th, or 39th years.

(19) P. Petrie III. 54 (*a*). 2. The papyrus is later than the 30th year and probably belongs to the 31st, 35th, 38th, or 39th years rather than to the 32nd or 37th; cf. Smyly's note.

(20) P. Petrie III. 43 (2). ii. 1 *et saep.*; cf. dem. P. Louvre 2438 (Revillout, *Chrest. dém.* pp. 257 sqq., *Rev. Égypt.* I. p. 7), where the names were deciphered as Tlepolemos or Triporimos son of Altibios, and Ptolemaea daughter of Theon or Thian.

(21) **145** preserves the names Ἀρχε[λάου and Πολεμοκράτου⟨ς⟩; cf. for the rest the names of the priests in the 4th year in dem. P. Louvre 2431 (Revillout, *Chrest. dém.* pp. 265 sqq., *Rev. Égypt.* I. p. 7), where they have been deciphered as Archelaos or Alecros son of Demos and Arsinoë daughter of Polemocrates. **145** was written probably in Artemisius, which then corresponded approximately to Pauni (cf. App. i); the demotic papyrus is dated in Mecheir. It is possible to refer the two dates to the same year of office on the hypothesis that the Greek papyrus is dated by the regnal, the demotic by the revenue year; cf. App ii. Or, if the 3rd and 4th years are really distinct, and there is no error in the demotic, Archelaus and Arsinoë may have remained in office for two years, like the priests of the 9th and 10th years.

(22) Dem. P. Louvre 2431; cf. note on (21).

(23) **171**.

(24) **89**. 2 and Hibeh unpubl. pap. Ὀνομακρίτου is a possible alternative for Ὀνομάστου; cf. **89**, introd.

(25) Inscr. Canop. 1. Cf. the next note.

(26) P. Petrie III. 5 (*a*). 2, 6(*a*). 17, &c.; it is uniformly stated in these documents that Apollonides and Menecratia held office for the second year.

(27) P. Petrie III. 58 (*c*). 7 (introd. p. 8) and 58 (*d*). 7. These two papyri are dated in the 11th regnal and 12th revenue year (cf. p. 359), and are therefore free from the uncertainty attaching to dates in which the two systems of dating are not distinguished. Since regnal years so far as can be judged (cf. p. 367) begin or may begin about a year later than revenue years having the same numbers, and the conventional system of converting early Ptolemaic dates into years of the Julian calendar probably applies only to the revenue years, we assign these two papyri to B.C. 236–5 not to B.C. 237–6. A comparison of the evidence concerning Seleucus and Aspasia, who are known to have held office in the 11th regnal and 12th revenue years, with that concerning Eucles and Stratonice, no (28), is instructive. There are no less than six instances in which the latter are mentioned in wills of the 12th year (excluding those cases in which the figure is lost), and seeing that different priests were in office during part at any rate of the 12th revenue year, it is very unlikely that the 12th year in connexion with Eucles and Stratonice was a revenue year, especially as none of these six papyri is concerned with revenues and the months, where their names are preserved, are given on the Macedonian, not the Egyptian, calendar. Whether the king's years reckoned on the Macedonian system are distinct from the Egyptian regnal years is uncertain (cf. p. 366); but even if the two systems are independent and the 12th year in those six instances is not identical with the twelfth regnal year, the circumstance that the priests mentioned in them are different from those who are known to have held office in the 11th regnal year and 12th revenue year suggests that the 12th Macedonian year corresponded much more closely to the 12th regnal year than to the 12th revenue year.

(28) P. Petrie III. 11. 10, 37, 13 (*a*). 21, 14. 12, 15. 2, 16. 18, &c.

(29) P. Petrie III. 18. 1 and 55. 1; cf. dem. P. Marseille correctly deciphered by Revillout, *Rev. Égypt.* I. p. 134. Since the 12th year in (28) is probably a regnal, not a revenue year, the fact that the priests in (29) are different from those in (28) indicates that the 13th year in (29) also is a regnal year; cf. our remarks on (27).

(30) Dem. P. Louvre 2429 (Revillout, *Chrest. dém.* pp. 273 sqq., *Rev. Égypt.*

I. p. 8). The grandfather's name of the priest of Alexander ('Euphratoros,' Revillout) seems to be given, but we suspect an error either in the text or the decipherment. Otto (*op. cit.* p. 177) proposes Ἑλλάνικος Ἑλλανίκου τοῦ Εὐφράνορος. The year is not quite certain, being lost in the demotic contract and restored from the Greek docket. Otto prefers (ἔτους) ις to (ἔτους) ιε, but in the facsimile ιε is more suitable. Neither 'Socia' nor 'Licotas' can be right.

(31) Cf. three demotic papyri in the British Museum (Revillout, *Chrest. dém.* p. cxxxvi, and *Rev. Égypt.* I. pp. 15, 119, and 135), and dem. P. Berl. 3089 (Spiegelberg, dem. P. Berl. p. 6). Revillout gives the forms Mennas, son of Menetios, and Berenice (twice; elsewhere Cleonica and Cerdica) daughter of Atis (or Adaeus), Spiegelberg Mnȧs son of Mntiȧs (the last s being doubtful) and Brnigȧ (i. e. Berenice) daughter of ;Atis (Aëtios?).

(32) In dem. P. Louvre 2425 (*Chrest. dém.* pp. 278 sqq., *Rev. Égypt.* I. p. 8), dated in Mesore of the 20th year, Revillout gives the priests' names as Calistos son of Philistion and Berenice daughter of Sosipatros. These persons are obviously the same as the priests of the 21st year, known from P. Petrie III. 21. (*a*). 1, 5, (*b*). 1, 6, (*g*). 29, as was pointed out by Wilcken (*Gött. gel. Anz.* 1895, p. 143), who in P. Petrie I. 27 (=III. 21 (*b*)) proposed to insert τὸ β (ἔτος) after Φιλιστίωνος, but wrongly; cf. Smyly's note on III. 21 (*b*). The Greek documents therefore, unlike those mentioned in connexion with (26), give no indication that the 21st was the second year in which Galestes and Berenice held office, and another demotic papyrus (dem. P. Lond., *Chrest. dém.* p. 131, and *Rev. Égypt.* I. p. 118), which mentions them, is dated in Epeiph of the 21st year. Hence we think the attribution of a second year of office to Galestes and Berenice is erroneous. The conflict of evidence with regard to them can be reconciled by the hypothesis that the 20th is a regnal, the 21st a revenue year; cf. no. (21). But we are more inclined to suspect an error in the text or decipherment of dem. P. Louvre 2425, especially as Revillout from another demotic papyrus in London (*Aegypt. Zeitschr.* 1880, p. 111) gives Actitos and a daughter of Alexilaos as priests in the 20th year.

(33) Cf. note on (32).

(34) P. Petrie III. 19. (*c*). 1, 9, (*f*). 9, &c. and several demotic papyri. P. Petrie III. 21 (*g*). 1–3, where the priests' names are omitted, also belongs to this year; cf. note on no. (36). The demotic names were deciphered by Revillout as Alexicrates son of Diogenes or Theogenes and Berenike daughter of Cleonicus, and by Spiegelberg as ;Algsigrts son of Thugns and Berenike daughter of Griangs.

(35) Dem. P. Lond. (Revillout, *Aegypt. Zeitschr.* 1880, p. 112), where the father's name of the priest of Alexander is given as Iasôu.

(36) **90.** 2 and an unpublished Tebtunis papyrus; cf. note on **90.** 2. The names occur in dem. P. Berl. 3096, where they were deciphered by Revillout (*Rev. Égypt.* IV. p. 152) as Dositheos son of Dositheos and Berenike daughter of Ph . . tim . . krs, by Spiegelberg (dem. P. Berl. p. 6) as Tusitus (Dosithoos) son of Tripirus (Tryphilos) and Berenike daughter of Phitimigrs (or Khitimigrs). In P. Petrie III. 21 (*g*), where the editors read in ll. 1–3 (ἔτους) κε [ἐφ' ἱερέως] Πτολε[μαίου τοῦ . . . .]ọụ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελ. καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργ. κανηφ. Ἀρσ. Φιλ. Τịμ̣ . . . . . τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου . . , we read (ἔτους) κβ [ἐφ' ἱερέως] τοῦ ὄντ[ος] ἐν Ἀ[λεξανδρεί]αι Ἀλεξάνδρου κ.τ.λ. κανηφ. Ἀρσ. Φιλ. τῆς οὔσης ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι. This protocol therefore provides another early example of the omission of the priests' names; cf. no. (15).

(37) P. Petrie II. 25 (*i*). 5.

INDICES

I. NEW CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS.

II. KINGS.

III. MONTHS.

(*a*) MACEDONIAN AND EGYPTIAN.

(b) Macedonian.

(c) Egyptian.

IV. PERSONAL NAMES.

V. GEOGRAPHICAL.

(*a*) Countries, Nomes, Toparchies, Cities.

(*b*) Villages.

1. Arsinoite.

2. Heracleopolite. (Villages in the Κωίτης τόπος are marked by an asterisk.)

3. Hermopolite?

4. Oxyrhynchite.

5. Indeterminate.

(*c*) Miscellaneous.

(*d*) κλῆροι.

(*e*) Deme.

VI. RELIGION.

(*a*) Gods.

(*b*) Priests and Priestesses.

(*c*) Miscellaneous.

VII. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TITLES.

VIII. WEIGHTS, MEASURES, COINS.

(*a*) Weights and Measures.

(*b*) Coins.

IX. TAXES.

X. GENERAL INDEX OF GREEK WORDS.

XI. INDEX OF PASSAGES DISCUSSED[1].

(*a*) AUTHORS.

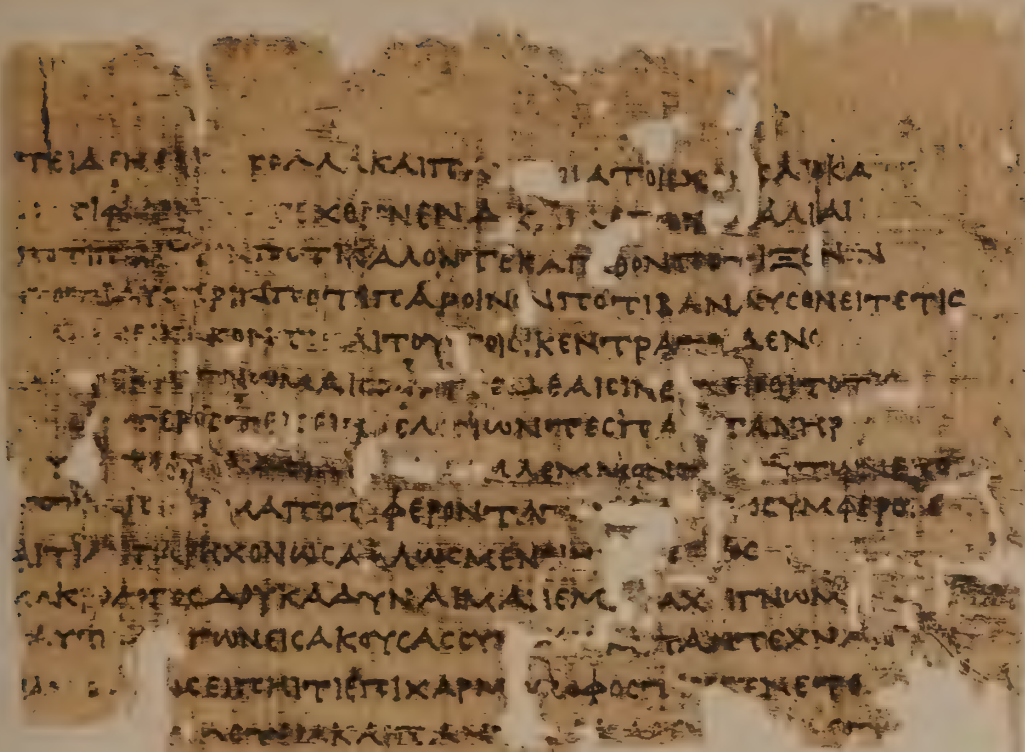
(*b*) INSCRIPTIONS.

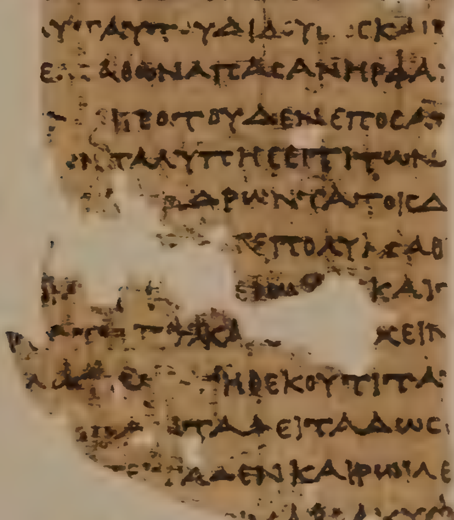
[1] This index does not include the passages of extant authors covered by the literary fragments 19–26.

(*c*) Papyri and Ostraca.

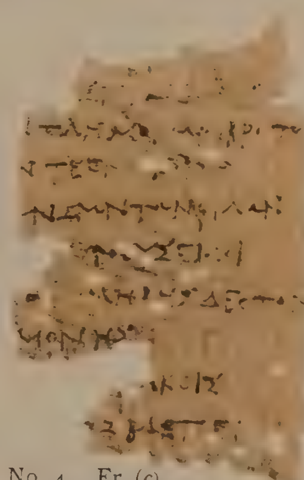
(*d*) UNPUBLISHED.

PLATE I





No. 1



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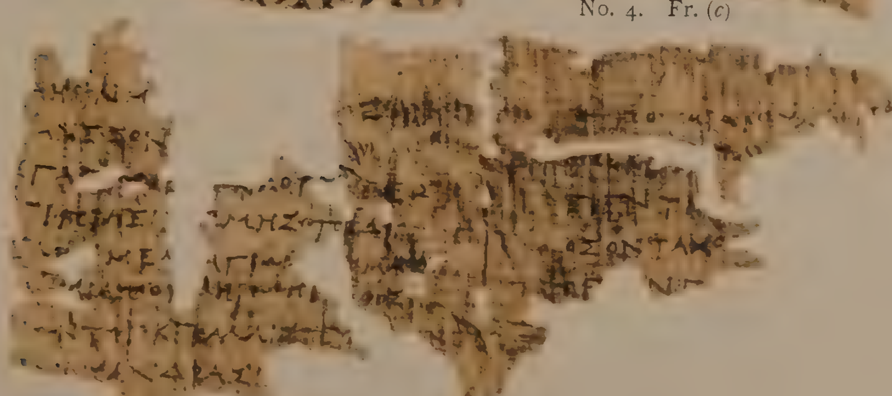

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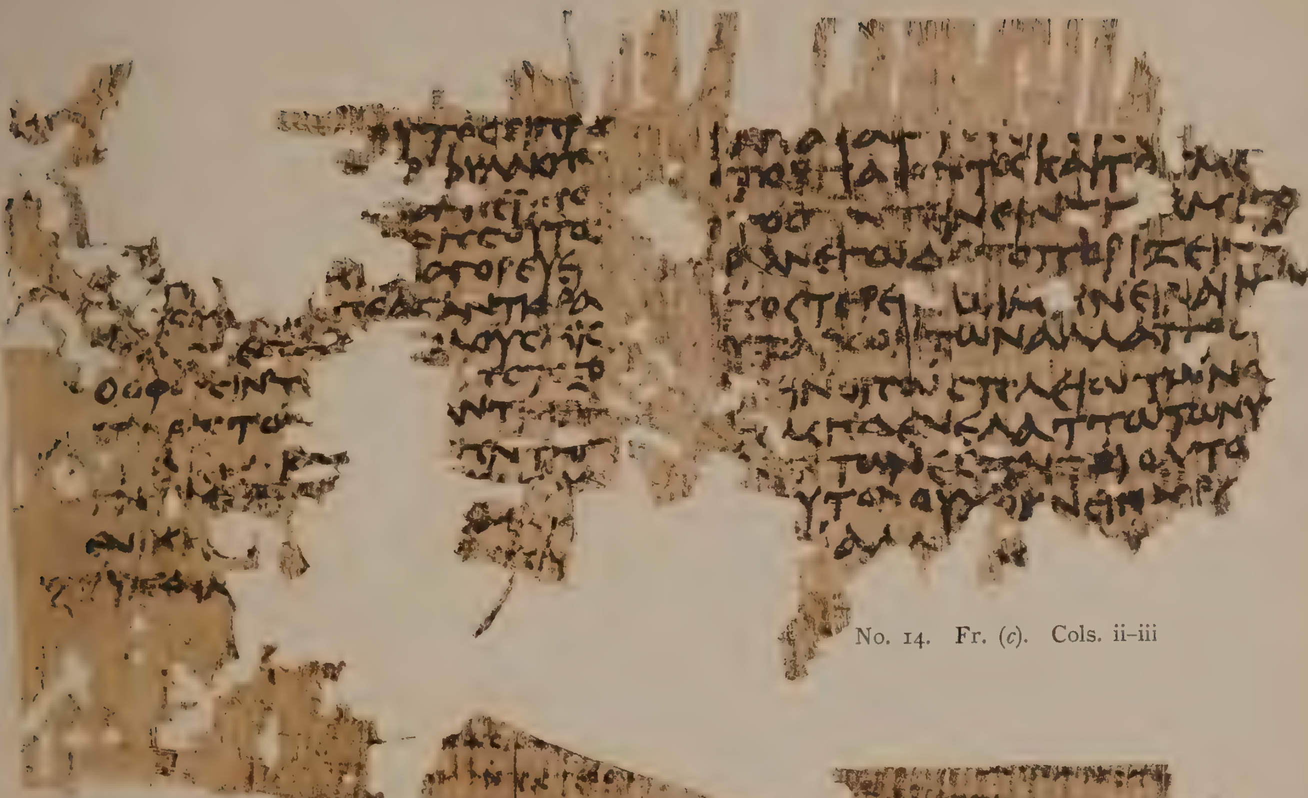
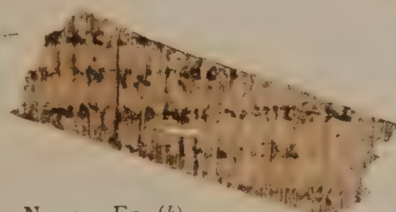


No. 14. Fr. (*c*). Cols. ii–iii



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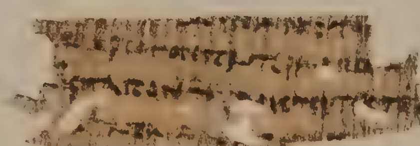

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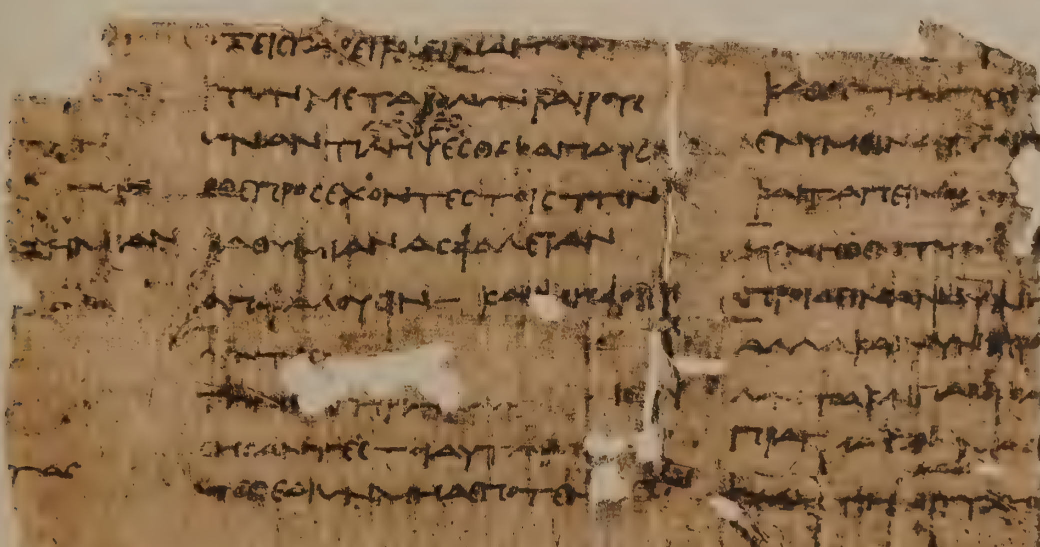

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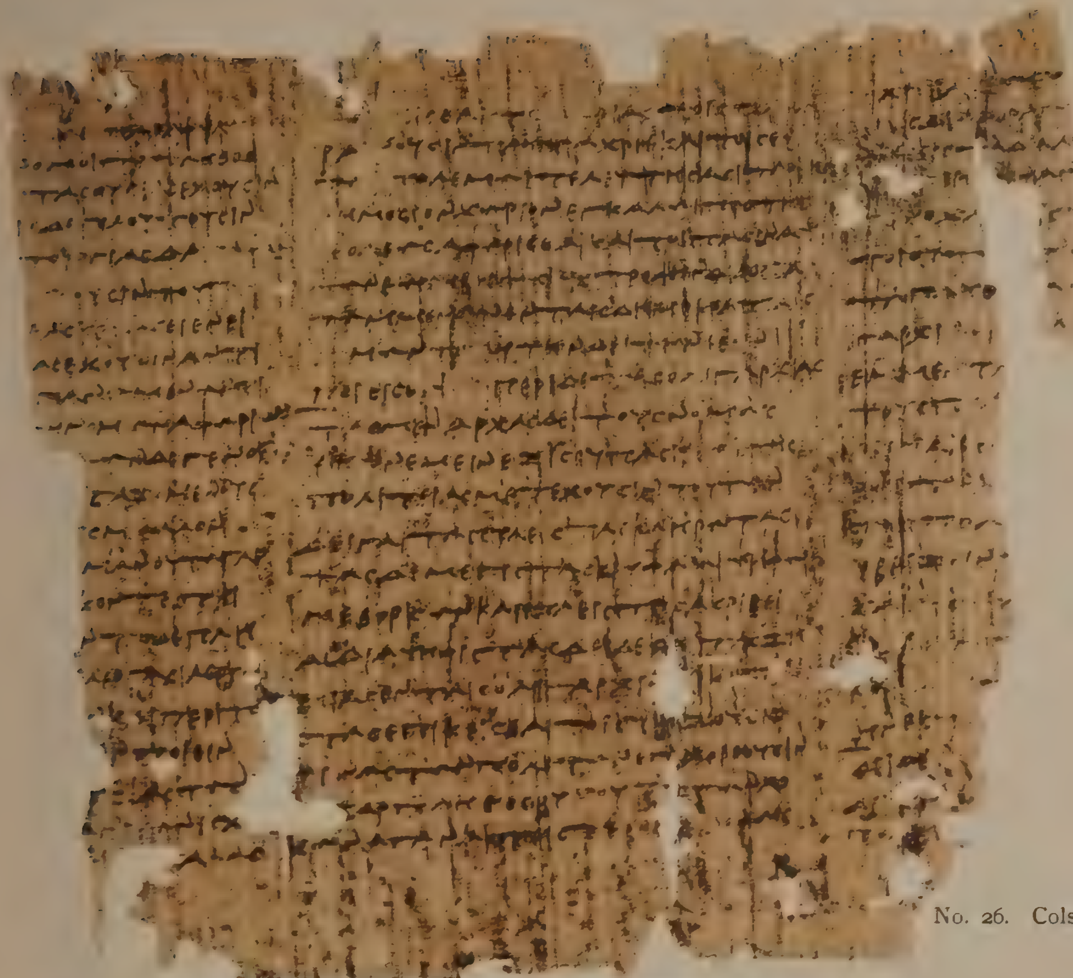

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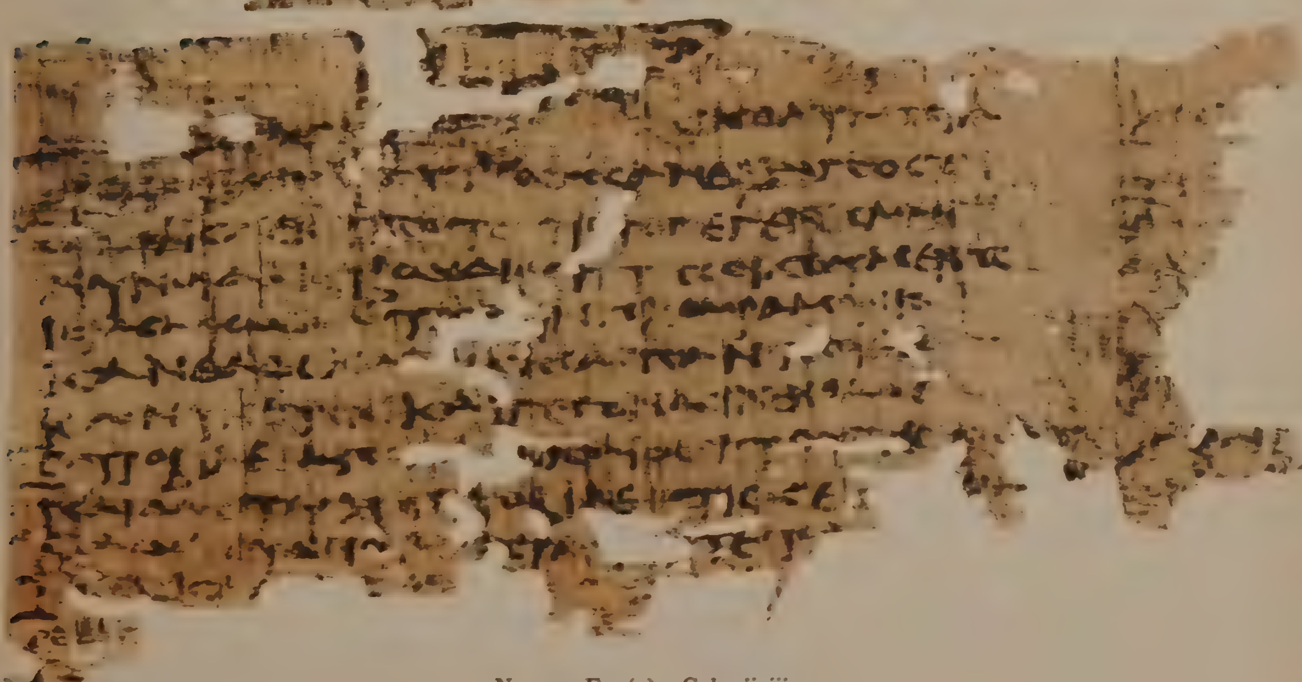
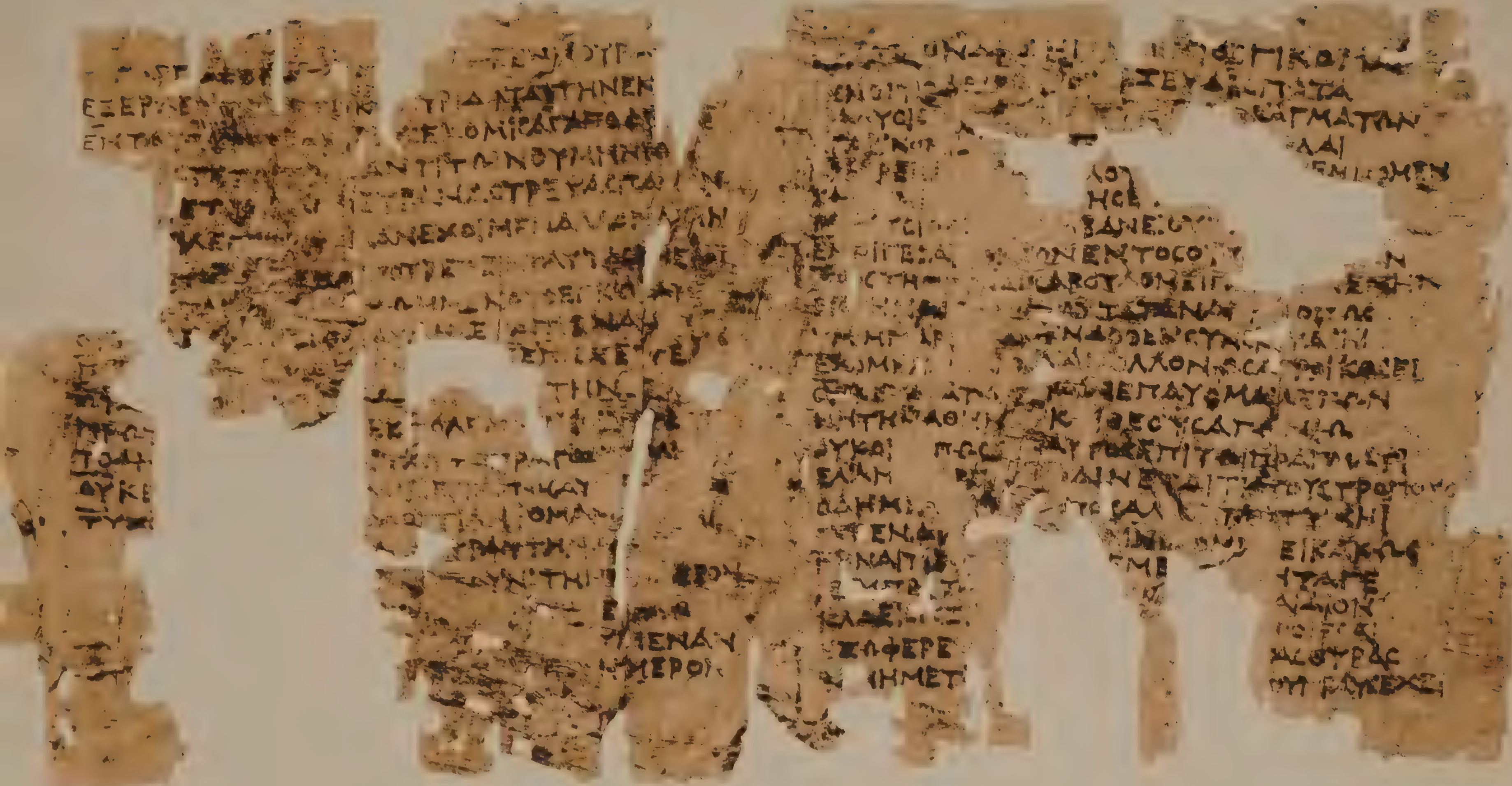


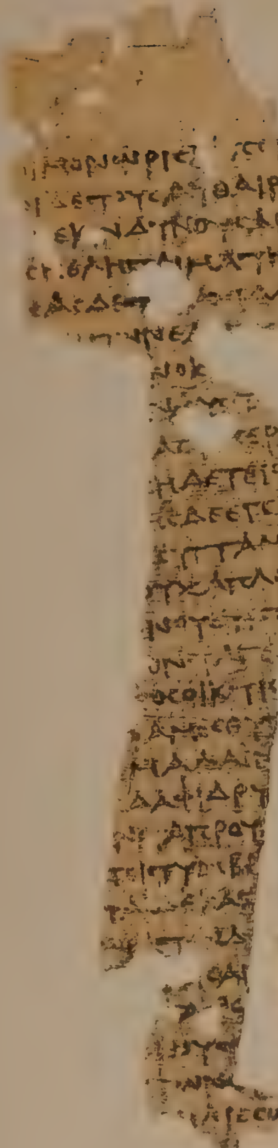
No. 5. Fr. (a). Cols. ii–iii

PLATE IV



No. 6. Fr. (a). Cols. i–iii

PLATE V



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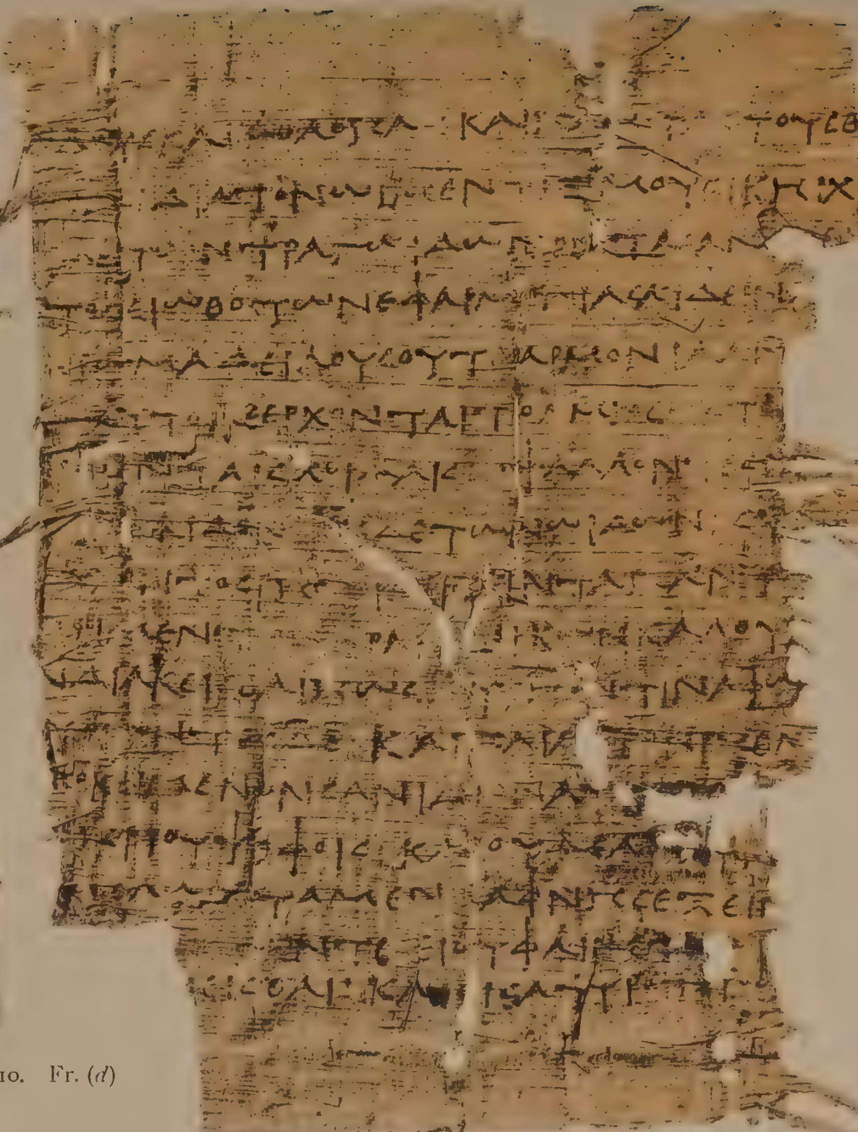
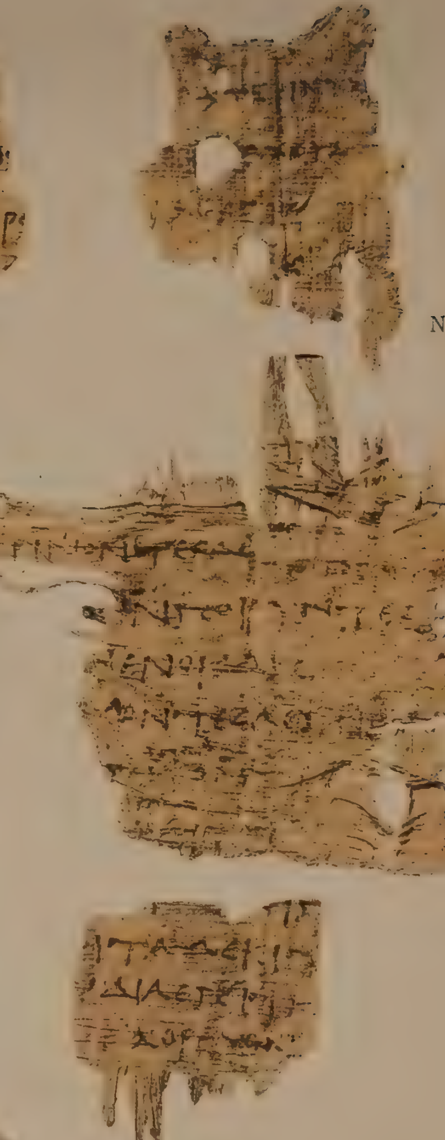
No. 10. Fr. (d)



No. 13. Col. ii



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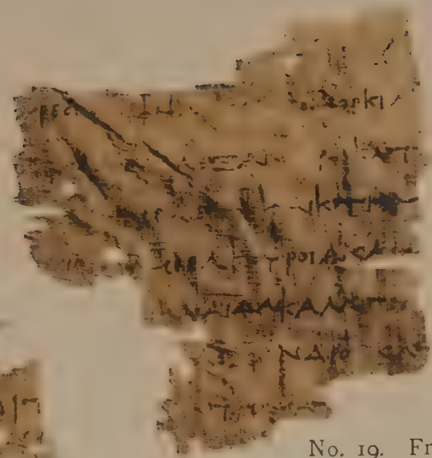

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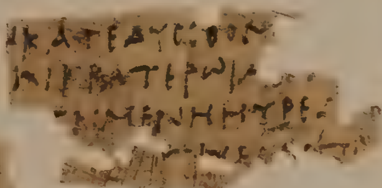
No. 20. Fr. (*d*)



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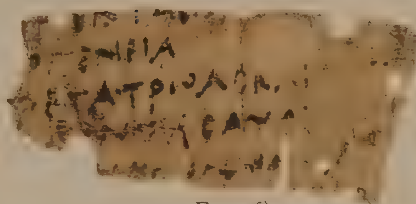

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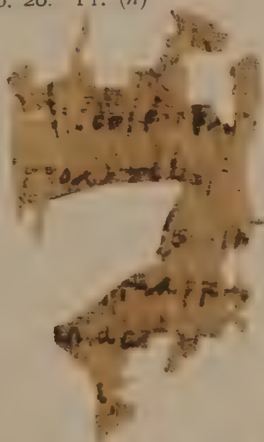

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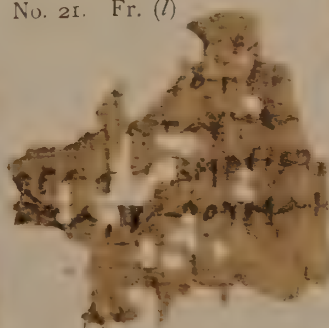
No. 21. Fr (*m*)



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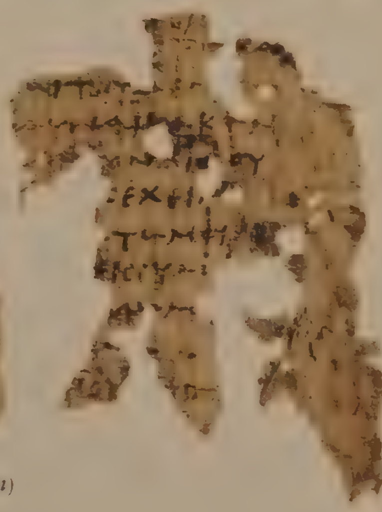

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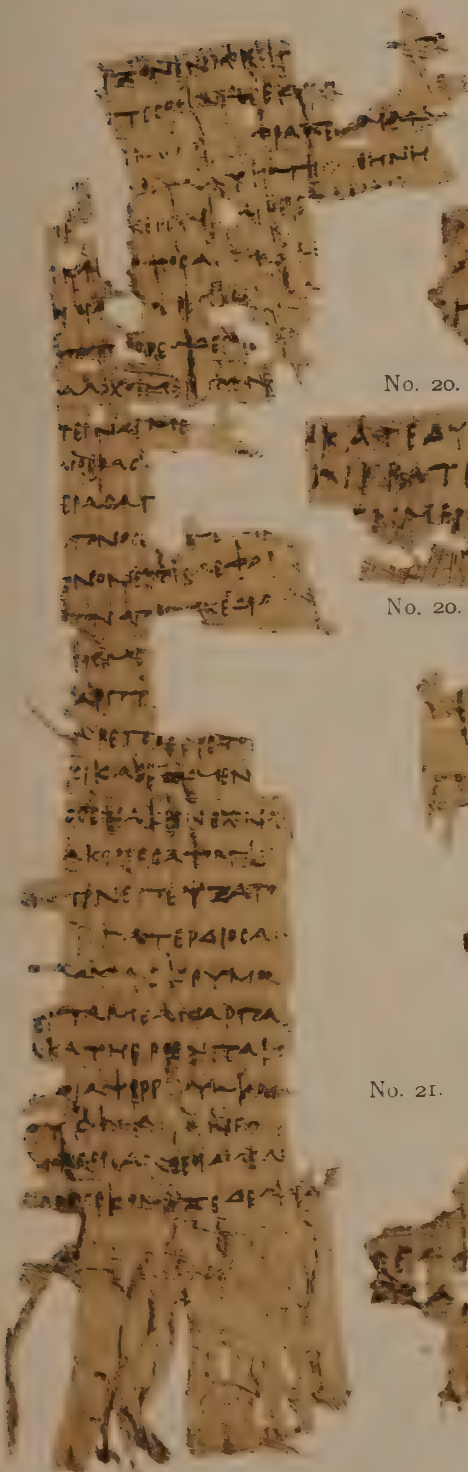
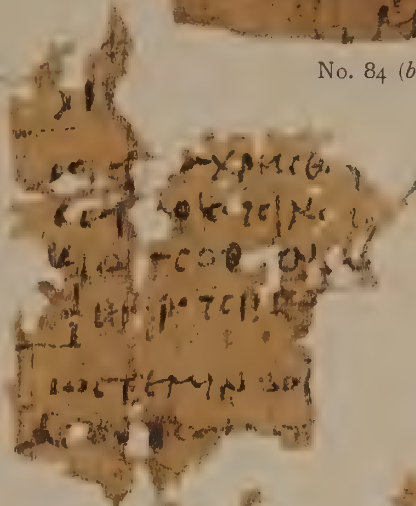


No. 23

PLATE VII

No. 84 (*b*)



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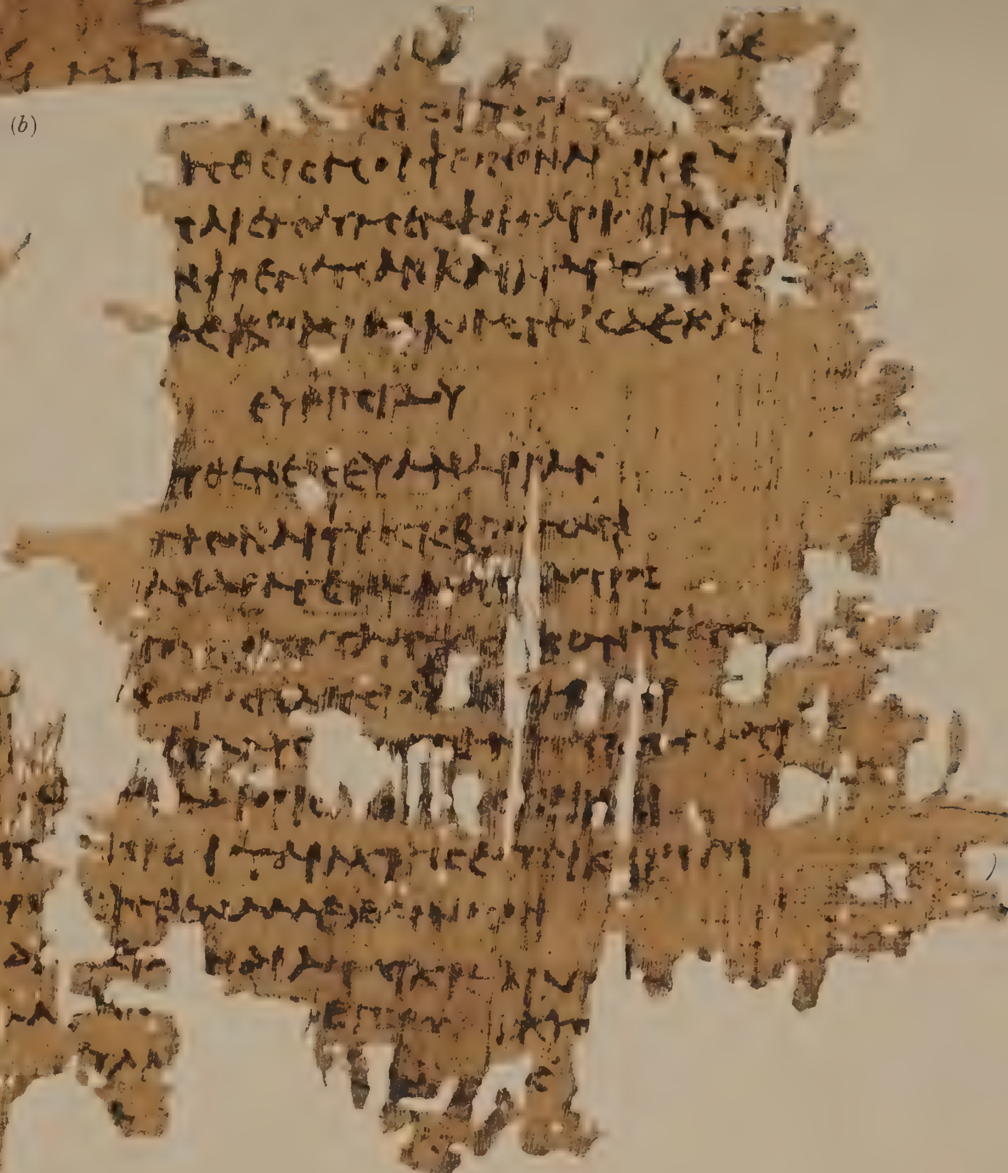

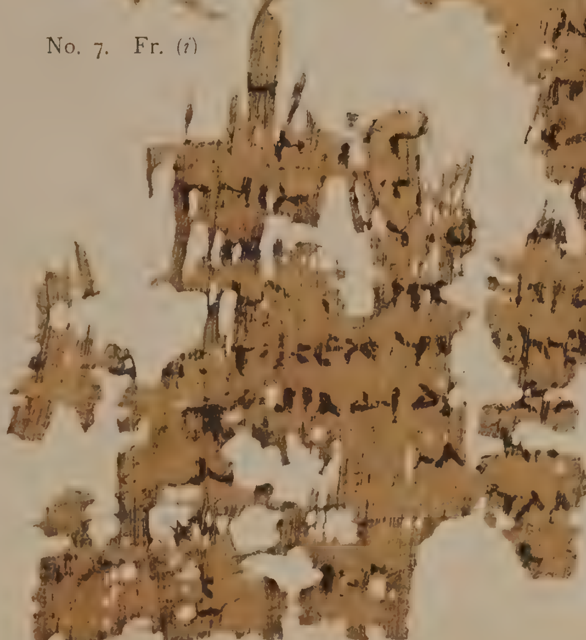

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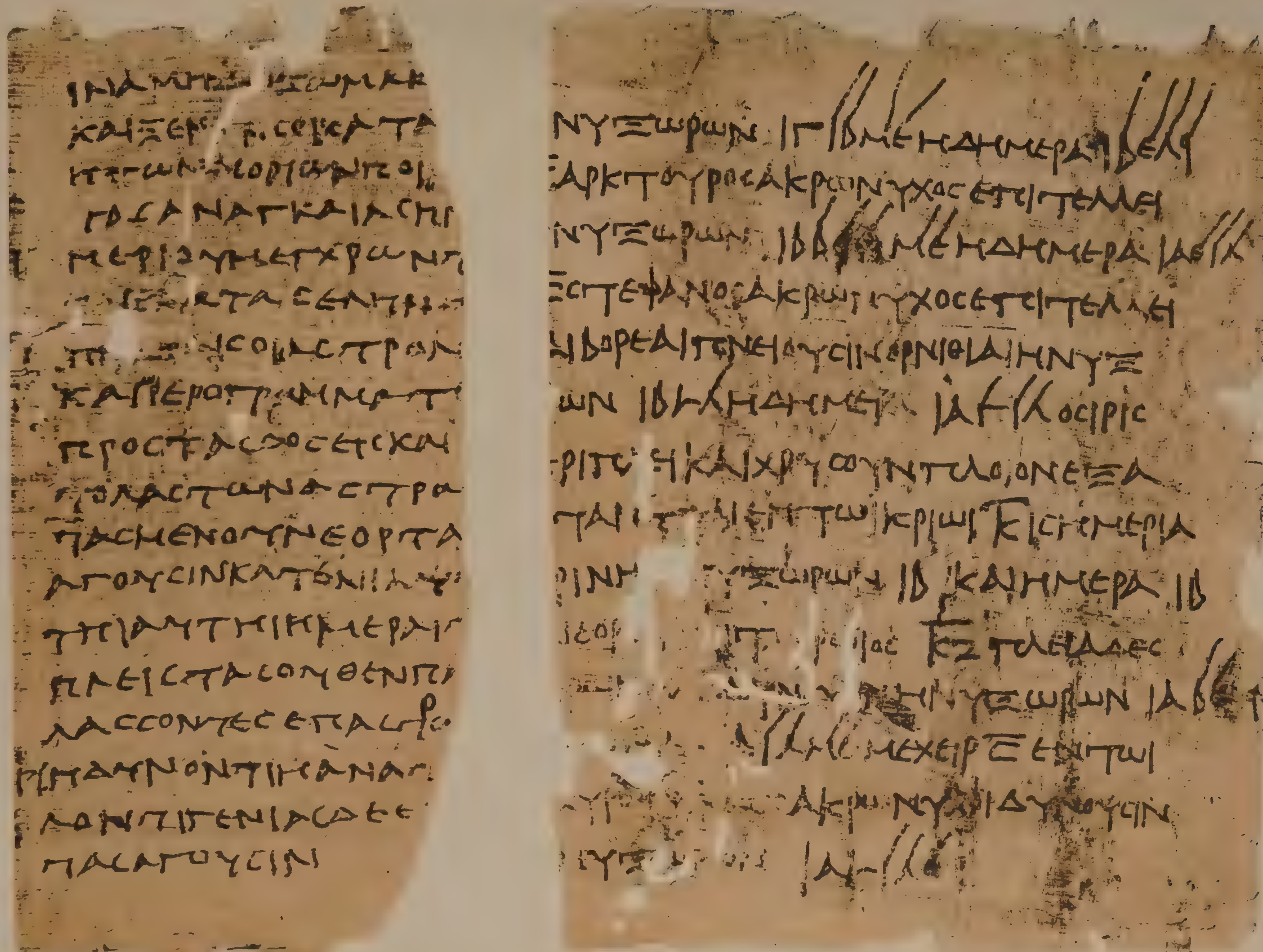
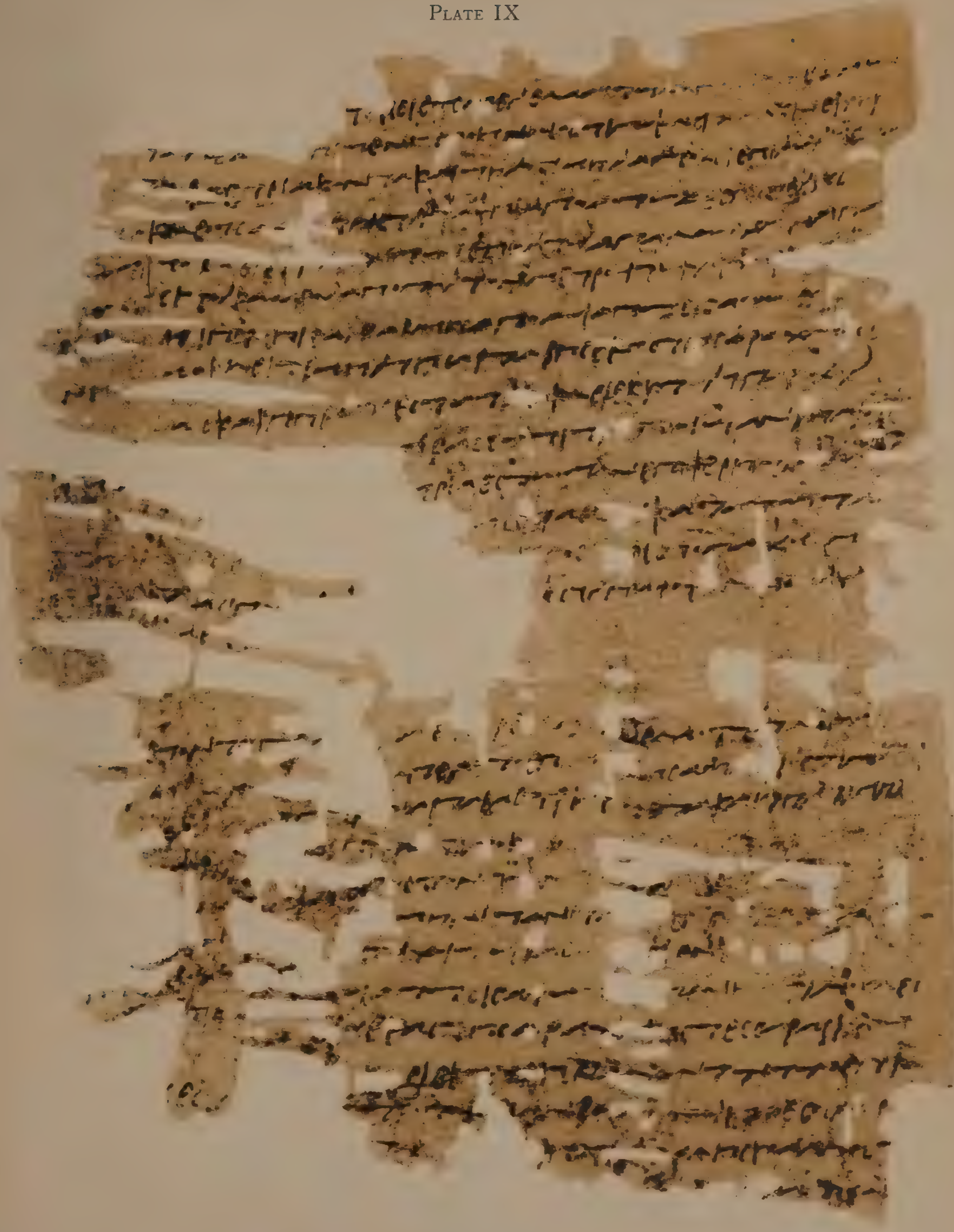


No. 27. Cols. iii iv



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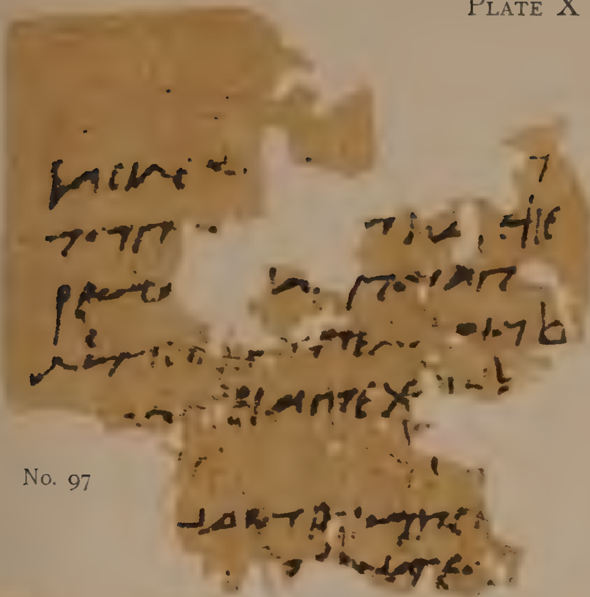

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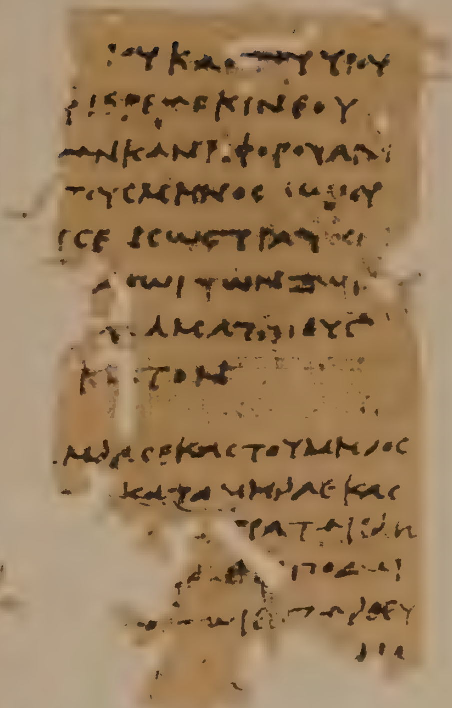

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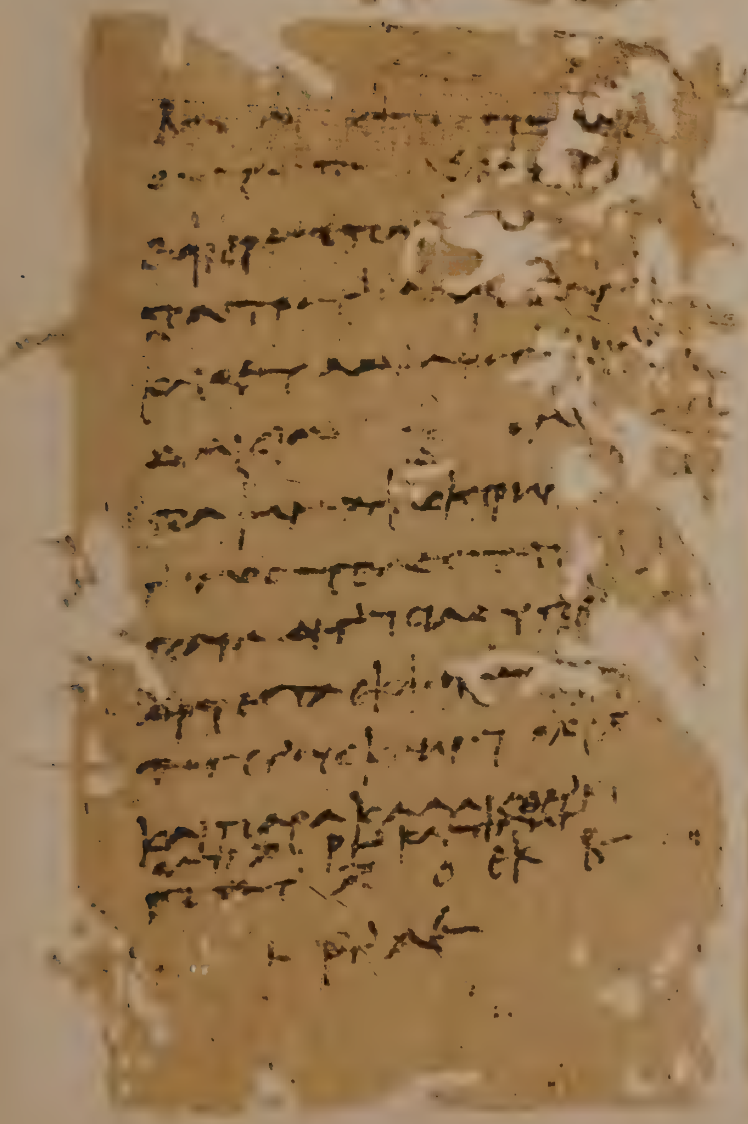

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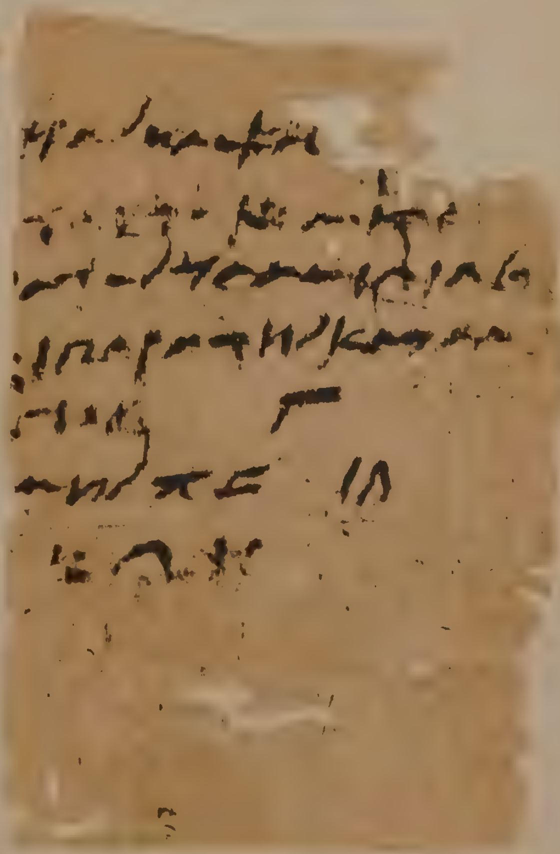

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